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1857



THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

Written in FRENCH by
M. RAPIN DE THOYRAS.

Translated into ENGLISH, with Additional Notes, by

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XVI.

*The Reigns of EDWARD VI. and Queen MARY;
containing the Space of about Twelve Years.*

21. EDWARD VI.

EDWARD VI. only son and successor to Henry VIII. was nine years and three months old when he ascended the throne by the death of the king his father. His majority was fixed to the eighteenth year of his age, by the late king's will, but he died before he came to it, after a short reign of six years and five months. The history therefore of these six years, as may be easily judged, will not be so much the history of the king himself, as of his governors and ministers. There was reason to hope extraordinary things from this young prince, had it pleased God to bless him with a longer life. He had an excellent memory, a wonderful solidity of mind; and withal, he was laborious, sparing no pains to qualify himself for the well-governing of his kingdom. At eight years of age, he wrote Latin letters to his father. French was as familiar to him as English. He

1547.
EDWARD VI.
tion and good qualities.
Hayward.
Burnet.
Strype's Mem.
learn't

Vol. VII. B

Edw. VI. learnt also Greek, Spanish, and Italian. After that, he applied himself to the liberal sciences, wherein he made an astonishing progress *. Cardan, who saw him in his fifteenth year, speaks of him as of the wonder of the age. The testimony of this [Italian] philosopher was the less suspicious, as it was after the young prince's death that he published his praises, and in Italy, where his memory was odious.

He is informed of his father's death.

Edw. Jour. Strype. Hayward. Burnet.

As soon as Henry VIII. had resigned his last breath, the earl of Hertford, and sir Anthony Brown, were sent by the council to give young Edward notice of it, and to bring him to London. He was then with his sister the princess Elizabeth at Hertford, from whence the deputies conducted him to Enfield. Here they inform him of the king's death, and pay their respects to him as to their sovereign. After that, they attended him to the Tower of London, where he was received by the council in a body, and proclaimed king the same day, the 31st of January 1547.

King Henry's will is opened. Burnet.

On the morrow, the council met to settle the form of government during the king's minority. There was not much to be debated. The parliament had empowered the late king, not only to settle the succession by his will, but also to appoint what form of government he should think most proper, till his successor was capable of holding the reins himself. All therefore that was to be done, was to open his will and obey the contents. There it appeared, that Henry had nominated sixteen persons to be his executors, regents of the kingdom, and governors to his son, These were :

Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.

The lord Wriothesley, lord-chancellor.

The lord St. John, master of the household.

The lord Russell, lord privy-seal.

The earl of Hertford, lord-chamberlain.

The viscount Lisle, lord-admiral.

Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of Durham.

Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse.

Sir William Paget, secretary of state.

Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations.

* He continued under the care of the women till he was six years old; and then he was put under the government of sir Anthony Cook; of Dr. Richard Cox, master of Eaton school, who was his preceptor for manners, philosophy,

and divinity; and of sir John Cheeke, professor of the Greek tongue in Cambridge, who was his master for the Latin and Greek languages; as John Balepaul was for the French. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 2. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 8, 9.

OF ENGLAND.

3.

Sir Edward Montague, lord chief-justice of the common-^{Edw. VI.}
pleas.

1547.

Judge Bromley.

Sir Anthony Denny, } chief gentlemen of the privy.

Sir William Herbert, } chamber.

Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais.

Doctor Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York.

As for Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, I have observed in the late reign, that though he was at first among the regents, his name was struck out.

The king empowered these sixteen, or the major part of ^{The regents} them, to execute his will, and to administer the affairs of the ^{power by the} kingdom, as they should judge fit. Upon this general clause, ^{will.} which gave the regents an unlimited power, were afterwards built many alterations, which seemed contrary to what Henry had ordained. He gave them however no power to substi- ^{Burnet,} tute others in the room of such as should die, but it rather appeared, his intention was that the vacancies should not be filled up. This consequence was naturally drawn from his commanding the princesses his daughters, not to marry without the written consent of those of the executors who should then be alive. It might also be inferred from thence, that he intended none of the regents should be deprived of their dignity.

Besides the sixteen who were to exercise the sovereign au- ^{Burnet:} thority during the king's minority, Henry appointed a privy-council who should be assisting to them, namely:

Henry Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel.

William Parr, earl of Essex.

Sir William Petre, secretary of state,

Sir Richard Rich.

Sir John Baker.

Sir Ralph Sadler.

Sir Thomas Seymour.

Sir Richard Southwell.

Sir Edmund Peckham.

Sir Thomas Cheney, treasurer of the household.

Sir John Gage, controller.

Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain.

The late king's will being thus known, the council resolved to execute it in all its points, and that very day the regents, as well as the counsellors, entered upon their offices. I have

Edw. VI. already said, the history of this reign relates more to his governors than to Edward himself; and therefore it will be necessary to give the characters of such of the regents and coun-

Characters of
some of the
regents and
counsellors.
Of Cranmer.

fellors as had the greatest share in the affairs of those days. The character of Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury is sufficiently known by what has been said of him in the foregoing reign. I shall only add two things. The first, that he did not much love to meddle with state affairs, for which he was not very proper, by reason of certain maxims of candor and sincerity, which he followed, and which were very opposite to those generally observed in the government of states. The second thing concerning Cranmer is, that he was extremely zealous to promote the reformation. Since he was no longer restrained by such a master as Henry, he was so far from concealing his opinions, that he even laboured with all his power to establish them by publick authority. He was as the first mover of whatever was done with regard to the reformation. But his zeal was tempered with a maxim which he believed absolutely necessary, namely, to proceed by degrees, and retrench first the gross abuses, that the people might be gradually accustomed to the changes, before the tenets of greater consequences were touched. Besides that this course seemed to him the most natural, he went upon another reason no less important, and which it will be proper to explain.

Burnet.

It has been seen in the late reign, that Henry VIII. left not his subjects free to approve or reject the alterations he had been pleased to make in religion. There was an absolute necessity of conforming to them, or of resolving to part with estate, liberty, and life itself. Hence the church of England abounded with multitudes, who outwardly embracing the established opinions, were not however inwardly persuaded of their truth. This was the case of several bishops, and many dignified clergymen. But it was the inferior clergy that were chiefly infected with this hypocrisy. Most of these were no other than monks for whom the court of Augmentations, and the possessors of the abbey-lands had procured benefices, to ease themselves of the burden of maintaining them, to which they were obliged when the monasteries were suppressed. These men were still wedded to the errors that were intended to be reformed. Cranmer thought it necessary therefore to gain a little time, in order to change the clergy, by filling the vacant livings with persons well inclined to the reformation. Herein he met with great opposition from the zealous, who wished to bring the reformation to perfection at once, without attend-

attending to this worldly wisdom, which they believed little Edw. VI. agreeable to the spirit of true religion.

1547.

The lord-chancellor Wriothesley, was of a quite contrary character to that of Cranmer, and moreover his religious opinions were entirely repugnant to the reformation. He was extremely ambitious, very conceited of his own merit, haughty, imperious, and very angry that his advice was not always followed. This made him extremely troublesome in the council, where no one could oppose his opinion without being liable to be treated with sharp and offensive language. But he shewed his heat and passion chiefly on occasion of religious matters. Though he had outwardly complied with the late king's innovations, he was however firmly attached to the Romish religion. Of this he had given evident proofs in the affair of Ann Askew, in his project to ruin the queen, and on many other occasions. Wherefore such of the regents as desired to promote the reformation, were to expect from him perpetual opposition. Since the duke of Norfolk's imprisonment, the chancellor was considered as the head of the Romish party. Accordingly, he looked upon the reformers and Cranmer in particular as his enemies; as on their part, they could not without extreme grief see him in a post which enabled him to countermine their designs. Happily for them, their party was strongest among the regents and in the council.

Of chancellor
Wriothesley.
Hayward.

Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, was of a noble and ancient family which came from Normandy with William the Conqueror, Henry VIII. having married Jane Seymour after the tragical death of Ann Bullen, sir Edward Seymour brother to the new queen was presently after created lord Seymour and viscount Beauchamp, and then earl of Hertford. From that time he had always an honourable post at court, as well during the queen his sister's life as after her death. Henry VIII. always expressed a great esteem for him, and employed him in several military expeditions, which he discharged in such a manner as increased his master's regard and affection. He was humble, affable, civil, courteous, and guided in all the transactions of his life by the principles of honour, virtue, and religion, which are seldom found in the men of the world. In a word, he had many noble qualities, and few faults. Among these is reckoned by some an immoderate ambition. But very likely, this ambition was rather an effect of his zeal for religion than a natural failing, as will hereafter appear. It is said also, he had no very able head, and therefore was deemed more proper to execute than advise.

Of the earl
of Hertford,
Burnet.
Dugdale.
Heylin.

Edw. VI. In the late reign he adapted himself to the king's religion, because it was very dangerous to oppose it. He was not the only person that took that course. To this reproach all the English are liable, who lived in that reign, excepting some few of both parties who suffered death for resisting the will of that imperious monarch. However, the earl of Hertford was inwardly a protestant, and consequently a great friend of Cranmer. This drew upon him the hatred of the contrary party, and particularly of the chancellor, who had already attempted to destroy him. He always shewed a very great zeal for the reformation, and to him and Cranmer is properly due the glory of all that was done in favour of religion during the reign of Edward VI. At king Henry's death he was lord-chamberlain. He was one of the regents named in that prince's will, and, what still increased his power, he was uncle to the new king.

Of Dudley,
viscount
Lisle.
Mayward.

John Dudley viscount Lisle, was son of Edmund Dudley, put to death in the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign, for having been Henry VII's instrument in his oppressions of the people. Henry VIII. feeling some remorse for Dudley's death, was pleased, and perhaps thought himself bound, to make his son a sort of reparation by creating him lord Dudley, and afterwards viscount Lisle. So the father's downfall proved the son's rise. After Henry VIII. had given him a place in his favour, he made a considerable figure at court. He was honoured with several employments, and always behaved to the king's satisfaction. He signalized himself chiefly in the wars by his bravery and conduct. He served twice as lieutenant-general under the earl of Hertford, in Scotland and Picardy, and had the honour of having a great part of the success ascribed to him, though he commanded not in chief. Afterwards, being governor of Boulogne, he repulsed by a vigorous sally from the upper town the French, who were now masters of the lower. The next year he commanded, as admiral, the fleet designed against France, and after the French had refused to fight, made a descent upon the coast of France, and carried away a great booty. In a word, he was considered as one of the best generals then in England. In all probability, had Henry VIII. lived any longer, he would have pushed his fortune farther, since with the qualifications of a soldier, he had also those of a good courtier. But on the other hand, for his morals, he had nothing worthy of commendation. He was excessively addicted to his pleasures, and even ran sometimes into shameful debaucheries. Besides, he was not very scrupulous with regard to honour and

and virtue. As his ambition was boundless, he did not stick Edw. VI.
1547.
to use any means to accomplish his ends. It may easily be judged that a man of this character had not the concerns of religion much at heart. As long as Henry VIII. was alive, he kept within the bounds prescribed by that prince. Afterwards, in the reign of Edward VI. he openly declared for the reformation, because it was then the only way to please the king, and advance his fortune. Nevertheless, he must have shown, when among the Romish party, that he was not their enemy, since the court of France believed him very far from being a protestant. This is at least what Thuanus affirms in his history. Hence it may be presumed, he considered religion only as a means to raise himself, and had made it a rule to follow that which was most in vogue. Wherefore how zealous soever he appeared for the reformation, he was never looked upon as one of its protectors, because he was thought to act only out of policy. The figure this lord made during the reign of Edward VI. obliged me to dwell the longer upon his character.

Cuthbert Tonsal bishop of Durham, was reckoned a person of great abilities. He had been employed by Henry VIII. in several embassies, commissions, and negotiations, and at length promoted to the see of London, and afterwards to that of Durham, the richest and most considerable in the kingdom, by reason of the dignity of Palatine annexed to it. As long as Henry VIII. lived, Tonsal conformed like the rest to the religion of the sovereign, but it was perceived he was very sorry to see the religion he had professed from his youth change by degrees. He would have gladly consented to the reforming of some of the most notorious abuses, but was of opinion the king went too far. Mean while, for fear of incurring the royal displeasure, he submitted to what was enjoined. He was however considered as one of the chief favourers of the old religion, and so much the more formidable to the reformers, as he was able and learned. Nevertheless Cranmer had a friendship for him, on account of his mild and peaceable temper, which afforded hopes of his being reclaimed.

Sir William Paget secretary of state ^b was a very able politician, and for religion was of the principles of the reformers. By which means he had contracted a strict friendship with Cranmer and the earl of Hertford. Of Paget.

^b In 23 Henry VIII. he was made the parliament for life; and in the 34th one of the clerks of the signet; and in of the same king, one of the secretaries the 32d, clerk of the council, and of of state. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. the privy-seal; and soon after clerk of 390.

Edw. VI. It will be entirely needless to speak of the lord St. John, 1547. the lord Ruffel, or the rest of the regents, because they were wholly guided by the others. But it will be necessary to mention some of the members of the privy council, who were to assist the regents.

Of the earl of Arundel. The earl of Arundel, a lord of an ancient family, was not very well pleased to be only among the counsellors, whilst several who were his inferiors were invested with the dignity of regents. On the other hand, he was not inclined to the reformation. These two reasons were the cause, that he willingly entered into all the intrigues tending to produce any change, either in religion or the government of the state. But he had the misfortune always to labour for others.

Of the earl of Essex. William Parr earl of Essex, brother to the queen-dowager, was a person of slender merit. He made however some figure in this reign, and was often employed, because he had the address to be attached to the prevailing party.

Of Petre. Sir William Petre, secretary of state, was expert in the discharge of his office. He was become almost necessary, and therefore had a great share in the most secret transactions of the court.

Of Rich. Sir Richard Rich, a lawyer by profession, was a good courtier, who by his pliant temper found means to become lord-chancellor.

Of sir Thomas Seymour. Sir Thomas Seymour the king's uncle, and younger brother to the earl of Hertford, thought himself unhappy in being only a counsellor, whilst the king had made his brother a regent. He imagined, his being uncle to the king should have procured him more honour. He had a boundless ambition, joined to a high conceit of himself. Wherefore the rank given him by the late king in his will, not being capable of satisfying him, he had a mind to mount higher, which occasioned his downfall, as will hereafter appear.

The election of a protector is moved. Feb. 1. The form of the government was no sooner settled according to Henry's last will, but a change was proposed. Some of the regents observed, it could not but be very troublesome for the people, and particularly for foreign ministers, to be forced to apply to sixteen persons of equal authority, and

* This gentleman was born at Exeter, and was son of John Petre of Torbigan in Devonshire. He had his education at Exeter-college in Oxford, where he commenced doctor of law. In the year 1534. he was appointed one of the commissioners for dissolving the monasteries; and in 1541, was made secretary

of state; and in 1549. treasurer of the court of first-fruits for life. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 475.

d He was grandson of Richard Rich, an opulent mercer in London, who was sheriff of that city in 1442. Idem. p. 387.

moved that one should be chosen to be head and president, **Edw. VI.** with the title of protector. They added, that by this means **1547.** affairs would be more speedily dispatched, and yet nothing changed in the established form of government, because the person to be raised to that dignity should do nothing without the consent of the major part of the rest.

The lord chancellor Wriothesley easily perceived this motion was made to his prejudice. As by his office, he was next to the archbishop of Canterbury, who did not much follow secular affairs, he was in hopes of becoming the head of the regency. But he saw plainly, if a protector were elected, the choice would not fall on him, but this dignity would be conferred on the earl of Hertford, the king's uncle, who was not his friend. Wherefore he strenuously opposed it, declaring, the regents had no power to depart from the late king's will, authorized by act of parliament. But matters were so well laid beforehand, that, notwithstanding his opposition, it was resolved that one should be raised over the rest, and called, 'the protector of the king's realm, and the governor of his person.' However, it was with the express condition, that he should do nothing without the consent of the other regents. Then the choice fell, as it was easy to foresee, upon the earl of Hertford, who probably had caused this motion to be made by his friends.

The lord chancellor opposes it in vain.

Burnet.
Stow.
Ed. Jones.
Sturpe.

The earl of Hertford is chosen.

Indeed it was very natural to chuse for protector the king's uncle, and the person of the whole kingdom the most concerned for his preservation. However it was thought by many, the regents had made a false step in the beginning of their administration, for the reason alledged by the lord chancellor. It might indeed be said in their excuse, first, that they had given no particular authority to the protector, and consequently the form of government established by the late king was not altered. Secondly, that the will empowering the regents, or the major part of them to administer the young king's affairs as they should judge proper, whatever was resolved upon by a plurality of voices was deemed agreeable to the late king's will.

Reasons for and against the election of a protector.

Whilst all things necessary for Henry VIII's funeral, and the new king's coronation were preparing, the regents were intent upon an affair which concerned them in particular, or at least the principal of them. Henry had resolved, before he died, to confer new honours on several of the regents and counsellors. He had even settled the revenues or pensions he designed to give these new lords, to enable them to support their dignities. But, as some had refused them because

New dignities conferred.
Hayward.
Burnet.
Heylin.
Stow.

Edw. VI. 1547. cause they thought these pensions too small, the affair had been suspended, both by reason of this objection, and of the king's sickness and death. However, he had ordered in his will, that whatever he had promised should be made good.

Feb. 25. &
26.
Dugdale.

This was sufficient to put the regents upon performing the engagement, especially as the benefit was chiefly to redound to themselves. But as the late king's intentions and promises appeared not in writing, recourse was to be had to the testimony of those to whom he had opened his mind, who deposed what they had heard from his mouth. Upon their testimony therefore, the earl of Hertford was made duke of Somerset; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; the lord chancellor Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Sudley; Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield*, had the title of barons, with the names of their families†.

Alienation
of the chan-
try-lands.
Burnet.

As Henry VIII. had not left his coffers full, expedients were to be devised to find the revenues and pensions assigned to the new lords. No better was found than to alienate five or six thousand pounds a year of the chantry-lands. These promotions, with the revenues annexed, were not universally approved, because they were all in favour of the regents themselves or the counsellors. Many thought these lords

* Sir William Willoughby was created lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Edmund Sheffield lord Sheffield of Butterwick. Hayward, p. 275.

† Sir Edward Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, being required to declare what they knew of the king's mind; Paget, whom he had most trusted, declared, That when the evidence appeared against the duke of Norfolk and his son, the king intended to bestow their lands among some new peers he designed to create. Then he ordered him to write in a book such as he thought meetest. Which done, the king assigned to each such a portion of lands out of the duke of Norfolk's estate, as he thought fit. Paget told him it was too little, and being ordered to acquaint those with it who were to be advanced, many thought so too, and desired to remain as they were. The duke of Norfolk hearing of this, and fearing if his lands were thus divided, they would never return to his family, sent to desire the king that he would be pleased to settle all his lands on the prince, for, said he, according to the

phrase of those days, They are good and stately gear. Whereupon the king resolved to reward his servants some other way, so ordered the book to be thus filled up. The earl of Hertford to be earl-marshal and lord-treasurer, and to be duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hertford, and his son to be earl of Wiltshire, with 800 l. a year in land, and 300 l. a year out of the next bishop's lands that fell. The earl of Essex to be marquis of Essex, and so on, with yearly revenues to them. And the king having promised to give the earl of Hertford six of the best prebends that should fall in any cathedral, except decantries and treasurerhips; at his desire the king agreed that a deanry and a treasurer'ship should be instead of two of the six prebendaries. All this Denny and Herbert confirmed, for they then waited in his chamber; and when Paget went out, the king made Denny read over the book, and Herbert observing the secretary had remembered all but himself, the king bid Denny to write 400 l. a year for him. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 6. 7.

showed

showed so much avidity at the beginning of their regency, **Edw. VI.** and that they ought to have staid till the king was of age. **1547.** The protector especially was liable to much envy, by procuring for himself the two great offices of lord-treasurer and earl-marshal, vacant by the attainder of the duke of Norfolk. The first was conferred on him the 10th of February, and the other the 17th of the same month ¹.

The same day his last patent was dispatched, his brother Thomas Seymour, created baron of Sudley, was made high-admiral of England ². Thus, about a fortnight after Henry's death, the Seymour family was raised to such greatness, that it was hardly possible to make any addition to it. Happy, had they been contented! But we shall see hereafter, that, by endeavouring to rise still higher, the two brothers fell into an abyss of misfortune, which might have been avoided by a small share of moderation.

Henry the Eighth's funeral obsequies were performed with great pomp and magnificence at Windsor ³. He had himself ordered his body to be there interred. The day before, his corpse was brought to Richmond ⁴, and as the motion caused some watry matter to run through the coffin, it was reported to be blood, and that a dog licked it up. This was said with design, to verify the frier's prediction, who told Henry in a sermon, that the dogs should lick his blood as they had formerly licked Ahab's. But besides that several affirmed, it was not blood which ran from the coffin, the report that a dog licked it up was entirely groundless.

The ceremony being over, Edward's coronation was solemnized the 20th of February, with the usual formalities ⁵. The lord Russell acted as high-steward, by virtue of a patent which empowered him to exercise that office for that day only. Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, had acted the day before as high-constable, by virtue of a like patent, which limited the exercise of his office to the 19th of February, the

The protector made lord-treasurer and earl-marshal.

A. & Pub. xv. p. 124. 130.

Thomas Seymour is made high-admiral. Ib. p. 127. Edw. Journ.

Henry VIII's funeral. Hayward, Burnet, Strype.

Edward VI. is crowned. A. & Pub. xv. p. 123. 130. Edw. Journ. Strype.

¹ On the 6th of February the lord protector knighted the king, being authorized thereto by letters patents. So it seems, that as the laws of chivalry required that the king should receive knighthood from the hand of some other knight; so it was judged too great a presumption for his own subjects to give it, without a warrant under the great seal. The king at the same time knighted sir John Hobbethorn, the lord mayor of London, and William Portman, one of the judges of the king's-

bench. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 2. Strype, p. 15.

² Ireland, Calais, Boulogne, and the marches. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 127.

³ On February 16. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 11; and Reposit. p. 15.

⁴ To Sion, where they lay the first night. Strype's Repof. p. 12.

⁵ There were forty knights of the bath made on this occasion, and fifty-five knights of the carpet, whose names see in Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 23. and Repof. p. 30.

Edw. VI. day preceding the coronation, from sun-rising to sun-setting.
1547. Probably, the office of high-constable was necessary only for certain preparatives, since it was to end before the ceremony of the coronation ^m.

A general
pardon.
Hayward.

On the coronation-day a general pardon was granted to all persons, excepting the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, Edward Courtney, eldest son of the marquis of Exeter, and three others ⁿ.

The chan-
cellor's dis-
grace.
Hayward.
Burnet.

I have before observed, that the lord chancellor Wriothesley the new earl of Southampton was ambitious, proud, and haughty, very troublesome in the council, and moreover, a great enemy to the reformation and the reformed. All these reasons made the protector and most of the regents wish to be rid of him. They were so happy, as that he himself afforded them a plausible pretence. Resolving to apply himself chiefly to state-affairs, he had on the 18th of February put the great seal to a commission directed to the master of the rolls and three masters of chancery ^o, empowering them to execute the lord chancellor's office in the court of chancery, in as ample a manner as if he himself were present. This being done by his own authority, without any warrant from the lord protector and the other regents, his enemies failed not to improve this occasion to ruin him. Complaint of what he had done being brought before the council, it was ordered, that the judges should give their opinions in writing. Their answer was, That the chancellor being only entrusted with his office, could not commit the exercise thereof to others, without the consent of the king or the regency: That by so doing he had by the common law forfeited his place, and was liable to fine and imprisonment at the king's pleasure. This answer being communicated to him in full council, he fell into a great passion with the judges, and even talked very haughtily to the regents, the council, and the protector. He told this last in particular, that he held his chancellorship by an undoubted authority, since he held it of the king himself, whereas it was a great question whether he himself was lawfully protector. But this haughtiness, instead of composing his affair, only served to render it worse. His submission might have

Burnet,
tom. ii. Col.
p. 96.

Feb. 28.

March 6.

^m There was a new form drawn for the coronation of this king, which the curious reader may see in Burnet, tom. ii. Collect. p. 93, &c.

ⁿ Dr. Richard Pates, Mr. Fortescue, and Mr. Throgmorton, Hayward, p. 276.

^o To sir Robert Southwell, master of the rolls, John Tregonwell, Esq; and John Olyver, and Anthony Bellasis, clerks, masters in chancery. See the commission itself in Burnet, *ibid.* p. 96.

lessened his punishment, but by his passion and heat he gave Edw. VI. the council occasion to treat him with the utmost severity. 1547. He was immediately confined to his house, with a command not to stir till further orders. Then it was debated what his punishment should be. It was not doubted that he might be deprived of the chancellorship. But as to the regency, the point was not so clear, because it was uncertain whether the late king had placed him among the regents as chancellor, or as a private person, like several others who were in no office. For this reason it was not thought proper to turn him out of the regency; but to render it useless to him, he was left under an arrest, and the great seal taken from him, and given to sir William Pawlet lord St. John, till another chancellor should be appointed. So, the earl of Southampton continued in his confinement, till the 29th of June^p, when he was discharged of his imprisonment, upon entering into a recognizance of four thousand pounds, to pay what fine they should impose on him.

Hayward.

After the protector was freed from this troublesome enemy, he thought only of ingrossing the sole management of affairs, and to be protector indeed, whereas hitherto it was but an empty title without any peculiar authority. To attain his ends, he represented to the regents and council, that several persons doubted whether they could by their sole authority name a protector: that the French ambassador in particular had insinuated a distrust, that he could not safely treat with him, without knowing first whether he was duly authorized, since his title might be contested for want of authority in those who had conferred it. Upon this foundation, he desired that he might be allowed to prepare letters patents under the great seal, establishing him protector of the realm, and governor of the king. His request appearing reasonable, it was granted, and probably he was left to draw the patent, wherein it is very likely he used some deceit. What gives occasion for this suspicion is, that the patent assigned him prerogatives unthought of by the regents, when they made him protector. There was no mention of the condition upon which he had been chosen. On the contrary, the king gave him full authority to do every thing as he in his wisdom should think for the honour, good, and prosperity of his person and realms. Moreover, he appointed him a council, giving him power, with so many of them as he should think proper, to annul and change what they thought fitting; re-

The protector's ambition. Burnet.

The king nominates the protector by patent.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 174. Burnet.

Remarks on the patent.

^p Rapin by mistake says July. See Burnet, tom. ii. p. 17. ^q By a petition on March 13. Ibid.

straining

Edw. VI. raising the council. to act only by the protector's advice and consent. It is true, this council consisted of the same persons which before composed the regency and council, except the earl of Southampton. But whereas fifteen of them were before regents of the kingdom, executors of Henry's will, and governors to the young king, they were now become by this patent only mere counsellors to the protector, each according to the rank his office or birth gave him, without the protector's being obliged to follow their advice.

The other regents become mere counsellors to the protector.

Remarks on the protector's proceedings.

Very likely, as I said, the protector used some fraud on this occasion. And, indeed, it is by no means probable, that other regents should so lightly consent to be deprived of all their authority. Nay, we shall see hereafter an evident proof that they had no such intention. Those historians who have endeavoured to vindicate all the duke of Somerset's actions, in order to preserve to him the character of a true reformer, have very lightly touched upon this point, whereas his enemies have enlarged on it, to show he was possessed with ambition. However, as the fact is certain, his motive can only be the subject of conjecture; some ascribing it to his excessive ambition; others believing he aspired to become master of the government, only to promote more effectually the reformation. It is at least extremely probable that Granmer and such of the regents as favoured the reformation, were convinced the duke's advancement would be very advantageous to religion.

He becomes absolute master of the government. Burnet.

After the patent was drawn, and the great seal put to it, the protector had all the power. He governed with an absolute authority, without being clogged by the advice of the council, since he was obliged only to consult those that were devoted to him. But, on the other hand, this proceeding, with some others of the like nature, drew upon him the envy and hatred of many, and particularly of the nobility, who made him at last feel the effects. There was certainly much to be said against the patent, which destroyed the form of the government established by Henry VIII, pursuant to an act of parliament which the king himself had not power to annul.

Treaties with France. Act. Pub. xv. p. 135, 139. P. 126.

The day before, two new treaties were concluded with France. The first was a renewing of alliance between Francis I. and Edward VI; without prejudicing the ancient alliance between France and Scotland, and the treaties between the emperor and England. The second concerned the articles which had not been explained in the late treaty of peace, namely, the bounds of the territory of Boulogne, and the

the fortifications the two kings were making near the place. Edw. VI. As to the bounds, they were easy to be settled, because as 1547. England was to keep Boulogne but eight years, it was not very material whether its territory was a little more or less extended. As to the fortifications there was more difficulty. Whilst the late peace was negotiating, Henry VIII. finding it would be in his power to prescribe almost what terms he pleased, ordered the governor of Boulogne to begin fortifying Boulemborg, Blackness, and Ambleteuse. At the same time he gave instructions to his plenipotentiaries, to insert in the treaty, that neither of the two kings should be allowed to make new fortifications in or about Boulogne, but only to finish such as were begun. This was done according to his desire. However, after the treaty, the French had attempted to fortify St. Etienne, Portet, and la Pointe. Whereupon disputes arose between the ambassadors appointed to settle the limits of Boulogne. But as the two courts were equally desirous to avoid all occasion of rupture, it was at length agreed, that the English might continue the works begun: that the French should have the same liberty with regard to the fortifications of St. Etienne, but should discontinue those at Portet and la Pointe. This treaty, and the other which renewed the alliance between the two crowns, were signed at London the 11th of March. But Francis died the 31st of the same month, before he had ratified them, leaving Henry II. for his successor.

Death of
Francis I.

Upon news of Francis's death, an express was sent to Nicholas Wotton ambassador in France, with a commission to receive the new king's ratifications, and see him swear to the treaties. But the court of France was entirely changed by Henry II's accession to the crown. The cardinal of Lorraine and his brother the duke of Guise managed every thing as they pleased, and it was not their interest, the king should preserve a good understanding with England. Besides that they were strongly addicted to the Romish religion and the pope, they were contriving means to hinder England from employing her arms to accomplish the marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland their niece. They persuaded therefore Henry II. that it was his chief concern to recover Boulogne at any rate, for fear the English should make use of that place to confound his future projects. Henry liking their policy, refused to ratify the treaties, and disowned the ambassador sent by his father to London to conclude them. So there not only remained an occasion of quarrel between the two crowns with respect to the limits of the territory

Henry II.
refuses to
ratify the
treaties.
A.C. Pub.
xv. p. 149.
Burnet.

Edw. VI. 1547: tory of Boulogne and the new fortifications, but also in refusing to confirm the alliance, Henry showed his intention to break the peace.

Affairs of
Germany.
Strype,
tom. ii. p. 55,
&c.
Burnet.

This was the first ill effect of the death of Francis I. and Henry VIII. but it was not the only one. Germany as well as England suffered by the loss of these two kings. The protestants, who had been ill used by the emperor in the last campaign, found themselves wholly deprived of the assistance they expected from France and England. Henry II's ministers did not think proper he should be engaged in a war with the emperor in support of the protestant religion. But, as policy seemed to require that he should oppose the emperor's progress, they intimated to him the expediency of first recovering Boulogne; after which, it would be still time enough to protect Germany, in case the emperor grew too powerful there. As for the court of England, there was no likelihood, that during a minority, they would undertake to support the protestants, especially as France refused to be concerned with them. Mean while the princes of the league having sent to Edward for aid, fifty thousand crowns were privately given them, with great caution, for fear of offending the emperor. It is very true, the protector was inclinable to support them: but it was not yet convenient to do it openly. The reformation was to be put upon a good foot in England, before any thoughts of protecting it in foreign countries.

Affairs con-
cerning the
reformation
in England,
Burnet.

Henry the Eighth's death was a sort of crisis for England with regard to religion. It was observed in the history of his reign, that he steered a middle course in that respect. He reformed some things, but left others untouched. In general, the reformation he had begun, may be said to concern only the articles which were directly or indirectly contrary to his temporal sovereignty or ecclesiastical supremacy. He was so rigorous, that he would never allow his subjects to differ in opinion from him, or at least not to show it openly. So all were under constraint, there being scarce any one but what believed more or less than himself. As soon as he was dead, every one took the liberty to speak his thoughts upon religion, though the laws made in his reign were still in force. But some change was expected. If, on one hand, the reformed built their hopes on Cranmer and the earl of Hertford, the contrary party flattered themselves that chancellor Wriothesley, Tonstal, and some others, would use their utmost endeavours to restore religion to its antient state, or at least would hinder the reformation from making farther progress. The earl of Hertford's promotion to the protectorship and the

the chancellor's disgrace gave the reformed all the advantage, Edw. VI. 1547.
 who seeing themselves supported by the protector and the archbishop of Canterbury, entertained great hopes that the work of reformation would visibly advance. This gave them the boldness openly to shew their sentiments, and even publicly to preach them*. On the other hand, the contrary party finding the time was not favourable, strove to persuade that religion should be left in its present state till the king was of age. They said, since no alterations could be made but in the king's name, as supreme head of the church of England, it was necessary at least to stay till he was able to judge of them himself. But the reformers agreed not to this principle. They maintained, on the contrary, that the royal authority was the same, whether the king was a minor or not. They opposed their adversaries maxim the more strenuously, as it influenced not only the affairs of religion but the government itself.

The party of the reformers was so strong, that it was very difficult for their enemies to resist them. The king himself was at their head. Though he was yet of an age wherein men hardly begin to make use of their reason, he had made very great progress in the study of religion, by the care of Dr. Cox his preceptor, who was in the sentiments of the reformers. The duke of Somerset, Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Holgate archbishop of York, Holbeach bishop of Lincoln, Goodrick bishop of Ely, Dr. Ridley, and Latimer who was discharged of his imprisonment, were the chief supporters of that party. These were properly whom Dr. Burnet calls in his history, the reformers. In the other party Burnet, t. ii. p. 244 were the prince's Mary, Wriothesley earl of Southampton, Tonstal bishop of Durham, Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, with many other bishops, and the major part of the inferior clergy, consisting, as I have observed, of the suppressed friars, who had been recommended to livings. But it is certain, though this last party was as numerous as the other, they were far excelled by the other in learning and capacity: besides, the government was in the hands of their adversaries. There was another thing which very much lessened the power of this party. Most of them had made it a rule to oppose to their utmost the intended alterations, but, when effected, to pay them afterwards an outward compliance. This conduct, though beneficial to particular persons, was however detrimental to the whole party, as it intimated

* To set the rest of the kingdom an example, evening prayer began to be read in English in the king's chapel, on Easter monday. Stow, p. 594.

Edw. VI. they only loved their religion when attended with temporal blessings. The bishops and the rest of the clergy were properly the establishers of this maxim, out of fear of losing their benefices.

Resolution
to push the
reformation.
Burnet,
t. 2. p. 26,
&c.
Fox,
Strype,
t. ii. p. 45,
&c.
Heylin.

The present juncture being so favourable for the reformation, the protector, and such of the council as were of his sentiments, resolved to improve it. To that end, they ordered a general visitation of all the churches, and appointed visitors, with power to abolish certain gross abuses introduced into the divine service, and particularly with regard to images^a. With this visitation commenced the execution of the design already formed, of perfecting the reformation, which was properly but just begun in the late reign. As Dr. Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, has given as full account of these matters as can be desired, in his excellent history of the reformation in England, it will be needless to descend to particulars, which will be seen with much more satisfaction in the work of that illustrious author. So, without speaking hereafter of religion any farther than will be necessary for the understanding of the history, I shall confine myself chiefly to the political affairs of this reign^t. The first that offers in the year 1547 is the war with Scotland.

Sequel of the
affairs of
England
with Scot-
land.
Ald. Pub.
xv. p. 131,
142.
Buchanan.

Hayward.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.

Henry VIII. had left his affairs with Scotland in such a situation, that the agreed marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland was to be relinquished, or the treaty executed by force of arms. The party against the marriage in Scotland was so powerful, that the others durst hardly discover their contrary sentiments. If the affair had been to be decided by the two kingdoms, in all appearance Scotland would have been forced to submit. But the king of France took care not to abandon the Scots. He was highly concerned to hinder the king of England from becoming master of Scotland. Herein his sentiments agreed with those of the two Lorrain princes, brothers to the queen dowager of Scotland. It was this that most troubled the protector, especially as Henry II. had now declared he would assist the Scots to

^a The bishopricks were divided into six precincts or circuits. The 1st was London, Westminster, Norwich, and Ely. The 2d, Rochester, Canterbury, Chichester, and Winchester. The 3d, Sarum, Exeter, Bath, Bristol, and Gloucester. The 4th, York, Durham, Carlisle, and Chester. The 5th, Peterborough, Lincoln, Oxford, Coventry, and Litchfield. And the 6th,

Wales, Worcester, and Hereford. They began their visitation in August, about the time that the protector made his expedition into Scotland. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 26, 31.

^t This year, the book of Homilies, composed by archbishop Cranmer, was published, and printed twice by Grafton. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 31.

the utmost of his power. Mean while, the projected marriage was so advantageous to England, that it well deserved some endeavours to accomplish it. Besides, Henry VIII. had so expressly ordered, before he died, that all possible means should be used to effect it, that the protector thought he could not be excused from taking some steps to show he intended to execute his orders. He resolved therefore to carry war into Scotland. Indeed it was a very extraordinary way of wooing the young queen for Edward: but in this the protector and the council followed Henry VIII's maxim, who always flattered himself that the inconveniencies and dangers of a war would at last oblige the Scots to execute the treaty. To that end therefore they resolved to make war upon Scotland, and not with design to conquer the kingdom.

1547.

Hayward.
Hollingsh.War with
Scotland re-
solved.

Every thing being prepared, and the protector ready to go and command the army, the French ambassador desired him to consent to a negotiation, to try to conclude a peace before hostilities were begun. The protector, who was willing to manage France, complied with his request, and the conferences began the 4th of August. Tonsil, who was first plenipotentiary, had orders to submit to any terms, provided the Scotch commissioners had power to agree to the marriage, otherwise he was to break off the congress. This condition rendered the negotiation ineffectual, because the Scots had nothing like it in their instructions. So the protector departing in August, entered the territories of Scotland the 2d of September, with an army of fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, having the earl of Warwick for lieutenant-general. He took some castles in his march, and

Conference
for a peace
very inef-
fectual.
Burnet.The protec-
tor enters
Scotland.
Hollingsh.
Hayward.

* The other was sir Robert Bowes. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 31.

* According to king Edward's journal, the English army consisted of thirteen thousand foot, and five thousand horse, (p. 4.) But Hollinghead gives us the following particulars. The duke of Somerset was general of the whole army, and captain of the middle ward, which consisted of four thousand foot. The earl of Warwick led the fore-ward, containing three thousand foot. And the rear-ward, wherein was the same number, was brought up by the lord Dacres. The lord Grey of Wilton, marshal of the army, was captain-general of the horse, in number six thousand. Sir Francis Brian, captain of the light horse, in number two thou-

sand. Sir Ralph Vane lieutenant of all the men at arms, and demi-lances. Sir Thomas Darcy captain of all the king's pensioners and men at arms. Sir Peter Mewtas captain of the harque-buffers, in number six hundred. Sir Peter Gamboa captain of two hundred harque-buffers on horseback. John Brenne captain of the pioneers, in number fourteen hundred, p. 98:—In the mean time, the fleet advanced towards Newcastle, consisting of sixty-five vessels, whereof one galley, and thirty-four tall ships, were prepared for fighting; the rest served for carriage of ammunition and victuals. Of this fleet Sir Edward Clinton was admiral, and sir William Woodhouse vice-admiral, Hayward, p. 279.

Edw. VI. particularly the castle of Broughty*, near the Tay's mouth, where he left a garrison of two hundred men. A few days after, he came within sight of the Scotch army, thirty thousand strong†, with thirty pieces of cannon, who expected him on the field of Pinkey near Musselburgh.

Buchanan.
Burnet.

He offers a
peace to the
regent of
Scotland.
Hayward.
Buchanan.
Hollingsh.
Styrpe.
Burnet.

The duke of Somerset, as I said, had undertaken the war against his will, and only to avoid the blame of not endeavouring to procure for his young master an advantageous marriage. The sight of the enemies army, superior to his own, encreased not his desire to decide the affair by way of arms. Wherefore, to avoid so dangerous a decision, he wrote to the earl of Arran regent of Scotland, desiring him to consider the great quantity of innocent blood which was going to be shed. And to show that he was ready himself to come to an agreement, he made this offer: That he would retire to England with his army, if the Scots would agree that the young queen should be bred up in Scotland till she came of age, and give security that she should not till then be contracted to any foreigner. This proposal might have been accepted without any detriment either to the queen or the kingdom of Scotland. In the first place, this condition hindered not the queen from marrying a Scotch lord. Secondly, the worst that could happen to the Scots, was to be, when their queen was of age, in the same situation they were in at present. Lastly, the king of England or the queen might die in this interval, and of course the death of either ended the quarrel: but the French faction was so prevalent in the council of Scotland, that this advantageous offer was proudly rejected. Nay, a rumour was spread among the Scotch troops, that the protector of England would not hearken to a peace, unless the queen was put into his hands.

His offer is
rejected.

The disposi-
tion of the
two armies.
Patten.
Hollingsh.
Hayward.

The two armies were parted by the river Esk. The English were encamped about two miles on the south side, and the Scots along the banks, on the north. So if the Scots had been willing to avoid a battle, probably the English would never have attempted to pass the river in their sight. Mean while, the protector having formed the design of approaching the Scots, and gaining a rising ground on the left which commanded their camp, moved forward with his whole army. But the Scots having notice of it, immediately

* Brochty-Crag, a fort in the county of Angus. Camden. Hollinshead says, it was not taken till September 21. p. 990. Edw. Journ. says, it was after the battle.

† So Buchanan says, l. xv. But in king Edward's journal it is said, that it consisted of thirty six thousand men at least, p. 5.

passed the river, and possessed themselves of that post. The protector having missed his aim, marched to the right towards the sea, in order to encamp on a little hill not far from the river. This march made the Scots imagine he was approaching the sea, to put his ordnance and baggage on board the fleet which was entered the Frith, that he might retreat the more easily. The whole Scotch army were so possessed with this notion, that they considered the English as already vanquished by fear. Mean while the protector had posted himself on the hill, and made some intrenchments before his camp. This confirmed the Scots in their opinion, that it was only a feint in order to retire in the night. So, resolving to hinder the English from executing this imaginary design, they advanced in good order to join battle. The moment the protector had received intelligence of their march, he drew up his army, part on the hill and part on the plain, and expected them without stirring. He had placed his artillery in an advantageous place that commanded the whole plain, and on the other side, his fleet was near enough to fire upon the enemy in flank. Nay, there was a galliot, which being lighter than the rest of the ships, came very near the land and extremely annoyed the Scotch army.²

The protector's march.
Hayward.

Hollingsh.
Hayward.

It was on the 10th of September that the two armies engaged. I shall not relate the particulars of the battle. Besides that the historians agree not in the principal circumstances, there are but few capable of giving a just account of what passes on these occasions, and of pointing out the chief causes of the gain or loss of a battle. It belongs only to generals themselves to be good historians on such subjects. I shall content myself therefore with reciting the success of this action. After a very obstinate fight, the Scots were routed, leaving fourteen thousand dead on the place and fifteen hundred prisoners in the hands of the English, of whom eight hundred were gentlemen.

Battle of
Pinkey won
by the Eng-
lish.
Patten.
Hollingsh.
Hayward.
Buchanan.
Burnet.

Loss on the
side of the
Scots.
Hollingsh.
Hayward.

This great loss threw all Scotland into the utmost consternation. The regent and the queen after garrisoning the castle of Edinburgh, retired to Sterling with the remains of their army, abandoning thus the frontiers to the ravages of the English. A few days after the protector took Leith, and the English fleet commanded by the lord Clinton burnt several sea-port towns in the county of Fife, with all the ships in their harbours. Then the English army marched to

Great con-
sternation in
Scotland.
Hollingsh.
Hayward.
Buchanan.
Burnet.

² It slew the master of Grahme, and twenty others near him. Hollingsh.
p. 934.

Edw. VI. Edinburgh, and entering without opposition, plundered the city. Such a terror seized all Scotland, that if the protector

1547.

The protector improves not his victory.

had improved his success, by besieging the castle of Edinburgh, it is hardly to be doubted, he would have forced the regent to relinquish the young queen, or subdued the kingdom: but affairs which concerned him in particular, made him relinquish his enterprize, just as he was going to reap the fruits of his victory. Whilst he was employed in Scotland, his brother the admiral caballed against him in England, and had now made such progress that the protector was upon the point of being ruined, at the very time he was causing the king's arms to triumph. The advice he received made him think he could not too speedily return to court, in order to break his brother's measures. This was the real motive of his hasty return, which however was coloured with other pretences.

He returns to England. Hollingsh. Burnet. Heylin.

The 18th of September he departed for England, having employed but sixteen days in his expedition from his entrance into Scotland, and if we may believe the English writers, lost but sixty-two men in all ^a. In his return, he marched through the counties of March and Tiviotdale, and leaving a garrison in the castle of Hume, ordered Roxborough to be repaired, where he left sir Ralph Palmer governor.

The people praise him, and the nobles envy him. Burnet.

The protector's glorious campaign in Scotland put the nation in mind of several noble actions performed by him in the late reign. This gained him great applause from the people ^b, but withal the envy of the nobles, who, if sir John Hayward is to be credited, had no great esteem for him. This contrast between the nobles and people was very prejudicial to him. It induced him to rely too much on the people's favour, and to raise himself above the rest of the nobles, both by an external pomp, and by assuming the sole administration of affairs. As by the king's patent, he was not obliged to follow the advice of the council, he generally consulted only his creatures, and neglected the rest as if there were no such men. This behaviour seemed at first a little strange in one, who, very far from being naturally proud and haughty, was rather humble, modest, and civil. No other reason can be given, but his great zeal to promote the reformation. This was doubtless what made him think it necessary to remove from the administration those who were not led by

^a Under sixty says, Hayward, p. 287. But Buchanan affirms, that the English lost about two hundred horse in the first charge, l. xv.

^b The mayor and aldermen of London went out to meet him in Finsbury field, on October 8, when he returned to that city. Hollinghead, p. 99a.

the same zeal as himself, in order to lessen the opposition as Edw. VI. 1547. much as possible. Besides, he had passed the best part of his life in the court of Henry VIII. where he had seen the authority-royal carried to the greatest height; and as Henry had succeeded by the way of rigour, he deemed it requisite to follow much the same maxims. The reformation was certainly the sole object the protector had in view, and all his proceedings in the publick affairs both foreign and domestick, tended properly to that point.

The commissioners appointed to visit the churches, having made their report, it was found that all the bishops had complied with the orders of the council, except Bonner of London, and Gardiner of Winchester. These had given an advantage against themselves, not only by direct opposition but by cavils, which plainly showed how averse they were to all reformation. They insisted chiefly upon the forementioned maxim, that it was not lawful to make any alterations in religion during the king's minority. As this principle might have had pernicious consequences with respect to the government, it was made a pretence to send them to prison^c, notwithstanding their seeming, but very equivocal, submission. The truth is, as several acts in favour of the reformation were intended to be passed in the next parliament, which was summoned to meet the 4th of November, the reformers were very glad to be freed from the troublesome opposition of these two prelates. The princess Mary was also displeased with the instructions given to the visitors, and with the design of advancing the reformation. She writ upon this occasion to the protector, expressing her dislike of all the changes which were making, and of those which were designed to be made during the king's minority. The protector sent her a very strong answer, and did not think himself obliged to conform to her sentiments.

Some days before the parliament met, the lord Rich was made chancellor^d. The 3d of November, the day before the opening of the parliament, the protector, by a patent under the great seal, was warranted to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, under the cloth of state, whether the king was present or not, and moreover was to have all the honours, privileges, and prerogatives that any of the uncles of the kings of England, or any protectors had ever

Bonner and Gardiner are sent to prison.
Burnet.
Strype.

The princess Mary complains of the steps which are making in the reformation.
Burnet.
Strype.

Rich is made chancellor.
Burnet.
Act. Pub. xv. p. 164.

^c To the Fleet. Burnet, p. 37. Gardiner was imprisoned, June 31, and released about the end of the year. Strype, p. 68.

^d His patent bears date, November 30. See Burnet, tom. iii. Collect. p. 406.

Edw. VI. enjoyed, with a Non-obstante to the statute of precedence. 1547. This proceeding was a clear evidence that the duke of Somerset's intention was not only to be superior to all, but even to destroy by degrees the very remembrance of the form of government established by Henry VIII. Though he had not forgot to cause the patent to be approved by the council before it was sealed, that was not sufficient to justify him entirely. It was well known the king did nothing but by his direction: that the council was at his command, and that it would have been very dangerous for the counsellors, directly to oppose a patent which concerned him in particular.

Parliament.
Journ. Par.
Burnet.

Remark on
this parliament,

The parliament being met the 4th of November, passed several material acts relating some to the state, and others to religion. It is very certain, the number of those who desired a reformation was very great in the kingdom. However, it must not be imagined that then, any more than at this day, whatever the parliament did was agreeable to the general opinion of the nation. The representatives of the commons were chosen, as they are at present, without any instructions concerning the points to be debated in parliament, nay, without the people's knowing any thing of them. Thus, the house of commons had, as I may say, an unlimited power to determine by a majority of votes, with the concurrence of the lords and assent of the king, what they deemed proper for the welfare of the kingdom. There was no necessity therefore, in order to obtain what the court desired, of having the universal consent of the people, but only the majority of the voices in both houses. Hence it is easy to conceive, that the court used all imaginable means to cause such members to be elected as were in their sentiments. This is now, and ever will be, practised till some cure is found for this inconvenience. I call it inconvenience, because it happens sometimes that the parliament passes acts contrary to the general opinion of the nation. Of this one may be easily convinced, by what passed in the parliaments held under Edward VI. and queen Mary his sister, In the reign of Edward, popery was entirely rooted out, and under Mary it was wholly replanted. In one or other of these reigns, therefore, the parliament must have acted contrary to the opinion of the people, since it is not possible to believe, that a whole nation should have thus changed, in an instant, from white to black. I don't pretend, by this remark, to weaken the proceedings of Edward VI's parliament in favour of the reformation; what I advance is levelled as much against that of queen Mary, as against this. My design is only to observe, that the determination

mination of a parliament is not always a convincing proof of Edw. VI. the approbation of the whole English nation. The reasons 1547. therefore which may be drawn from the pretended consent of the nation, represented in parliament either for or against the reformation, seem to be of very little weight. Each of the two parties will always say, and perhaps very justly, that the parliament which opposed them, was a parliament devoted to the king and the ministry.

The present parliament was, in all appearance, directed by the duke of Somerset, since it so readily favoured all his designs. I shall content myself with relating the substance of the chief acts passed this session, without insisting much upon them, because Dr. Burnet has spoken of them so accurately T. ii. p. 40. and fully in his History of the Reformation, that it would be needless to repeat what he has said.

The first statute repealed several acts passed in the late and some former reigns: namely, Act for repealing several statutes.

I. All acts declaring any thing to be treason but what was in the statute of 25 Edward III. This statute of king Edward had long served for the standard of treason, till during the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and particularly in the reign of Henry VIII, the list of treasonable offences was very much increased. Therefore the parliament very justly reduced these offences within their old bounds, that the subjects might not be liable to so many rigours.

II. This statute also repealed all acts, declaring that to be felony, which was not so before the rupture with the pope.^{*} And,

III. The act which made the king's proclamations of equal authority with acts of parliament. If this statute had continued, parliaments would have become useless.

IV. Two acts concerning the Lollards.[†]

Lastly, By the same statute, the law of the six articles was also repealed. Act of the six articles repealed.

By another article of the same statute, the king's ecclesiastical supremacy was again confirmed, with several penalties upon those who should call it in question. It was likewise declared high-treason in any of the heirs of the crown, nominated in Henry VIII's will, and in their abettors, to

^{*} Or rather, all acts made upon this head since April 23, 1 Henry VIII, as it is in the statute.

[†] Those of 5 Richard II. and 2 Henry

Edw. VI. endeavour to break the succession of the crown settled by that prince.
1547.

It was also enacted, That all should enjoy the benefit of the clergy ^z, and the privilege of sanctuary, as before Henry VIII's reign, excepting only such as were guilty of murder, poisoning, burglary, robbing on the high-way, stealing of cattle, and stealing out of churches and chapels.

An act passed in Henry VIII's time, empowering his successor to annul laws made during his minority till his four and twentieth year, was likewise explained; and it was declared, that this act should only take place for the future, and not for the past ^h.

With regard to religion, several acts were made, which caused very great alterations. First, private masses were abolished, and the cup was given to the people in the communion ⁱ.

Another act gave the king power to nominate to the vacant sees by his letters patents, and so abolished the way of chusing bishops by conge d'eslire ^k, which was only a mockery, since these pretended elections were all made by the direction of the court.

The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts was also very much abridged, by taking from them the cognizance of ma-

^z Benefit of the clergy was an antient liberty of the church, confirmed by divers parliaments. When a priest or one within orders was arraigned of felony before a secular judge, he might pray his clergy, that is, to be delivered to his ordinary, to purge himself of the offence objected. But the antient course of the law in this point of clergy is much altered; for clerks are no more delivered to their ordinaries to be purged, but now every man, though not within orders, is put to read at the bar, being found guilty, and convicted of such felony as this benefit is granted for, and so burnt in the hand, and set free for the first time, if the ordinary's deputy, standing by, do say, *Legit ut Clericus*.

^h This law was thus altered, The king, after the 24th year of his age, might by his letters patents void any act of parliament for the future, except this present act, and all pardons granted by parliament, but could not so void it

from the beginning, as to annul all things done upon it between the making and annulling it, which were still to be lawful deeds. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 41.

ⁱ And because some persons, on account of the abuses committed by this sacrament, took occasion to despise and revile it, it was furthermore enjoined by this act, That whoever were for the future guilty of depraving or despising of it, should be imprisoned, and make fine and ransom at the king's pleasure. This bill was first read on November 15, twice on the 17th, and again on the 24th, when it was delivered to the lord chancellor. The dissentient from it, were, the bishops of London, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, and Chichester. Journals Parl.

^k But the fees usually paid on the collation to a bishoprick, were retained by an article of this act. They amount to 33l. as the reader may see in Collier's Eccl. Hist. tom. ii. p. 236.

rimonial and testamentary causes, which were removed to Edw. VI. the civil courts ¹.

1547.

Then the parliament passed a very remarkable act against vagabonds. It was enacted, That if any person should any where loiter without work, or without offering himself to work three days together, he should be adjudged to be a slave for two years, to him that should present him to two justices of peace, and be marked with the letter V imprinted with a hot iron on his breast. This law was thought very severe in a country like England, where slavery seems inconsistent with the privileges of the people. But herein the court, by whom the parliament was governed, had an eye only to the monks, who being gone from their monasteries, little inured to labour, could not think of working for their livelihood. These men spent their time in going from house to house, to cabal against the government, and inspire the people with the spirit of rebellion. So the court judging it to be an effect of their idleness, and that if they betook themselves to some employment, they would at length lose this habit, resolved to make them work, how unwilling soever they might be. Mean while, as the law was general, it occasioned great murmurs among the people. Wherefore it was never rigorously executed, and even repealed by another parliament.

Lastly, the parliament gave the king all the lands designed for the maintenance of chantries, chapels, and colleges, which were not possessed by Henry VIII, and all revenues given for obits, anniversaries, lights in the churches, together with all guild lands = which any fraternity enjoyed on the same

Several en-
dowments
given to the
king.
Statutes,
Stype.

¹ Whereas (says the act) the bishops did exercise their authority, and carry on processes in their own names; and since all jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal was derived from the king, therefore their courts and all processes should be from henceforth carried on in the king's name, and be sealed by the king's seal, as it was in the other courts of common law, excepting only the archbishop of Canterbury's courts, and all collations, presentations, or letters of orders, which were to pass under the bishops proper seals as formerly.

= A chantry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar, in some cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands, or other revenues, for the maintenance of one or more priests daily to

sing mass, and perform divine service for the souls of the founders, and such others as they appointed. --- Free chapels were independent from any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the chantries. --- The Obit was the anniversary of any person's death; and to observe such day with prayers, alms, or other commemoration, was called the keeping of the Obit. --- Anniversaries, were the yearly returns of the day of the death of persons, which the religious registered in their Obital, or Martyrology, and annually observed in gratitude to their founders and benefactors. --- Guild, signifies a fraternity or company; from the Saxon, gildan, to pay, because every one was to pay something towards the charge and support

Edw. VI. same account. This act did not pass without great difficulty. 1547.

Cranmer himself opposed it to the utmost of his power^a, not from a desire to keep these endowments for the uses intended by the donors, but because he hoped to meet with some favourable opportunity to convert them to other uses beneficial to religion, whereas being once in the king's hands, the church was deprived of them for ever. But all opposition was in vain. The nobles gaped, as I may say, after the church-lands, which they obtained of the court upon very easy terms. Besides, the executors of the late king's will, wanted these lands to pay his debts and legacies. It is true, there was a clause in the act, importing that these lands should be converted to the maintenance of grammar-schools and preachers; but it was never put in practice.

General
pardon of
which Gardiner
has the
benefit.
Strype.

The parliament ended with a general pardon, in which were excepted the prisoners in the Tower, and those who had absented themselves out of the kingdom. As Gardiner was not in the Tower, he enjoyed the benefit of the pardon.

I just mentioned the reason which obliged the protector to quit Scotland and return to court, with a precipitation very detrimental to the king's affairs. But it is necessary now to speak a little more largely of it, before I conclude the year 1547. because it was during this session of the parliament that the affair broke out.

part of the company, G. Jacob.--- Of these chantries and free chapels, there were in the kingdom two thousand three hundred and seventy four. When they were sold, in the 2d year of this king they were valued, in the whole, at about two thousand five hundred and ninety-three pounds; and were sold for forty-six thousand two hundred and forty-nine pounds, fourteen shillings. See Strype's Mem. tom. ii. Reposit. p. 85. &c.--- Besides these chantries, the parliament granted also the king tonnage and poundage for life; which was three shillings of every tun of wine, and of sweet wine six shillings, and of every aulme of rhenish twelve-pence. The poundage was twelve-pence in the pound of the value of all goods imported or exported; and two shillings of aliens for tin and pewter exported. The subsidy from wool was 3s. 4d. of every sack of wool; and of that exported by strangers, 3l. 6s. 8d; of every two hundred and forty wool-fells, 33s. 4d; for every last of hides and backs, 3l. 6s. 8d;

but of strangers, 3l. 13s. 4d. Stevens Hist. Ta. p. 231, 232.

^a As did also the bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, Chichester. It was first read in the house of lords, December 6; and the second, third, and fourth times, on the 12th, 14th, and 15th of the same month. It was read again twice on the 24th, and sent down to the commons. Journ. Parl.

* This is a mistake. There were schools founded by king Edward, at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, Spilleby and Louth in Lincolnshire, Chelmsford in Essex, Sedburgh in Yorkire, Shrewsbury, East-Retford in Nottinghamshire, Birmingham in Warwickshire, Morpeth in Northumberland: as also at Macclesfield, Nun-Eaton, Stourbridge in Worcestershire, Bath, Bedford, Guildford, Grantham, Thorne, Giggleswick, St. Albans, Tunbridge, Southampton, Stratford upon Avon, &c. which were mostly endowed out of the chantry-lands, Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 535, &c.

Among

Among all the enviers of the protector, there was not one more passionate against him than his brother, admiral Thomas Seymour. He was a hot, proud, and haughty man. 'Tis true, he was reckoned to have more sense than his brother, and to be more capable of managing great affairs. But this opinion might proceed from the party he had made among the nobility, who loved not the protector. However, the admiral could not bear the difference the king had put between him and the duke of Somerset, though they were both uncles to the young king. He thought himself, by his birth and natural endowments, as worthy as his brother of having a share in the administration of the government. Presently after Henry's death, he gave proofs of his ambition in making his addresses to the princess Elizabeth: but finding he was not like to succeed, he turned to Catherine Parr queen-dowager, and so won her heart, that he privately married her, without communicating it to the duke his brother, who was now invested with the protectorship. This marriage was so quickly after Henry's death, that if the queen had bred so soon as she might have done, there would have been room to question whether the child was the king's or the admiral's. Having kept his marriage private for some time, he found means, unknown to the protector, to procure a letter from the king, recommending him to the queen for a husband. Whereupon he declared his marriage, without using any ceremony with his brother. And here began their quarrel. But the protector, who was a man of great moderation, prevented their quarrel from breaking out, though he was still extremely displeased with his brother. The admiral's envy was greatly increased by the duke his brother's promotion, who, from a nominal, was become a real protector. This envy, added to his natural disposition, carried him at length to form the project of supplanting him, by insinuating himself into the king's favour, and making a party among the nobility. There is no doubt the protector's secret enemies cherished the admiral's ambition by the praises they gave him, confirming him in his ill opinion of the duke his brother. He began his cabals about Easter, with gaining the king's servants to his interest, that they might continue their young master in a good opinion of him. By their means he so ordered it that the king frequently came to his house to see his mother-in-law. Here it was that he diligently made his court, and even furnished him with money for his privy purse, and for small presents to his domesticks

Edw. VI.
1547.

Cabals of the
admiral
against his
brother the
protector.
Burnet.
Hayward.

Burnet.

THE HISTORY

30

Edw. VI.
1547.

domesticks. This pleased the young king, who found himself freed from the trouble of asking his governor for money, and of being accountable to him for what he did with it. All this could not be done without the protector's knowledge. He taxed his brother with it, who denied all, but in so haughty a manner that it was easy for the protector to perceive he had not much regard for him. He was unwilling however to come to an open quarrel, hoping in time to reclaim him.

Burnet.

The protector was no sooner in Scotland, but the admiral renewed his cabals with less reserve than before. He distributed money to several persons, and never ceased making his court to the king. Nay, he obtained, unknown to his brother, a new and more ample patent for the office of lord admiral, with an addition of two hundred marks to the salary. Sir William Paget, who was devoted to the protector, and perhaps had orders to watch the admiral, seeing how he increased in favour with the king, thought himself obliged to talk with him about it. But the admiral's answer not satisfying him, he sent the protector notice of it, and upon this intelligence it was that he ended his campaign in Scotland so abruptly, to return to court and break his brother's measures.

Æt. Pub.

xv. p. 157.

Aug. 30.

The admiral
tries to sup-
plant his
brother, and
gains the
king to his
side.
Burnet.

The protector's arrival was not capable of interrupting the admiral's projects. He rather hastened the execution the more, not to give his brother time to prevent him. He had gained some of the privy-counsellors, several lords of distinction, and many members of parliament. In fine, he persuaded the king that the two offices of protector and governor of his person gave the duke of Somerset too much authority, and that it was proper to part them, and confer the second on him, in order to balance the protector's power. The young king was much better pleased to have for governor an uncle, who had all the condescension possible for him, than one who was not so complaisant and kept him more in awe. So his age not allowing him to make other reflections, he writ with his own hand a message to the house of commons, desiring them to make the admiral the governor of his person. The admiral was to carry the message

P Particularly, the first time Latimer preached at court, the king sent to the admiral to know what present he should make him; Seymour sent him 40l. but said, he thought 20l. was enough to give Latimer, and the king might

dispose of the rest as he pleased. And also at Christmas, the admiral gave Mr. Chæck, the king's tutor, 20l. and 20l. more for Edward to distribute among his servants. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 54. Strype, p. 78.

himself;

himself; but his contrivance was discovered before he could Edw. VI. execute his design. The council hearing of it, sent some lords to reason the case with him and prevail with him to proceed no farther. But the lords did not bring back the satisfaction that was expected. On the contrary, instead of regarding their remonstrances, he answered with threats.^{His design is discovered.} Whereupon, he was sent for next day by order from the council, but refused to come. At last, he was threatened to be turned out of all his offices, sent to the Tower, and prosecuted upon the act of parliament, which made it death for any person to disturb the government. This menace frightened him. He plainly saw, though he had the king on his side, the young prince who was but just entered into his eleventh year, would not have resolution enough to support him, contrary to the advice of the protector and council. Nay, it was hinted to him, there was no likelihood the parliament would hearken to a message from a minor king, but would doubtless suppose him to have been surprized. He chose therefore to submit himself to the protector and council, and to be reconciled to his brother, who desired only to reclaim him by fair means. However this reconciliation was not perfect. Quickly after he showed he had not relinquished, but only put off his design till a more convenient season. And, indeed, he never ceased endeavouring both by himself and by those whom he had gained, to infuse into the king a dislike of the protector and his other ministers. This made the protector set spies about him to be informed of his proceedings, considering him as a very dangerous enemy.

This year the face of affairs in Germany was entirely changed. The emperor defeated and took prisoner John Frederic elector of Saxony^{Affairs of Germany.}, and declared his cousin Maurice elector, who at the same time took possession of the electoral dominions. After this disaster, the landgrave of Hesse finding himself unable to maintain the war, made the best terms he could with the emperor, and came to him upon the faith of a safe-conduct, which expressly ran that he should not be liable to any imprisonment. But by a gross fraud, instead of the German word *Emig*, which signifies any, the word *Ewig*, which signifies perpetual, was inserted. By this base artifice he was detained a prisoner to be released at the emperor's pleasure.^{Sleidan. Burnet;}

¹ He told them, if he were crossed in his attempt, he would make this the blackest parliament that ever was in England. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 53.
² April 24. Sleidan, l. 19.

Edw. W. The imprisonment of the two heads rendered the protestant party very weak, and the emperor's triumphant. **1547.** The archbishop of Cologne, who had embraced the protestant religion, was forced to renounce his dignities of archbishop and elector of the empire. After that, the emperor made sundry alterations tending to destroy the reformation, or rather, under that pretence, to render himself absolute in Germany. For this cause the pope himself grew jealous of him. As after his victory his ambassadors were imperious at Trent, the pope ordered the council to be removed to Bologna, under the feigned pretence of the plague's being at Trent.

Several German reformers came into England.
Act. Pub.
 xv. p. 170, 192, 193.
Burnet.
Affairs of France.
P. Daniel.
Baract.

Hitherto Germany had served for sanctuary to many protestants persecuted in other countries. But since the emperor's victory, they were no longer safe there. For which reason many came into England, where they saw the reformation to be in a prosperous way. Among these were Peter Martyr*, Bucer, Ochinus, Fagius, to whom Edward gave pensions and benefices, as appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts.

Though Henry II. had refused to ratify the two treaties concluded at London in March, the English however, as I observed, continued the fortifications of Bullenberg, pursuant to an article of the treaty of peace. But after several complaints from France, Henry sent so rough a message by his ambassador, that the protector, rather than hazard a quarrel with France, ordered the works to be discontinued before the fort was finished.

1548.
Progress of the reformation.
Burnet.
Heylin.

In the beginning of the year 1548, the council made several alterations with respect to religion. By an order†, the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, of palm on Palm Sunday, with the rites used on Good-Friday and Easter-day, were forbidden‡. Moreover, it was left to the people's choice to go to confession or to neglect that practice, hitherto deemed an indispensable duty. Some days after, it was ordered that all images in general

* Peter Martyr was invited over in the king's name by Cranmer. He was born in Florence. He had a pension of forty marks a year, as had Ochinus, who was made a canon of Canterbury, with a dispensation of residence. Fagius was Hebrew professor at Cambridge, and had a pension of 100l. Peter Martyr had the divinity chair at

Oxford, and Bucer that of Cambridge, with a salary of 100l. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 170. 192, 193.

† Dated January 28. Heylin, p. 55.

‡ All wakes and Plough-Mondays were also suppressed. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 59.

should be removed from the churches^v. As England was Edw. VI. then divided in two parties, some approved, and others censured these changes. But the council, in spite of all opposition, caused their orders to be confirmed by the king's proclamation, in virtue of his supremacy. Only Gardiner bishop of Winchester openly opposed these changes, upon the maxim that no alteration in religion could be lawfully made till the king was of age. He was not the only person that tried to instil this notion into the people. All those of his party endeavoured the same thing, but had not the courage to do it publicly. Whereupon he was commanded to appear before the council; and as he offered to submit to whatever should be prescribed him, he was ordered^x to preach at St. Paul's upon certain points, whereof one of the chief was, that the king's authority was the same during his minority as when of age. He preached; but so little to the council's satisfaction, that it was resolved to send him to the Tower. This severity produced a great effect, in that all the friends of the Romish church resolved to conform at least outwardly to what should be enjoined by publick authority, when they saw one of their chief supporters was not spared.

Fox.
Burnet.

Gardiner is
sent to the
Tower.
Burnet.

Mean while the war with Scotland gave the protector great uneasiness. He clearly saw it was ridiculous to think of accomplishing the king's marriage with the queen of Scotland by the way of arms, in spite of the queen-dowager, the regent, and the council. Moreover, he knew France was preparing to send them a powerful aid; and therefore he perceived it would be very difficult to succeed in this undertaking: besides that the war would very likely occasion a rupture with France. In short, nothing was more repugnant than a war to his design of compleating the reformation. He would have been glad the regent of Scotland had accepted a ten years truce, which he offered him. But the Scots would not hearken to it, because France had promised them a

The protec-
tor tries in
vain to make
a truce with
Scotland.

^v February 11. The people were very forward in several places, to pull down the images; and had already begun to do it, before the publication of this order, particularly at St. Martin's, Ludgate-lane, London, and at Portsmouth. Strype, tom. ii. p. 33.---About this time, to prevent the mischief occasioned by rash preachers, it was enjoined, That none should preach without licence from the king, and his visitation, the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese, except incum-

bents preaching in their own churches. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 59.

^x Burnet says, Gardiner, when he came before the council, desired that he might be suffered to clear himself of all misrepresentations that had been made of him, in a sermon he should preach before the king, in which he should declare how well he was satisfied with his proceedings. But he was far from doing so, tom. ii. p. 63, 70. Stow, p. 596.

Edw. VI. powerful aid. The protector therefore was forced to resolve
 1548. even against his will; to continue the war. But as he would
 not command the army himself, he gave the conduct thereof
 to Francis Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, whom he appointed
 his lieutenant. On this occasion he plainly showed he meant
 to stretch the prerogatives of the protectorship as far as pos-
 sible, since he would have the earl take his commission of
 him. However, as the patent, obtained the 12th of March
 the last year, did not so clearly give him the power of nomi-
 nating his lieutenants, he ordered another to be prepared,
 wherein his prerogatives were more fully explained and en-
 larged. In this, the king said, that having by his letters
 patents of the 12th of March, appointed his uncle the duke
 of Somerset, protector of the kingdom and governor of his
 person, his intention was, that the clauses therein contained
 should be understood in the amplest sense, and the most fa-
 vourable to the duke: that however, as the generality of the
 terms might occasion some doubts, he declared that he con-
 stituted him his lieutenant-general and captain-general
 throughout his whole dominions, with power to order his
 subjects to take up arms whenever he should think proper,
 and to appoint lieutenants to command in his place both by
 sea and land. It cannot be denied, all this was very contrary
 to the establishment of the late king, and consequently to
 the act of parliament by which it was previously authorized.
 All the favours granted by the king to any but the protec-
 tor, could be justified by the advice of the protector and
 council: but those done to the protector himself, must have
 been ascribed wholly to the persuasions of the person who re-
 ceived them. Nay, in extraordinary favours, this rendered
 in some measure the king's patents ridiculous, who was made
 to say, he granted them to the protector, by the advice of
 the protector himself.

Patent en-
 larging the
 protector's
 prerogatives.
 Act. Pub.
 xv. p. 174.

The regent
 of Scotland
 besieges
 Broughty.
 Buchanan.
 Burnet.
 Hayward.
 The English
 take Had-
 ington.
 Hollingh.

Mean time, in the beginning of the spring, whilst the
 court of England was considering whether the war with Scot-
 land should be continued, the regent of that kingdom had
 opened the campaign with the siege of Broughty castle, which
 employed him three months in vain, though it was
 but an inconsiderable place. On the other side, whilst he
 used all his forces in the siege, the English took the castle of
 Haddington, and fortified it with all speed. By means of that
 place, situated in one of the most fruitful counties of Scot-

With eight thousand men. Sir Andrew Dudley was the governor. Hol-
 lingh. p. 993.

land,

land, they made excursions to the very gates of Edinburgh, Edw. VI. which was but twelve miles from thence. They took Lauderdale also, and made some works there. 1548.

About the end of May, the Scots received from France an aid ^a of six thousand French and Germans, commanded by Dese d'Espavilliers. After these troops were a little refreshed, the regent joined with them eight thousand Scots, and with these forces the two generals besieged Hadington ^b. During the siege it was, that after several conferences between the French and the Scots, the resolution was taken of sending the young queen of Scotland to France. Many Scots however very much disliked that resolution. They affirmed, when the queen should be in France, there would be no way to make peace with the English; whereas, without any prejudice either to the queen or kingdom, the ten years truce offered by the English might be accepted. This argument was combated by others, who maintained that the aim of the English in the war being only to marry the queen to Edward, they would have no farther inducement to continue it, when once that expectation was destroyed. Nevertheless, it was easy to see that by delivering the queen to the French king, they were going to be at the mercy of their ally. But besides that the French declared, France would not engage to assist Scotland upon any other terms, the queen-mother was extremely desirous her daughter should be at the court of France, where the princes of Lorraine her brothers bore an absolute sway. Besides, all the clergy earnestly pressed the sending of the queen into France, out of fear of her being forced at last to be delivered to the English, and that their religion would be destroyed by her marriage with Edward. In short, to win the regent, the king of France promised to confer on him the title of duke of Chateleraut, with twelve thousand livres a year in land. All this produced the resolution of sending the queen into France, in the same ships that had brought the auxiliary troops. But to avoid meeting the English fleet, the ships sailed round Scotland by the north ^c, and landed the queen in the province of Bretagne. Mean while admiral Seymour, who commanded the naval forces himself, made several descents in Scotland, where he was always repulsed with loss, and at last returned to England without much damaging the Scots.

The Scots have aid from France. They besiege Hadington.

They resolve to send the queen into France. Buchanan. Burnet. Hollingsh. Hayward.

Buchanan. Burnet.

^a Which they had sent ambassadors to demand. Buchan. l. 15.

^b Sir James Wilford was governor. Hollingsh. p. 995.

^c By the Isles of Orkney, and came to Dunbritten, where the queen was received on board.

Edw. VI. At length the English army, seventeen thousand strong, entered Scotland under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury. At his approach, the French and Scots raised the siege of Hadington and retired ^a. So, the general easily supplied the place with provisions, and then marching to the enemies, who were intrenched in an advantageous post, offered them battle; but after staying about an hour in their sight, finding they would not stir from their intrenchments, he led back his troops into England. It is hard to guess what could be the motive of this abrupt retreat, which gave the Scots an opportunity to make great progress during the rest of the campaign ^e. The English army was no sooner retired, but Dessel attempted to surprize Hadington. He was now at the gates, and just entering the place, when a French deserter who had fled thither, fired one of the great cannon, which being discharged among the thickest of the French troops, so discouraged them that they retreated with precipitation. From thence Dessel went and fortified the village of Leith, now become a very considerable town. His design was to retake Broughty castle; but receiving express orders to make an inroad into England, he advanced as far as Newcastle, without meeting any resistance, and returned loaded with spoil. It is not known what was become of the English army, led by the earl of Shrewsbury into Scotland, and consisting part of English and part of Landquenets. These were German troops who had served the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, and having no leader in the empire, had offered themselves to the protector, who had entertained them in his service. This had raised great murmurs against him, the English being impatient of seeing in the kingdom foreign troops, who are generally too much devoted to the king. It was easy to perceive the protector's aim was to strengthen himself personally with the aid of these foreigners.

The earl of Shrewsbury raises the siege of Hadington, Buchanan, Hayward, Burnet, Hollingsh. and retires to England. Buchanan.

General Dessel enters England. Buchanan. Burnet.

Germans in the English service. Burnet.

Sequel of the affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Burnet.

Before the end of the year, the queen-dowager of Scotland complaining to the court of France of Dessel's conduct, who behaved with great haughtiness, and abused the Scots, caused

^a King Edward's Journal says, it consisted of twenty two thousand men, p. 5.

^d Sir Robert Bowes and sir Thomas Palmer were sent before to relieve the place, with a body of thirteen hundred men, but had the misfortune to be surprized and cut off by the enemy. Hollingsh. p. 994.

^e Hollinshead says, that the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord Grey of Wilton, who served under him, did as much as their commission would bear, p. 995.

^f Dessel, when he got to Edinburgh, from Hadington, went to quarter his men in the town; but the provost appointed

Caused him to be recalled, and de Thermes was sent in his room. The new general was accompanied with Montluc bishop of Valence, who, being returned from his embassy at Constantinople, was sent to be chancellor of Scotland. But the Scots were so displeased to see the best office in the kingdom in the hands of a foreigner, that the king of France recalled him. They began to repent sending their queen into France, when they saw the French show less regard for them.

Edw. VI.
1548.

During the year 1548, the pope and emperor had great quarrels about the translation of the council. The emperor, as I observed, used the pretence of religion to render himself absolute in the empire. The council, assembled at Trent, a city of Germany, as the protestants had required, furnished him with a colour to compel them to submit to its decrees. He was not sorry they refused to comply with them; but desired they should have no other reasons than those which they drew from religion itself, because then the pretence of constraint remained entire. But by the translation of the council to Bologna, a city of Italy, and belonging to the pope, this pretence was taken away, because the protestants had cause to complain, that the decrees of the diets were not executed. On the other side, the pope finding the emperor was become almost absolute in the empire by the success of one campaign, grew jealous of his power, fearing it would reach likewise over all Italy, and be very detrimental to the holy see. For that reason, he was very glad to have him always at variance with the protestants of Germany, that his affairs there might hinder him from forming new projects. These different interests were the cause that the emperor and the pope could not agree. The emperor protested against the translation of the council to Bologna, and the pope rejected the protestation.

Quarrels between the emperor and the pope.
Sleidan.
Burnet.

Soon after, the emperor, intending to shew the pope he could proceed without him, ordered articles of agreement to be drawn, which were called the Interim, because the form of religion contained therein was to last only till a general council should meet in some town of Germany. The framers of these articles, by the emperor's order, took care to set them

Interim granted to the protestants.
Sleidan.
Burnet.

passed it. Whereupon the French broke in by force, and killed the provost and his son, with all they found in the streets, men, women, and children. Dessé refused likewise to give the Scots

any share of the spoil he had taken in England. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 24. Buchanan.

§ The persons employed were Julius Pflugius bishop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius,

Edw. VI them forth in the smoothest terms possible. But, in the main, they contained the doctrines of the Romish church, though a little disguised. The only considerable softenings were, that marriage should be no bar to priest's orders, and the communion given in both kinds to those who desired it. This work being finished, the emperor summoned a diet to Augsburg, where the Interim was proposed. The elector of Mentz without any order did, in all the princes names, give the emperor thanks for it, which he interpreted as the assent of the whole diet; and after that would not receive the protestations of several towns of the empire against the Interim. The pope himself was extremely displeased with it, because, without consulting him, the emperor had presumed to dispense with the marriage of priests, and communion in both kinds. This occasioned many troubles in Germany, and obliged numbers of divines and others, who disliked the Interim, to abscond or retire elsewhere, not to be exposed to the victorious emperor's resentment, who was bent at any rate to have his Interim universally received. At this diet, Maurice of Saxony was solemnly invested with the electorate, of which John Frederic had been deprived.

Parliament
which for-
wards the
reformation.
Burnet.
Statutes.

Whilst the emperor was labouring to destroy the reformation in Germany, it daily made fresh progress in England. The parliament, which met the 24th of November¹, was almost wholly taken up with matters of religion. By an act made this session, priests were allowed to marry. Another confirmed the new liturgy, about which commissioners, appointed for examining and reforming the several offices, had been employed all the summer. This new liturgy retrenched divers abuses, both in the communion service, and all the other offices, and gave the whole a turn favourable to the reformation. It is the same the church of England makes use of at this day, excepting a few alterations¹.

The

Sidonius, and Isidius Agricola, which last had been a protestant, but was believed to be now corrupted by the emperor, that the name of one of the Augsburg-Confession might make what they were to set out pass the more easily. Sleidan, l. 20.

¹ It was first proposed to April 20, and then from October 15, and 25, to November 24, by reason of the plague then in London Journ. Parl.

¹ The committee of selected bishops and divines appointed for reforming the offices, and which met at Windsor castle

for that purpose, were, Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Holgate archbishop of York, Edmund Bonner bishop of London, Cathbert Tunstall of Durham, Nicholas Heath of Worcester, William Rugg of Norwich, Robert Parfew of St. Asaph, John Salcot of Salisbury, Richard Sampson of Coventry and Litchfield, Robert Aldrich of Carlisle, Paul Bush of Bristol, Robert Farrar of St. David's, Thomas Goodrick of Ely, Henry Holbech of Lincoln, George Day of Chichester, John Skip Hereford, Thomas Thirleby of Westminster,

The protector and the archbishop of Canterbury were the chief supports and most zealous promoters of the reformation, though always in pursuance of the maxim they had established, namely, to advance by degrees. Whatever reasons they had thus to proceed, the zealous of the reformed party were not pleased with it, because they were afraid that by some sudden and unexpected revolution, the work would be left unfinished. They knew the protector was hated and envied by many of the nobility, and that all the Romish party had a mortal aversion to him. This was sufficient to create a dread that his enemies would at length prevail over him; the administration, he was entrusted with, being of such a nature, that it was almost impossible not to render himself in some measure obnoxious. They had the more reason to be

Edw. VI.
1549.

The protector and Cranmer are blamed by the zealous of their party. Burnet.

minister, and Nicholas Ridley of Rochester; with Dr. Richard Cox dean of Christ-church, Dr. May dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Tailor dean of Lincoln, Dr. Heins dean of Exeter, Dr. Robertson afterwards dean of Durham, and Dr. Redmain master of Trinity college in Cambridge. The first thing they examined was the sacrament of the eucharist, than which no part of worship was more corrupted. After which they proceeded to the compiling of all the offices, beginning with morning and evening prayer. These were put in the same form they are now, only there was no confession nor absolution; the office beginning with the lord's prayer. In the common union service, the ten commandments were not said as now; but in other things it was very near what it is now. The office of receiving began with a short exhortation, a confession of sins, and absolution, the very same we yet retain. Then those texts of scripture were read which we read, followed with the prayer, "We do not presume, &c." The offertory was to be made of bread and wine mixt with water. In the consecratory prayer were these words, since left out, "With thy holy spirit we beseech thee to bless and sanctify these thy gifts of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved son, &c." [This communion-service was printed in 1547, before the rest of the liturgy was drawn up. See Strype, tom. ii. p. 25. The curious reader may see it,

in the form it was published, (which was on March 8, 1547-8) in Sparrow's Collection of Canons, &c. and in Collier's Eccl. Hist. among the records, N. 59.] In baptism there was, besides the forms which we still retain, a cross at first made on the child's forehead and breast, with an adjuration of the devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. To all this they prefixed a preface concerning ceremonies, the same that is still before the common-prayer book. It is said in the preamble of the act, "That there might be an uniform way of worship all over the kingdom, the king, by the advice of the protector and his council, had appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, &c. to draw an order of divine worship, &c. which they, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, had with one uniform agreement concluded on. Wherefore the parliament having considered the book, did enact, &c." This act was variously censured by those who disliked it. Some thought it too much, that it was said the book was drawn by the aid of the Holy Ghost. Others censured it, because it was said to be done by uniform agreement, though eight of the bishops employed in drawing it, protested against it; namely, the bishops of London, Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster; as also the earl of Derby, and the lords Dacres and Windsor. See Journ. Parl. and Burnet, tom. ii. p. 61---95. Collier Eccl. Hist. tom. ii. p. 255, &c.

Edw. VI. alarmed, when they saw him forced to arrest his own brother, 1549. who had now formed a party to supplant him.

Project of
the admiral
against the
protector.
Burnet.
Hayward.
Strype.

Though the admiral had already endured a great mortification, he ceased not however his practices against the protector, in spite of the warnings which were given him from time to time, that they would in the end prove his ruin. The queen his spouse dying in September the last year 1548^k, he resolved to renew his addresses to the princess Elizabeth; but he did not meet with that encouragement from the princess which he expected. After all, though he could have obtained her consent, that would not have been sufficient without the approbation of the protector and the council. The late king's will expressly debarred her from the succession, if she married without the consent of the executors. So the admiral having no hopes of succeeding in this project, turned his thoughts another way to try to gratify his ambition. It is pretended he formed a design to carry away the king to his house of Holt in Denbighshire, displace the protector, and seize the government himself; and for that purpose had now lifted ten thousand^l men in several places. However this be, it is certain he spoke openly against the protector, charging him with enslaving the kingdom by means of the foreign troops in his service. It is also said that the protector being informed of all his proceedings, showed great patience towards him, refusing to come to extremity, till he saw plainly one or other must necessarily be ruined. But to speak the truth, one cannot rely upon what the historians say of the admiral's private designs, or of the protector's forbearance. The reason is, as some make it their business to blacken the protector's reputation as much as possible, so others strive to vindicate all his actions. Thus much is certain the admiral was not satisfied with his condition, but sought to supplant his brother and put himself in his place. But one cannot be so positive of the means he intended to use to execute his designs.

Strype.
Burnet.

He is sent to
the Tower.
Informa-
tions against
him.
Hayward.

Burnet
Stow.
Strype.

At last the council being informed he was contriving something against the government, signed a warrant to send him to the Tower^m. After that, commissioners were appointedⁿ to receive the depositions of those who appeared as

^k She died in child-bed, not without suspicion of poison from her husband, that he might be at liberty to make his addresses a second time to the lady Elizabeth. Stow, p. 596. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 97. Strype, Notes on Hayward, p. 301.

^l Rapin, by mistake, says two thousand. See Burnet, vol. ii. p. 97.

^m January 19. Idem. p. 98.

ⁿ The lord Russel, the earl of Southampton, and secretary Petre. Ibid.

witnesses

witnesses against him. The commissioners reported to the Edw. VI. council, that the admiral was accused of forming with several others a conspiracy against the government, and of committing many misdemeanors in the discharge of the admiralty: That he was charged with protecting pirates who gave him a share of their robberies, and with refusing justice to private persons or to princes themselves, who complained to him of these outrages, by which the king was in danger of a war. It is said, before he was brought to his trial, the protector endeavoured more than once to persuade him to resign his office and withdraw from court; but to no purpose. So his accusation was drawn, consisting of thirty-three articles, upon which some of the council were ordered to go and examine him. But he refused to answer, demanding an open trial, and his accusers to be brought face to face. The next day, all the privy-council went in a body to the Tower to examine him; but he still refused to answer, insisting upon his first demand, which was not thought proper to be granted. It is strange that, as the particulars of his charge were manifestly proved (if any credit is to be given to the council-book) not only by witnesses but by letters under his own hand, he should however be denied an open trial, and to be confronted with his accusers: and yet he was a peer of the realm, lord high-admiral of England, and uncle to the king. At last, finding he could not obtain this favour or rather justice, he desired the articles of his accusation might be left with him, and said, he would answer to them when he had considered them. But even this was denied him. I don't know whether it was lawful then to leave with the party accused the articles of his charge, and to allow him time to examine them. But as for the bringing his accusers face to face, it is evident that could not be refused without injustice, though this pernicious custom had been introduced in the late reign. Nay, it seems, it ought to have been abolished during a minority, or practised against any other rather than against an uncle to the king.

1549.

Burnet, t. ii. p. 98.

Burnet, tom. ii. Collect. p. 158.

He refuses.

Burnet, p. 98.

His accusation is brought before the parliament.

* On February 22. Burnet.

† Particularly with sir William Sherington vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, who was to have furnished him with 10,000*l.* a month, and had already coined about 12,000*l.* of false

money, and had clipped a great deal more, to the value of 40,000*l.* in all. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 97. Strype, tom. ii. p. 122, &c.

‡ On February 24. Burnet, p. 98.

which

Edw. VI. which all the counsellors agreed, the protector himself not excepted. Herein their design was doubtless to take care of the king's reputation, and to cast the odious part of the prosecution upon the parliament. The king, who believed his uncle guilty, consented also that he should be delivered to the justice of the parliament. Before the two houses proceeded against him, some of their members were ordered to go and take his defence. He gave an answer to the first three articles, and then stopt on a sudden, and would not go any farther. This being reported, the bill of attainder very easily passed the house of lords; but there was much more opposition in the house of commons. They could not forbear exclaiming against attainers in absence, and the irregular manner of judging the accused, without confronting them with the witnesses, or hearing their defence. Perhaps they would have thrown out the bill upon this single consideration, if the king had not sent them a message, that he did not think the admiral's presence necessary, and that it was sufficient they should examine the depositions produced in the house of lords. After the king had thus made known his will, the commons, in a full house of four hundred, passed the bill, not above ten or twelve voting in the negative. Very probably they were convinced of the truth of the depositions; and, the point in question being only an irregularity which was even become a custom, did not believe it a proper season to put a stop to it. However this be, the royal assent being given to the act, the admiral was beheaded the 20th of March.

He still refuses to answer. He is attainted, Burnet, tom. ii. Collect. p. 163.

Burnet.

and executed.

The protector's conduct is very much censured. Burnet.

This tragedy was not acted without giving occasion to severe censures upon the protector's conduct. It was said, if the admiral was guilty, it was only against his brother whom

The lord chancellor, the earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and Southampton; and sir John Baker, sir Thomas Cheney, and sir Anthony Denny. Idem. p. 99.

It was first read on February 25, and, for the second and third times, on the 26th and 27th, and sent down to the commons, from whence it was brought up again March 5. The Journals of Parliament observe, that the lord protector was present at each reading of it.

On the 4th of March, a message was sent from the king, that he thought it was not necessary to send for the admiral; and that the lords should come down and renew before them the evi-

dence they had given in their own house. Which was done. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 99.

As for his behaviour on the scaffold, Latimer, in his fourth sermon, says, that he died very dangerously, yrksomely, horribly; so that his end was suitable to his life, which was very vicious, profane, and irreligious. Strype, tom. ii. p. 126, 127. Cranmer's hand, as well as the lord protector's, was to the warrant. Burnet, p. 100. The admiral left but one daughter, named Mary, born in September, 1548, which was restored in blood in 1549, but died shortly after. Strype, tom. ii. p. 128, &c.

he

he would have supplanted, and probably, it was this same Edw. VL brother who was his adversary and had brought him to the scaffold. 1549.

It was added, the council would never have proceeded so rigorously against the admiral, if they had not thought it agreeable to the duke his brother, or been afraid of displeasing him by a denial. The young king himself, then but twelve years old, would never have been induced to compel, as I may say, the house of commons to overlook the irregularity of the proceedings, if he had not been solicited by the protector to take so unusual a step. It is therefore very difficult to justify the duke of Somerset's prosecuting his own brother to death, for crimes committed against his person only. And indeed, it was never clearly proved, that he had formed any ill design either against the king or the state, as he protested to his last breath. But this is not the only time that plots against the ministers have been reckoned high treason. For my part, I cannot help suspecting that they who then thought of ruining the protector, feigning to be his friends, moved him with all their power to be revenged on his brother, and were ready to serve as instruments of his vengeance, to render him odious. Some say, the first occasion of the quarrel between the two brothers sprung from the dutchess of Somerset's envy at the queen-dowager, wife to the admiral, of whom she pretended to take place as the protector's lady. But it is unlikely she should be so void of sense, or so ignorant of the customs of England, as to dispute the precedence with the queen-dowager.

Sanders.
Hayward.

Before the parliament broke up, a subsidy was given the king to assist him in the conquest of Scotland, which is called in the act a part of his dominions. Then the houses thanked him for the great happiness they enjoyed under him, and for applying all his endeavours to the advancement of the true religion. The clergy also granted him a subsidy *, after which the parliament was on the 14th of March prorogued to the 4th of November †.

Money given
to the king.

Presently

* This story was first forged by Sanders, from whence Hayward had it, for it is not to be found in Stow, Hollinghead, or the king's journal.

† The clergy granted six shillings in the pound payable in three years, and the laity twelve-pence. But strangers to pay two shillings; and this to continue for three years. They also gave another aid, namely, of every ewe kept in several pastures, three-pence; of

every weather kept as aforesaid, two-pence; of every sheep kept in the common, three half-pence. They also gave eight-pence in the pound of every woollen cloth made for sale throughout England, for three years. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 454.

‡ Besides the two acts made in this parliament, and mentioned above, the following were also then enacted, 1. That malt shall be three weeks in making;

Edw. VI. Presently after, the council appointed commissioners to go
1549. and establish the new liturgy in all the churches. It was every

The new li-
turgy is eve-
ry where
set up.
Burnet.
The princess
Mary refuses
it.

where received without opposition, except at the princess Mary's, who would never submit to the change. The king and council seemed resolved to compel her. But upon the emperor's intercession, it was thought adviseable, for reasons of state, to promise to leave her undisturbed for some time. He pretended afterwards, that the promise was made without any limitation.

An anabap-
tist woman
is condemn-
ed to be
burnt.
A. A. Pub.
xv. p. 181,
April 12.
Stow.

At this time, the council being informed that several German anabaptists were come into England, and fearing they might spread their errors, commissioned Cranmer and some others to search after and try these people. An unfortunate English woman, Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent, who had suffered herself to be seduced, showing an invincible obstinacy, was pronounced a heresick, and as such delivered over to the secular arm, and sentenced to be burnt. But when the king was moved to sign the warrant for her execution, he could not be prevailed with to do it. He thought the sentence was very unjust and cruel. Archbishop Cranmer, who had a great influence over him, was employed to persuade him to sign. At length, the young king, silenced rather than convinced by Cranmer's reasons^a, set his hand to the warrant with tears in his eyes, telling him, if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer

Fox.
Burnet.

The King
signs her
warrant
with tears.
Burnet.

making; except in the months of June, July, and August, when the space of seventeen days is thought sufficient. 2. That tithes shall be paid as they have been within forty years before; and that no one shall carry away his corn, &c. before he hath set out the tithes, or agreed for them, upon pain of forfeiting the treble value of them. 3. That an incumbent, not paying his tenths due to the king, when demanded, shall be deprived of that benefice for which they are due. 4. That butchers, bakers, &c. conspiring and agreeing not to sell meat, bread, &c. but at certain prices; or workmen refusing to work, except at a certain price or rate, shall, for the first offence, forfeit 10 l. for the second 20 l. for the third 40 l. to be paid within six days, or else to suffer imprisonment for twenty days.

^a Of these anabaptists there were two sorts most remarkable. The gentle or moderate sort, who only thought bap-

tism ought not to be given to infants, but only to grown persons. The other sort were men of fierce and barbarous tempers, who denied almost all the principles of the christian doctrine. They had broke out into a general revolt over Germany, raised the war, called the Rustick war, and possessing themselves of Munster, made one of their teachers, John of Leyden, their king, under the title of the king of the New Jerusalem. Some of them set up a fantastical, unintelligible way of talking of religion, which they turned all into allegories; these being joined in the common name of Anabaptists with the other, brought them all under an ill character. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 110, &c.

^a King Edward thought it a piece of cruelty too like that which the reformers had condemned in papists, to burn any for their consciences. He asked Cranmer, What, my lord, will ye have me send her quick to the devil in her error? So

answer for it to God. Whatever the archbishop's arguments were, it may be affirmed, this was not one of his brightest actions. He would doubtless have done better, not to have concerned himself in such an affair, so little becoming a protestant bishop. Accordingly this proceeding has been often objected to him, and even served for foundation to very disadvantageous reflections upon the reformation and the reformed. Two years after, a Dutchman was also burnt on the same account.

Whilst all England seemed to receive with submission whatever came from the court, the leaven of discontent was fermenting in the kingdom, and upon the point of producing great alterations. The chief cause proceeded from the people's not being able to gain their livelihood with the same ease as formerly. This affected all in general, as well of the new as of the old religion. But the priests, the suppressed monks, and they who were still addicted to the Romish religion, took occasion from thence to inflame the discontent universally spread among the common people, in order to incite them to a rebellion. Besides, the duke of Somerset's enemies were not sorry that the people appeared dissatisfied with the government. But before I speak of the insurrections in several parts of the kingdom during the course of this year, it will be necessary to make known the causes.

After the suppression of the abbeys, there were great numbers of monks dispersed in the kingdom, who were forced to work for their living, their pensions being either ill-paid, or not sufficient for their subsistence. So, the work being divided among so many hands, the profit became less than before. Moreover, whilst the monasteries stood, their lands were let at easy rents to farmers, who to cultivate them were obliged to employ a great many people. But after these lands were fallen into the hands of the nobility and gentry, the

Complaints
of the people
against the
nobles.
Hayward.
Burnet.

Occasion of
these complaints.
Burnet.

So that *Craggy* himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the king to sign the warrant, saying, that he would lay all the charge thereof upon *Cranmer* before God. But to bring him to a compliance, *Cranmer* argued from the law of *Moses*, by which blasphemers were to be stoned. He said, he made a difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those directly against the *Apostles Creed*: that these were impieties, which a prince as God's deputy ought to punish. Strong arguments in-

duced for the monstrous doctrine of persecution. *Ibid.* Fox, tom. ii. p. 2, edit. 1634.

^b *George Van Pare* being accused for saying, that "God the father was the only God, and that Christ was not, the very God," was burnt in *Smithfield*. Whereupon the papists very justly said, it was plain the reformers were only against burning, when they were in fear of it themselves. This *Pare* was a man of exemplary piety, and suffered with great composedness of mind. *Burnet*, tom. ii. p. 322. *Echard*,

rents

Edw. VI. 1549. rents were much raised, whence the farmers, to make them turn to better account, were forced to employ fewer hands, and lessen the wages. On the other side, the proprietors of the land finding, since the last peace with France, the woollen trade flourished, took to breeding sheep, because wool brought them in more money than corn. To that end, they caused their grounds to be inclosed. Hence arose several inconveniencies. In the first place, the price of corn was increased, to the great detriment of the meaner sort of people. In the next place, the landlords, or their farmers, wanted but very few people to look after their flocks in these inclosures. Consequently great numbers lost the means of getting their livelihood; and the profit of the lands, which before was shared among many, was almost wholly engrossed by the landlords. This occasioned numberless complaints and murmurs among the common people, who saw they were like to be reduced to great misery. Nay, several little books were published, showing the mischiefs of these proceedings. But the nobility and gentry still continued the same course, without regarding the consequences. The protector openly espoused the cause of the poor people, whether to mortify the nobles, by whom he was not beloved, or because he foresaw the mischiefs which might arise from the discontent of the commons. In 1548, the inhabitants about Hampton-court complaining to the council concerning a park inclosed there by Henry VIII. the protector gave them content, and the park was entirely laid open. The last year, he had appointed commissioners to examine whether those who had purchased the abbey-lands kept hospitality, and performed all the conditions on which these lands were sold to them^c. But he met with so many obstacles in the execution of this order, that it had no effect. Mean while, the protector increased the hatred of the nobility and gentry, whose interest it was to continue these abuses. Nay, it happened in the last session of the parliament, that the lords passed an act for giving every one leave to inclose his grounds if he pleased. But the bill was thrown out by the commons; and yet the lords and gentlemen went on inclosing their lands. This bred an universal discontent among the people, who imagined there was a settled design to ruin

Styve,
t. ii. p. 52.
Burnet.

Act. Pub.
xv. p. 134.

Jour. Parl.
Burnet.

^c The commission was to enquire, whether deans and chapters, founded by king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and to whom divers manors, lands, tencments, &c. had been given, upon condition that they should give and distribute yearly among poor householders, and

other poor people, divers sums of money, and should also employ other sums in repairing the highways, did observe those conditions? But several lands being afterwards taken from them, this was dropped. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 134.

them

them and reduce them to slavery. Whereupon the common people rose in Wiltshire and Somersetshire, but sir William Herbert dispersed them, and caused some to be hanged. Edw. VI. 1549.

About the same time, there were the like insurrections in Suffex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, and Worcesterhire.

The protector perceiving the flames were kindling all over the kingdom, sent to let the people know he was ready to redress their grievances, and by that means stopt their fury. To perform his promise, he brought the affair before the council, hoping some expedient would be found to satisfy the malecontents. But he met with so great opposition, that he thought himself obliged to take care of it by his sole authority. So, contrary to the mind of the whole council, he published a proclamation against all new inclosures, and granted a general pardon to the people for what was past. He moreover appointed commissioners with an unlimited power to hear and determine causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages. These commissioners were much complained of by the nobility and gentry, who openly said, it was an invasion of their property to subject them thus to an arbitrary power. Nay, they directly opposed the commissioners when they offered to execute their commission. For this reason, the protector, who every where met with opposition, was not able to redress this grievance so fully as he desired.

So, the people finding the court did not perform what was promised, rose again in several places, and particularly in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire. Those in Oxfordshire were immediately dispersed by the lord Gray ^d.

The insurrection in Devonshire was more considerable and dangerous. That county abounding with people, who had only complied outwardly with the alterations in religion, the priests and monks ran in among them, and fomented the rebellion to the utmost of their power. They first came together on the 10th of June, and in a short time grew to be ten thousand strong. The protector neglected this affair at first, in expectation that this might be as easily dispersed as were the other insurrections. At last, finding they persisted in their rebellion, he sent the lord Russel with a small force to stop their proceedings. That lord, who found himself too weak to attack them, kept at some distance, and offered to

^d Who was sent against them with fifteen hundred horse and foot. Hayward, p. 232. • At Honiton. Idem. p. 294.

Edw. VI. receive their complaints and send them to the council. But this proceeding, which demonstrated a fear of them, served only to encourage them the more. At the same time they set at their head Humphry Arundel, a Cornish gentleman, who was come to join them. Mean while, to show they had not taken up arms out of wantonness, they sent to the king's general their demands, which plainly showed, religion was the chief motive of their rebellion. They were comprised in these fifteen articles :

The rebels
demands.
Barnet,
a. ii. p. 115.

I. That all the general councils, and the antient canons of the church should be observed.

II. That the act of the Six Articles should be again in force.

III. That the mass should be in Latin, and the priests alone should receive.

IV. That the sacrament should be lifted up and worshipped, and those who refused to do it should suffer as hereticks.

V. That the sacrament should only be given to the people at Easter in one kind.

VI. That baptism should be administered at any hour, and at all times.

VII. That holy bread, holy water, and palms be again used, and images set up, with all the other antient ceremonies.

VIII. That the new liturgy should be laid aside, and the old offices as well as the processions restored.

IX. That all preachers before their sermons, and priests in the mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory.

X. That the people should be forbid to read the bible.

XI. That Dr. Moreman and Mr. Crispin should be restored to their livings.

XII. That cardinal Pole should be restored, and made of the king's council.

XIII. That every gentleman might have only one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent belonging to him.

XIV. That the half of the abbey lands should be taken from the possessors, and adjudged to two of the chief abbeys in every county ; and all the church-boxes for seven years should be given to the said houses, that devout persons might live in them, who should pray for the king and the common-wealth.

XV.

XV. That for their particular grievances, they should be redressed, as Humphrey Arundel and the mayor of Bodmyn should inform the king and the council. Edw. VI. 1549.

These extravagant demands were rejected with indignation. However, to shew the unreasonableness of them, the archbishop of Canterbury was ordered to draw an answer to each in particular. This he did very solidly; not without reproaching them for being misled by some ignorant persons. Then the rebels perceiving, the court granted not one of their demands, reduced them to eight, which were not more agreeable than the former. Nevertheless, to convince the people of the justice of this refusal, the council thought fit to send an answer to these demands in the king's name. But this was not capable of reclaiming the rebels, whose obstinacy grew the more dangerous, as at the same time there were the like risings in Norfolk and Yorkshire, and as the king of France was entering le Boulonnois with an army. I shall speak of the rebels of the other counties after having finished what concerns those of Devonshire.

The negotiation breaking off in July, the rebels besieged Exeter^f, where they met with more resistance than they expected, from a place defended only by the citizens. As they had no artillery, they set fire to one of the gates, in order to storm it as soon as the violence of the flames was over. But the inhabitants, instead of quenching the fire, fed it with much fuel, till they had raised a rampart within the gates. The besiegers having missed their aim, wrought a mine: but the citizens found means to countermine and spoil their powder. At length, finding they could do nothing by force, they turned the siege into a blockade, in hopes that the want of provisions would compel the besieged to surrender. But the citizens endured extreme famine for twelve days with invincible resolution^g.

Mean time, the lord Russell who had but a small force, being too near the rebels, would have retired at a greater distance for fear of being inclosed. But he found they were possessed of a bridge behind him^h, over which he was necessarily to pass in order to be out of danger. As there was no

^f July 2. Hollinghead, p. 1002.

^g They were forced to eat their horses, and to make bread of the coarsest bran. They were much encouraged by an aged citizen, who brought forth all his provisions, and told them, that for his part he would feed on one arm, and

fight with the other, before he would consent to put the city into the hands of the seditious. Hayward, p. 295.

Compl. Hist. vol. ii.

^h Fenington-bridge. Hayward, p. 294.

They are rejected. Burnet, t. ii. p. 116.

Fox. Hollinghead. Hayward.

They besiege Exeter. Hayward. Burnet. Hollinghead. Fox.

The lord Russell beats the rebels, and relieves Exeter. Burnet. Hayward.

Edw. VI. other road, he briskly attacked the guard, consisting of two thousand men, and after a slight conflict became master of the bridge^l. This trial convincing him, they were not so formidable as he imagined, he resolved to attack them as soon as he had received a supply which he expected from Bristol. Shortly after, the lord Gray joining him with some troops, and Spinola with a body of Landsquenets, he marched directly to the rebels^k. He found a body of them posted on the side of a river, who would have opposed his passage, but attacking them immediately, slew above a thousand, and then continued his march to Exeter. At his approach, the rebels raised the blockade, and divided themselves into small parties, which were easily dispersed one after another: Arundel their leader, the mayor of Bodmyn^l, and some others, were hanged soon after. Thus ended the insurrection in Devonshire^m.

Hayward.
Hollingsh.
Edw. Jour.

Ket's insur-
rection in
Norfolk.
Nevil de
Fur. Norf.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.
Edw. Jour.

The rising in Norfolk was no less dangerous. One Ket a tanner headed the rebels, who quickly became twenty thousand strong. The marquiss of Northampton was sent against them with eleven hundred men onlyⁿ, too small a number to inspire them with terror. Wherefore he had orders to keep at some distance from them, and try only to cut off their provisions. Ket marching to Norwich was advanced as far as Moushold-hill above that city, where he erected a sort of a tribunal to administer justice as a sovereign under an old oak, called from thence the oak of reformation. This was because they talked only of reforming the state, religion being neither the cause nor pretence of their rising. Their design

^l The rebels lost six hundred men. Hayward, p. 294.

^k His whole army did not consist of much above one thousand men. The rebels were defeated, August 6. Hayward, p. 295. Hollingshead, p. 102.

^l Boyer mayor of Bodmyn was basely used. Sir Anthony Kingston, provost marshal of the king's army, sent him word he would come and dine with him upon such a day. The mayor received him and his company with many ceremonies of entertainment. A little before dinner sir Anthony took the mayor aside, and bid him get a pair of gallows erected against they had dined, for execution must that day be done in the town. His orders were obeyed: and after dinner the mayor shewing him the gallows, Kingston asked him, whether

he thought them strong enough? And upon his saying, yes doubtless, he bid him go up and try, and so hanged him indeed. Hayward, p. 295.

^m During these insurrections, and undoubtedly upon account of them, the lords lieutenants of the counties were first instituted. Their commissions are dated July 24, and run, That they should enquire of all treasons, misprisions of treason, insurrections, riots, &c. levy men, and fight against the king's enemies, &c. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 178.

ⁿ Fifteen hundred horse, and a small band of Italians, says Hollingshead, p. 1033, and Hayward, p. 297. But king Edward's Journal has 1060 horsemen, p. 7.

was to destroy the gentry, and put some of their own body about the king to direct and govern him. **Edw. VI. 1549.**

The marquiss of Northampton neglecting to observe the orders given him, marched on to Norwich, and even entered the city. But as the rebels had correspondents there, he was attacked the next day and glad to escape, leaving a hundred of his men dead on the spot*, with thirty prisoners. This loss obliged the court to send the army designed against Scotland, under the command of the earl of Warwick. It was composed of six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. With this considerable body the earl of Warwick entered Norwich, where he waited for a favourable opportunity to attack the rebels. At last, as they had themselves wasted the country about them, and as the earl never failed to cut off their convoys of provisions, they were forced to remove. Then it was that the earl of Warwick closely followed them, and without allowing them time to come to themselves, fell upon them, killed two thousand, and took many prisoners, among whom was Ket their captain, who atoned for his crime on a gibbet at Norwich†.

At the same time that the male-contents of Norfolk began to rise, those of Yorkshire also took up arms; but their number never exceeded three thousand‡. They committed some outrages at first, but at length accepted the offer of pardon which was sent them. Some of the ringleaders renewing afterwards the sedition, were taken and hanged at York.

During these commotions, the protector discovered by all his proceedings, that he did not desire to come to extremities with the rebels; whether he was persuaded the people had reason to complain, or was willing to gain their favour, since he was hated by the nobility. Nay, after all the troubles were over, he moved in the council, that there might be a general pardon proclaimed for restoring the peace of the kingdom. But this was strongly opposed. Many of the council were for taking this occasion to curb the insolence of the people. But the protector being of another mind, gave out by his sole authority a general pardon of all that had been done before the 21st of August, and excepted only a few rebel prisoners. He had power to act in this manner by virtue of his

The marquiss of Northampton is unsuccessful; Hollingshead, Fox.

Hayward, Edw. Jour.

The earl of Warwick disperses the rebels. Burnet.

Edw. Jour.

The Yorkshire rebels accept of a pardon.

Hayward, Hollingshead.

The protector's behaviour during the troubles. Burnet.

* Among whom was Edmund lord Melford (created baron 1 Edward VI.) ancestor of the present duke of Buckingham. His horse falling into a ditch, he was slain by a butcher with a club. Digdale's Baron, vol. 1. p. 385. The

rebels lost one hundred and forty men. Hollingshead, p. 1035.

† This battle was fought August 27. Idem. p. 1039.

‡ The number of rebels at Senor in the North-Riding. Hayward, p. 300.

Edw. VI. patent, but it inflamed the hatred of the nobles, as well as of
 1549. a good part of the counsellors, who were vexed to see them-
 selves consulted only for form-sake, and that their opinions
 were of no weight.

The king of
 France enters the Bou-
 lonnois.
 Mezerai.
 Burnet.
 Strype.

Whilst the court was employed in quelling the insurrec-
 tions, other troubles unexpectedly arose from another quarter.
 Henry II. finding it a favourable juncture, entered the terri-
 tory of Boulogne at the head of an army, though there had
 been no declaration of war between the two crowns since the
 last treaty of peace. Nothing was more express than that
 treaty, wherein Francis I. and Henry VIII. agreed, that
 Boulogne should be restored to France in eight years, on pay-
 ment of two millions of crowns of gold to the king of Eng-
 land. But Henry II. was no sooner on the throne of France,
 than he formed the design of recovering Boulogne before the
 time appointed, and without paying the stipulated sum. His
 reason was, that Henry VIII. had unjustly made war upon
 Francis I. when Francis was employed against the emperor.
 From thence he inferred, he might himself improve a favour-
 able opportunity, to repair the loss sustained by the king his
 father. It is not necessary to examine Henry's grounds, I
 mean, the pretended injustice done to his predecessor. It suf-
 fices to observe, that according to this maxim, the most
 solemn treaties are to go for nothing. And yet, it is but too
 much followed, and as if it was an undeniable truth, it is an
 inexhaustible source of wars between sovereigns.

His troops
 are beaten
 back at Bul-
 lenberg.
 Thuanus.

However, Henry seeing that the commotions in England
 presented him with a fair opportunity to execute his designs
 upon Boulogne, took several castles in the Boulonnois. Then,
 he ordered the fort of Bullenberg to be attacked, where his
 troops were bravely repulsed. At the same time there was a
 sea fight between the French and English near Jersey, each
 claiming the victory^r, as it often happens in such engage-
 ments. At length, Henry besieged Boulogne in September,
 and the English believing they could not keep Bullenberg,
 carried away their cannon, and blew up the fortifications.
 The plague, which seized the French army, obliging Henry
 to depart, he left the management of the siege to Gaspar de
 Coligny lord of Chatillon, who after some fruitless attempts
 was forced at last to turn it into a blockade.

A sea-fight.
 Edw. Jour.
 Stow.

Siege of
 Boulogne,

turned into a
 blockade.

War with
 Scotland.
 Buchanan.
 Burnet.

The war with Scotland was not successful to the English
 during this campaign. De Thermes, who had succeeded

^r In king Edward's journal it is said, same time to land in the islands of Jer-
 sey and Guernsey, but were repulsed.
 p. 6. The French attempted at the

Dessé, took Broughty-castle. On the other hand, the protector finding himself obliged to employ the army, designed for Scotland, against the rebels of Norfolk, and not daring even to send that army at a distance from the centre of the kingdom, resolved at length to demolish Hadington, which was done the 15th of September. Edw. VI. 1549.

Mean time, the war, begun by the king of France, made the protector extremely uneasy. He had certain advice that Henry II. was entered into a treaty with the German protestants, and had promised them a strong aid as soon as he had recovered Boulogne. Hence it was easy to perceive, he would make a powerful effort the next campaign, and in order to withstand him, England would be obliged to make a considerable armament. But the king's exchequer was very low¹, and there was danger of raising new commotions in demanding fresh subsidies of the parliament. On the other hand, as the protector was extremely zealous for the reformation, he plainly saw nothing could be more advantageous than the union of France with the German protestants. But he was sorry, it was to cost the English Boulogne. The protector also considered, if the war with France should last any time, there was some reason to fear the Romish party would excite troubles in the kingdom. In that case he foresaw how difficult it would be to maintain three wars at once². In short, there was another reason which concerned him in particular, and made him desirous of a peace with France, namely, the war might give his enemies too great an advantage, on account of the ill accidents it might produce, whereas a peace enabled him to parry their blows. He was not ignorant there was a strong faction already formed against him, as well by reason of the envy at his greatness, and of his disobliging the nobility and gentry in the affair of the inclosures, as because of the injury he had done to many of the counsellors, in depriving them of the dignity of regents, and reducing them to the bare state of privy-counsellors. Among these, the chief were, the earl of Southampton, who had resumed his place The protector thinks of restoring Boulogne. Burnet. His reasons. Burnet.

¹ The charges of king Edward's wars and fortifications, from the beginning of his reign to this year 1549, amounted to one million, three hundred and fifty-six thousand, six hundred and eighty-seven pounds, eighteen shillings, and five pence three farthings. Strype, tom. ii. p. 178.

² Bishop Burnet says, that the ill state of things this year, both at home and

abroad, occasioned that change to be made in the office of the daily prayers; where the answer to the petition, "Give us peace in our time, O Lord," which is still continued, was now made, "Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God." Tom. ii. p. 129. But this petition and answer stand in the first liturgy, published in 1548. See his vol. iii. Collect. p. 407.

Edw. VI. in the council, and the earl of Warwick. This last was
 1549. extremely ambitious; he envied the protector and esteemed
 him but little. As of all the lords who had most access
 to the court, he thought himself the only person fit to suc-
 ceed him in the administration of the government; he
 reckoned, if he could but ruin him, he should infallibly
 profit by his disgrace. Upon that account he had formed
 in the council itself a strong party, of which the protector
 had some knowledge, but which he saw himself unable to
 ruin at once.

He proposes
 it to the
 council.
 Burnet.

All these considerations made the protector resolve to pro-
 pose to the council the restitution of Boulogne to France. He
 seconded his motion with all the reasons he thought most
 plausible, adding that by concluding a peace with France,
 England would at the same time be freed from a burthenfome
 and withal a fruitless war with Scotland, since it was not
 possible to obtain the end proposed in beginning it. The
 It is rejected. proposal was received by the council with marks of indigna-
 tion, and considered as a real cowardice. It was too nice an
 affair for the protector to determine it by his own authority.
 And therefore, though he plainly perceived the faction a-
 gainst him would carry it, he was willing his proposal should
 be debated in form. The result of the debate was, that Bou-
 logne should not be restored, but an alliance with the empe-
 Paget sent to the emperor. ror endeavoured for the security of that place. Paget was ap-
 pointed for the embassy, because being devoted to the pro-
 Burnet. tector, the ill success which was expected from this negotiation,
 was designed to be thrown upon him, in order to blacken the
 protector himself.

Several re-
 ports are
 spread a-
 gainst the
 protector.
 Burnet,
 t. ii. p. 134.

The duke of Somerset's enemies having resolved to exe-
 cute the plot contrived against him, began with spreading re-
 ports to destroy his reputation. It was said, he was more
 cruel than a wild beast, since he scrupled not to sacrifice his
 own brother to his boundless ambition: That he was the
 cause of the insurrections this summer, by countenancing the
 people, and intimating, he thought them unjustly oppressed:
 That afterwards he favoured the malecontents to the utmost
 of his power during their actual rebellion; and when their
 fury was stopt, granted them a general pardon, contrary to
 the mind of the council: That to maintain himself in the
 post he had usurped, he entertained foreign troops, having
 extorted the council's consent: That he was raising a much
 larger and more stately palace than the king's, and had pulled
 down several churches for the sake of the materials, and alie-
 nated

nated church-lands to bear the expence *: That he had the boldness to call himself " By the grace of God, duke of Somerset, as if he was a sovereign prince : That he had kept for himself the money raised by the sale of the chantry lands : That he had broke through the establishment settled by the late king, by seizing the regency alone, and excluding the other executors, who had no less right than himself : That he had ill provided the forts of the Boulonnois, that their loss might render a peace with France absolutely necessary : That he had demolished Haddington in Scotland for the like reason : That he had most presumptuously assumed the government of the kingdom, and procured the king's letters patents to countenance his ambition : That besides, he used his power tyrannically, rejecting the opinions of the council, and acting in many things by his own authority. In short, Paget being returned from his embassy, without succeeding in his negotiation, it was rumoured that he had the protector's orders to represent the impossibility of engaging the emperor in the defence of Boulogne, that it might give a colour to the base project of restoring that place.

As it was impossible all these reports should be published, and the duke not hear of them and guess the authors, the whole month of September was spent in disputes and heats : his enemies only seeking an occasion of quarrel to execute what they had resolved. Mean while the protector seeing his enemies acting almost openly, was afraid they had formed a design to carry away the king, and to that end corrupted those about him. For this reason, to secure himself against such a design, he placed his own servants about the king, with orders to watch narrowly what passed. This proceeding furnished his enemies with the pretence they were seeking.

On the 6th of October the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Southampton, Warwick, and Arundel, sir Edward North, sir Richard Southwel, sir Edmund Peckham, sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton, met at Ely House in Holborn *, and sat as the king's council. Secretary

* This was Somerset-house in the Strand, which still bears his name. To make room he pulled down the houses belonging to the bishops of Worcester, Litchfield, and Landaff, together with the parish church. And for a further supply of stone, timber, lead, and iron, he took down at St. Paul's a cloyster, two chapels, and a charnel-house, and

most part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem near Smithfield. Hayward, p. 30. Stow, p. 596.

† Who was then at Hampton-court. Burnet, p. 135.

‡ Which was then the residence of the earl of Warwick. They met there privately armed. Hollingsh. p. 1057.

He uses precautions which serve to his enemies. Burnet.

The president and several counsellors meet and make resolves against the protector. Edw. Journ. Hollingsh. Burnet, t. ii. p. 135. Hayward.

Edw. VI. Petre being sent to them in the king's name to ask the reason
 1549. of their meeting, they forced him to stay with them. Being
 thus met, they considered the state of the kingdom, and laid
 on the protector the blame of all the pretended disorders and
 of the late losses in France, taking for granted, they would
 not have happened, had he followed the advice of the coun-
 cil. Then they declared they had that very day intended to
 confer with him, but hearing he had armed his servants, and
 many others whom he had placed about the king, did not
 think they ought to expose themselves to his violences. This
 done, they sent for the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-
 council of London, with the lieutenant of the Tower, and
 expressly forbid them to own the duke of Somerset for pro-
 tector. The lieutenant of the Tower promised to obey.
 The mayor and aldermen answered more cautiously. But in
 all likelihood most of them were now gained, as it plainly ap-
 peared two days after.

Burnet.
 Stow.

Upon the first news of the counsellors undertaking, the
 protector removed the king to Windsor, and armed such as
 he could assemble at Windsor or Hampton-court. This fur-
 nished his enemies with a fresh occasion to complain, that he
 had carried the king to a place where there were no provi-
 sions fit for him, so they took care to send him what he might
 want from London. The same day, being the morrow after
 their meeting, seven counsellors, namely, the lord chancellor
 Rich, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury,
 sir Thomas Cheney, sir John Gage, sir Ralph Sadler, and
 the lord chief justice Montague, came and joined with them.
 Whereupon they wrote to the king a letter full of expressions
 of their duty, complaining of the duke of Somerset's not
 hearkening to their counsels, and of his gathering a force
 about his person, to make him believe they had ill designs
 against him, though they had nothing in view but his good
 and welfare. They wrote also to the archbishop of Canter-
 bury and to Paget, ordering them to see that the king's own
 servants should attend on him, and not the duke of Som-
 erset's.

The protec-
 tor removes
 the king to
 Windsor.
 Hollingsh.
 Edw. Journ.
 The coun-
 sellors of
 London
 complained
 of it.
 They are
 joined by
 seven more.
 They write
 to the king.
 Edw. Journ.
 Burnet,
 t. ii. p. 137.
 and Collect.
 p. 183.
 lb. p. 187.

On the 8th of October they went in a body to Guildhall,
 where the common-council were assembled. They declared
 they were so far from having any ill designs against the king,
 that their sole aim was to take him out of the hands of the
 duke of Somerset, who considered only his own private in-

They win
 the common
 council of
 London to
 their side.
 Stow.
 Hollingsh.
 Burnet

y Sir Leonard Chamberlaine. Hol-
 lingsh.

* Orintending to alter religion. Bur-
 net, p. 136.

terest.

ness. Whereupon the common-council openly declared they were ready to support them to the utmost of their power. Edw. VI. 1549.

The duke no sooner heard that the city of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower had forsaken him; but he was entirely discouraged. He called together the few counsellors then about the king, and, protesting he had no design against any of the counsellors, offered to submit to the judgment of two of those that were present, and two of those that were at London. This offer made him lose five counsellors more, who seeing him thus yield, did not think it prudent to expose themselves for the sake of a man they believed already undone. So, though they approved not the proceedings of those at London, they joined with them however the next day, being the 9th of October. These five were, the lord Ruffel, the lord Wentworth, sir Anthony Brown, sir Anthony Wingfield, and sir John Baker speaker of the house of commons.

The protector's heart fails.
Burnet.

Five counsellors forsake him.

From that day the duke of Somerset's affairs daily declined, every one forsaking him when he was seen himself to despair of maintaining his ground. Nay, upon an information to the privy-counsellors his enemies, that he had said, if they intended to put him to death, the king should die first; and boasted, it was in his power to carry the king out of the kingdom; they declared him unworthy of the protectorship, though they had no proofs of his speaking these words. After that they published a manifesto, to inform the publick of the reasons of their conduct. Then they wrote to the king, that his royal father having appointed them executors of his will, and regents of the kingdom, they had chosen the duke of Somerset to exercise the office of protector with the express condition, that he should do nothing without their advice; which condition he had not observed, but had made himself absolute master of the government. Therefore they judged him unworthy of that honour, and praying his majesty's leave to discharge the office committed to them by the late king, and that the forces gathered about his person by the duke of Somerset might be dismissed.

He is declared by the council unworthy to be protector.
Burnet.

The council publish a manifesto, and write to the king to justify their proceedings.
Burnet, t. ii. Collect.

P. 185.
Hollingsh.

Hayward.
Stow.

Of all the privy-counsellors, only the archbishop of Canterbury and Paget stayed with the king, who seeing the impossibility of withstanding the opposite party, advised the king and the duke to give the council the satisfaction they desired. The king consenting to it, the counsellors at London had notice of it by an express. As they had foreseen the duke would be obliged to submit, they had already sent deputies^a

The king approves of the council's proceedings.
Burnet.
Hayward.

^a Sir Anthony Wingfield, sir Anthony St. Leiger, and sir John Williams.
Burnet, tom. ii. p. 177.

Edw. VI. to Windsor, with a charge to see that the duke of Somerset should not withdraw, and that some of his confidants should be put under an arrest^b. On the 12th of October, the

They come
to Windsor.
Edw. Jour.
Hollingsh.
Stow.

counsellors, enemies of the duke, came in a body to the king, who received them graciously, and assured them, he took all they had done in good part. The next day they proceeded to the examination of the duke's friends, who were sent to the Tower, except Cecil, who had his liberty. On the

The duke of
Somerset is
accused.
Hollingsh.
Stow.
Hayward.

14th, the duke of Somerset was called before them, and the articles of his accusation were read to him, the principal whereof were as follows :

I. That he had not observed the condition on which he had been made protector.

II. That he had treated with ambassadors without notifying it to the council, and by his own authority had disposed of governments and bishopricks.

III. That he had held a court of requests in his own house^c.

IV. That he had embased the coin.

V. That he had issued out proclamations in the affair of inclosures, against the mind of the whole council.

VI. That he had not taken care to suppress the late insurrections, but had even supported and encouraged them.

VII. That he had occasioned the loss of the forts in the territory of Boulogne, by neglecting to furnish them with provisions and ammunition.

VIII. That he had endeavoured to instill into the king an ill opinion of his counsellors, by persuading him they intended to destroy him, and had even ordered some persons to put the king continually in mind of it, lest he should forget it.

IX. That he had caused the lords of the council to be proclaimed traitors.

X. That he had maliciously not only put the king in great fear by carrying him so suddenly to Windsor, but cast him into a dangerous disease.

XI. That he had armed his friends and servants, and left the king's servants unarmed ; and that he intended to fly to Jersey or Guernsey.

^b Namely, secretary Smith, sir Michael Stanhope, sir John Thynn, Edward Wolfe, and William Cecil. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 138.

^c The intent of this court was to hear poor mens petitions and suits. And,

upon the hearing of them, he either decided their businesses, or sent his letters to the chancery in their favour. Which was reckoned to be a stopping of the proceedings of the courts, or influencing the judges. Strype, tom. ii. p. 183.

Upon these accusations, to which it was then not a time Edw. VI. to answer, he was sent to the Tower; those whom he had 1549. taken so much pains to humble, being become his proper judges. He could not indeed deny the truth of most of the facts laid to his charge. But the question was, whether they were crimes, for he was accused neither of fraud, nor rapine, nor extortion: but that was to be decided only by the peers of the realm, or by the parliament. As soon as the duke was in the Tower, an order was made that six lords should be the governors of the king's person, two of whom were in their course constantly to attend him^d. Then it was easily seen that the earl of Warwick had been the chief promoter of the protector's ruin, since all the other counsellors suffered him without opposition to take upon him the principal administration of the government, though without any title which might give him a particular authority.

He is sent to the Tower. Burnet.

The council appoints six governors of the king. Edw. Journ. The earl of Warwick assumes the chief authority.

The enemies of the reformation gloried in the protector's fall. They were persuaded the earl of Warwick was in his heart more catholick than protestant, and his strict union with the earl of Southampton confirmed this belief. Accordingly Bonner and Gardiner, who were then in the Tower, writ to him a hearty congratulation, upon his having freed the nation from the tyrant, so they called the duke of Somerset. It was even thought for some time, that the duke of Norfolk was going to be released. But the earl of Warwick was not yet fully known. That lord, who was wholly swayed by ambition, was properly of neither religion. He was far therefore from undertaking to destroy the reformation, which had too many friends in the kingdom. On the contrary, knowing how desirous the young king was to establish it, he openly declared in its favour. Thus the adherents of the pope and the old religion had not long reason to rejoice at the late revolution at court.

The Romish party are no gainers by this revolution. Burnet.

Bonner, bishop of London, had been deprived and imprisoned some time before this turn. He was known to be strongly addicted in his heart to the Romish religion, and to pay only an outward compliance to what was established by publick authority, whilst by a doubtful behaviour he plainly showed his dislike of these alterations. They who were then at the helm, resolved therefore to put him to a trial which could not fail either to give them an advantage against him,

Bonner is deprived. Fox. Burnet.

^d These were the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, the lords St. John, Russell, and Wentworth. And these four knights, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Edward Rogers, sir Thomas Darcy, and sir Thomas Wroth. Edw. Journ. p. 9.

Edw. VI. or make him forfeit the esteem and trust of his party. He 1549. was summoned before the council, and after a declaration of

Ast. Pub.
xv. p. 191,
192.

Ast. Pub.
xv. p. 191.
Sept. 8.

the causes of complaint against him, he was ordered to preach on a Sunday at St. Paul's Cross, and to prove in his sermon certain points, whereof this was one of the principal: That "the authority of a king was the same when he was in minority, as when of full age." He preached on the first of September, before a numerous audience, and touched upon all the points that were enjoined him, except the last. Besides, he brought in some things which gave offence to the court. Whereupon the king appointed judges to examine the matter*. Dr. Burnet says, he behaved before the judges more like a madman than a bishop. However, he was deprived† and sent to the Tower. It was doubtless with joy that a pretence was found to be rid of such a bishop, who embarrassed the reformers.

Burnet.

The earl of Southampton was no less deceived in his expectations than the rest of his party. He imagined that, having been one of the principal instruments of the duke of Somerset's ruin, he should be rewarded for this service with the office of high-treasurer, or at least restored to that of lord chancellor. But he found himself much mistaken. Rich still kept the great seal, and the treasury was given to the lord St. John, who some time after was also created earl of Wiltshire‡. It was not the earl of Warwick's interest to advance to any high post so intriguing a person as the earl of Southampton, who besides was looked upon as the head of the party against the reformation. He would thereby have lost the king's favour, whom it was his business to persuade, that religion was not concerned at all in what had passed with regard to the duke his uncle. So, without a moment's hesitation, he forsook not only the earl of Southampton, but also all the Romish party, who had flattered themselves with seeing some great change in religion. Southampton was so full of indignation to be thus slighted, that he could not forbear caballing against the earl of Warwick: but perceiving

* The commission was issued out to Cranmer, Ridley, the two secretaries of state, and Dr. Day, dean of St. Paul's. They, or any two of them, had full power to suspend, imprison, or deprive him as they should see cause. Bonner, when called before them, said of the witnesses, that one talked like a goose, another like a woodcock; and that Hooper had misrecited his sayings, like

an ass as he was. See his Trial at large in Fox, tom. ii. p. 20, &c. and Burnet, tom. ii. p. 123.

† On October 1. Fox, p. 39.

‡ William Paulet, lord St. John, was created earl of Wiltshire, on January 19; and at the same time, John lord Russell was made earl of Bedford. Stow, p. 603.

Warwick was informed of his proceedings; and knowing his Edw. VI. revengeful temper, relinquished his projects. Shortly after, 1549. he withdrew from court without taking leave, and lived at one of his manors, where he died with grief and vexation. Some even say he poisoned himself^a.

Mean while, the war with France made the council very uneasy. Henry II. it was plain, was resolved to besiege Boulogne, and it was justly feared that place was not tenable. Whilst the duke of Somerset was alone burthened with that incumbrance, his enemies would have it to be cowardice to resign Boulogne to avoid a war, wherein they hoped to find an occasion to ruin him. But when they had the government in their hands, they found difficulties in that affair, which the would not own so long as they thought the event would be laid to his charge. They resolved therefore to send a second embassy to the emperor¹, to persuade him to take Boulogne into his protection, imagining Paget had magnified the difficulties. But the ambassadors found the emperor very cold, and constantly alledging his alliance with France. He even told them, that so long as religion continued in England in its present state, the English could not expect much assistance from him. This answer determined the council to make peace with France. We shall see presently the effects of this resolution^b.

The parliament met the 4th of November, without the duke of Somerset's disgrace occasioning any change in the affairs of religion. It was still the same parliament the duke of Somerset had called, and the council had still the same maxims with respect to the reformation, the earl of Warwick's policy not suffering him to make any change. The parliament began with a severe act against unlawful assemblies, in order to prevent any more insurrections. But by another act, the statute against vagrants, as too severe and contrary to the liberties of the nation, was repealed, and a law made in the late reign revived.

The 2d of January, 1550, a bill of attainder against the duke of Somerset, with a confession signed by his own hand, was read in the house of lords. But as some of the lords

The earl of Southampton quits the court and dies. Burnet. The war with France perplexes the ministry. Burnet. Hayward. Strype.

The emperor refuses to assist England.

The council resolves upon a peace.

The parliament meets. Burnet.

Act against unlawful assemblies. Act against vagrants repealed.

1550.

Act of attainder against the duke of Somerset. Burnet.

^a He died at his house called Lincoln Place in Holborn (afterwards Southampton-house) July 30, 1550, and was buried in St. Andrew's, where a fair monument was erected to his memory. Stow's Ann. p. 604.

¹ They sent to him, on October 18,

sir Thomas Cheney and sir Philip Hobby. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 140.

^b This year, on May 8, commissioners were appointed to visit and reform the university of Oxford. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 183.

suspected

Edw. VI. suspected the confession to be extorted, four temporal lords
1550. and four bishops were sent to know the truth from his own
mouth¹. Next day, they made their report, that the duke

He throws
himself upon
the king's
mercy.

Stow, p. 603.
He is fined.

Edw. Jour.

Burnet.

thanked the house for their kindness, and owned he had
freely subscribed the paper, after having confessed the con-
tents before the king and council. He protested however, he
had no ill intention against the king or state. Whereupon,
he was fined by act of parliament in two thousand pounds a
year of land, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods,
and the loss of all his places. Many thought his confession
very strange, and much censured so abject a proceeding: but
it was doubtless because they wished he had taken another
course, which would not have failed to prove fatal to him. It
is certain, among the articles of his accusation, there were
several which could be justified only by the intention, which
would have been little serviceable to him in the house of peers,
most of whom were not inclined to favour him. For in-
stance, to mention only the chief article, could he deny that,
contrary to the condition on which he was made protector,
he had degraded as it were the other regents, and reduced
them to bare counsellors? It is true, he might have alledged
the king's patent: but it was the patent of a minor king,
not eleven years old, who looking upon him as his gover-
nor, acted only by his advice, as it was said in the very patent
which conferred his authority on him. Wherefore the duke
could never have cleared himself upon this article, nor upon
several others. Consequently his only remedy was to own
himself guilty of all, and cast himself upon the king's mercy.
Besides, it concerned him highly to get out of prison on any
terms, since it was very dangerous for him to remain any
longer in the hands of his enemies. He was very successful
in this course. They who wished his destruction seeing the
king had been very hardly prevailed with to consent to his
trial, thought it was not yet time to push their hatred any
farther, till they had ruined him in the king's favour. He

He goes out
of the Tower,
and has his
pardon.

Act. Pub.

xv. p. 205.

Feb. 16.

Stow.

Edw. Jour.

came therefore out of the Tower the 6th of February, giv-
ing bond of 10000*l*. for his good behaviour, and ten days
after had his pardon. Thus his fall was not so great as his
enemies expected. He forfeited however much of the esteem
he had acquired among the people, who not diving into the
reasons of his conduct, could not help thinking him guilty,
since he had confessed all. But the king judged otherwise,

¹ January 3, when the bill was read third time, January 14. Journ. Parl.
for the second time; as it was for the

since

since on the 6th of April following, he gave him a place again Edw. VI. in his council ^m.

1550.

Mean while the parliament, knowing the friends of the Romish church drew from the duke of Somerset's fall consequences which might breed ill effects, thought it proper to confound their hopes. To that end an act of parliament was made, confirming the new liturgy, and ordering all missals, breviaries, &c. to be delivered to such as should be appointed to receive them, and all the prayers to the saints to be dashed out in all the primers set out by the late king. Moreover, those who had any images taken out of churches, were required to burn or deface them before the last of June ⁿ. Then the parliament was prorogued on the 1st of February, after granting the king a subsidy ^o, which was followed by a general pardon, in which the prisoners of the Tower were excepted. It was during this session that the eldest sons of peers were first permitted to sit in the house of commons ^p.

The parliament confirms the new liturgy,

and orders images to be burnt.

After the late revolution at court by the duke of Somerset's disgrace, the earl of Warwick had not forgot himself. On the 28th of October last, he was made great master of the king's household, a new title introduced by Henry VIII, instead of that of steward of the household, when he conferred this office on the duke of Suffolk ^r. But it was not so much by his posts that the earl of Warwick was grown powerful

The earl of Warwick is made high admiral and great master. A.G. Pub. xv. p. 194-208. He directs all affairs.

^m This year was published the Bible in English, of Tindal's translation, revised by Coverdale; and also the form of ordination. Strype, tom. ii. p. 200, 203.

ⁿ The other acts made in this session were these: 1. That a form of consecrating archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, should be drawn by six bishops, and six other men of the realm, learned in God's law, and set forth before the first of April next coming. The bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Chichester, and Westminster, protested against this act. 2. That the Custodes Rotulorum shall be appointed by the lord chancellor.

^o Twelve-pence in the pound of goods, and of every alien two shillings in the pound. See Statutes, c. 23. They also released the relief on sheep and cloaths, granted 2 and 3 Edward VI, and continued that on goods for three years; which was of every person worth 10l. or upwards, in money, goods, &c.

12d. in the pound; and of every alien worth 20s. and under 10l. 12d. in the pound. Stevens, p. 232.

^p Sir Francis Russell becoming by his brother's death heir apparent to the lord Russell, it was on the 21st of January, carried upon a debate, That he should abide in the house as he was before. So it is entered in the original Journal of the house of commons, communicated to Dr. Burnet, by Mr. Surle and Mr. Clarke, in whose hands it was then, and is the first journal that ever was taken in that house. See Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 143.

^q And on February 2, this year, William Parr marquis of Northampton was made lord great chamberlain of England; the lord Wentworth lord chamberlain of the household; sir Thomas Darcy vice-chamberlain, and captain of the guard; and sir Anthony Wingfield comptroller. Stow, p. 603. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 203.

Edw. VI. and considerable, as on account of his directing the council, who acted only by his advice. Some of the counsellors looked upon him as their friend, others as the head of their party; and some were afraid of offending him. What he had lately done with regard to the duke of Somerset demonstrated how dangerous it was to have him for an enemy.

He resolves
to give up
Boulogne.
Burnet.

Notwithstanding all his greatness, the earl of Warwick was not a little embarrassed concerning the affair of Boulogne. He had himself most exclaimed against the duke of Somerset for proposing to resign that place, and ridiculed all his reasons; and yet for these same reasons, he resolved at length to do what he so much blamed in another. But not to appear inconsistent with himself, he chose to cause the restitution of Boulogne to be moved and resolved in council, and to appear himself to be no farther concerned, than to comply with the opinion of the majority. It is not very difficult for one that directs an assembly, to procure what resolutions he pleases without acting openly. But the difficulty consisted in the dishonour of making the first step, and the danger of showing a desire to conclude a peace with France. The earl of

Guidotti is
employed in
that affair.
Hayward.
Aft. Pub.
xv. p. 185.
Burnet.
Strype.

Warwick soon found an expedient to avoid this inconvenience by employing one Guidotti, an Italian merchant, who lived at Southampton. This man coming to Paris on some pretence, insinuated himself into the constable's family, who was the king's chief favourite. In his conversation with some of the constable's officers, he said, he verily believed the court of England might be easily brought to restore Boulogne for a sum of money. The constable, to whom this was told, presently guessed the meaning. He spoke himself to Guidotti, and charged him to intimate to some one of the council of England, that the king of France had rather end the affair of Boulogne by treaty than by arms. Whereupon Guidotti made several journeys to London and Paris. At last he set the matter in so fair a way, that the courts, being equally desirous of ending it, agreed to send plenipotentiaries to some place in Picardy to treat of a peace and the restitution of Boulogne.

Plenipotentiaries of the two courts.
Edw. Jour.
Burnet.
Stow.
Aft. Pub.
xv. p. 202.

Monsieur de la Rochepot of the house of Montmorency, Gaspar de Coligny, afterwards admiral, and two more, were appointed by France; and the court of England made choice

For this good piece of service, Guidotti had a pension of 250l. per. ann. and his son John a pension of 35l. ros. See Rymer's Fed. tom. xv. p. 227; 228. Edw. Journ. p. 11.

of the lord Ruffel, Paget now made a baron^a, secretary Edw. VI. Petre, and fir John Mafon. Their instructions were a clear evidence, that the council would have a peace at any rate. 1550.
The substance of them was :

I. That as to the place of congress, they were not to appear very difficult : but, if possible, they were to have it at Calais or Boulogne.

The English
ambassadors
instructions.
Burnet.

t. ii. p. 148.

and Collect.

p. 198.

II. They might offer the restitution of Boulogne.

III. But then they were to demand that the young queen of Scotland should be sent home, to consummate her marriage with the king of England.

IV. That the fortifications of Blackness and Newhaven should be demolished.

V. That the pension promised by Francis I. to Henry VIII. should be continued and all arrears paid : but, if they could not obtain the first, they were to be satisfied with the arrears.

VI. That as for Scotland they should affirm, England could not treat without the emperor's concurrence : but if the emperor would agree to it, the king of England would restore all the places he held in Scotland, except Aymouth and Roxburgh.

VII. That if the French spoke any thing of the king's marrying Henry II's daughter Elizabeth, they should answer, they had no instructions upon that head, and should insist upon the king's being so young.

The plenipotentiaries meeting near Boulogne^t, those of France said plainly, it was not to be expected that the king^a their master would send back the queen of Scotland, since he designed her for his son the dauphin : That as for the perpetual pension, Francis I. promised it when forced by his affairs, but the king his son never intended to be tributary to England : That however, they were ready to treat about the restitution of Boulogne for a sum of money : That moreover, the king their master did not mean the English should keep any one place in Scotland. This was talking imperiously. But Henry II. had discovered the intentions of the council of England, and was resolved to improve the occasion to destroy the grating claim of the kings of England to

Conference
about the
peace.
Burnet.
Hayward,
Strype's
Mem.
tom. ii.
Repos.
p. 114.

^a He was summoned to the house of peers, Decemb. 3, 1549, by the title of baron of Bandesfert. Journ. Parl.

^t The latter end of January. See Burnet, tom. ii. p. 148.

Edw. VI. the crown of France; or at least to the perpetual pension promised by Francis I. in lieu of that claim. Some time after, 1550. the English ambassadors received fresh instructions, empowering them to conclude a peace upon terms less difficult to be obtained than those first demanded. However, as the court of England would not absolutely desist from the pension, an expedient was found, with which that court was satisfied, namely, all claims of the two kings were to remain as before, except such as should be adjusted by the treaty, which was at length signed the 24th of March, and was in effect as follows :

Burnet,
tom. ii.
Collect.
p. 201.

Treaty between the
two crowns.
Act. Pub.
xv. p. 211.

I. That the city of Boulogne should be restored to France, with all the ordnance and ammunition found there by Henry VIII. when he took the place.

II. That in consideration of Henry's improvements and charges in transporting provisions and ammunition, the king of France should pay the king of England the sum of four hundred thousand crowns of gold^a, half on the day of restitution, and half before the 15th of August.

It is to be observed upon this article, that the king of France very carefully avoided mentioning either the pension stipulated in the last treaty of peace, or even what was due to the crown of England since the time of Charles VIII. which had been always increased afterwards by several treaties.

III. That for the security of the payment of the two hundred thousand crowns in August, France should give six hostages, and England the like number^b for the security of the restitution of Boulogne.

IV. As to Scotland, it was agreed that the king of England should deliver to the queen of Scotland the two forts of Lauder and Dunglass, with all the ordnance, except what was brought thither from Haddington.

V. That if these two forts remained in the king of England's power, he should be obliged to demolish the fortifications of Aymouth and Roxburgh, which should never be rebuilt by England or Scotland: but if he restored Lauder and Dunglass, he should however be obliged to raze Aymouth and Roxburgh, provided the queen of Scotland demolished

^a Then of equal value with the English noble.

^b The English hostages were, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Hertford eldest son of the duke of Somerset, the lord Mautravers eldest son of the earl

of Arundel, the lord Talbot the earl of Shrewsbury's eldest son, the lord Strange the earl of Derby's eldest son, and the lord Fitzwarin eldest son of the earl of Bath. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 214.

also Lauder and Dunblaw; and that none of these four places Edw. VI. should be ever re-fortified.

VI. That the king of England should make no new war upon Scotland, unless he had fresh cause: that is to say, Edward relinquished his marriage.

VII. That the king of England's demands, claims, and pretensions, as well upon France as Scotland, and all the king of France's and the queen of Scotland's upon England, should remain as before.

Thus all the pains taken by Henry VIII. to secure a pension, or rather a yearly tribute in lieu of the title he pretended to have to the crown of France, were rendered fruitless by this treaty, which contained in favour of England only an indeterminate reservation of the claim which had occasioned the effusion of so much blood since the reign of Edward III. There remains to the kings of England only the empty title of King of France, none of Edward's VI's successors having ever seriously thought of prosecuting their pretended right.

The treaty being brought to London to be ratified, the earl of Warwick feigned sickness, not to be obliged to sign a peace he had so much exclaimed against. But this was only to impose on the publick, since he had signed all the orders and instructions, by virtue whereof the ambassadors had concluded it.

The restitution of Boulogne opened the eyes of the people, with respect to the conduct of those at the helm. They who had now delivered up that place for four hundred thousand crowns, in lieu of the two millions Francis had promised to pay, were the same who some months before had reviled the protector for only intending to restore it. The earl of Warwick, who had the chief direction of affairs, and whose interest it was to procure the people's affection, seeing them a little enraged, thought proper to divert them by giving them some satisfaction in other respects. To that purpose, he called to a strict account those who had managed the king's money, or been guilty of misdemeanors in the exercise of their offices. He had also in this another motive, namely, to pay the king's debts, which were considerable. In this inquiry, his chief friends who had served him as instruments to ruin the duke of Somerset, were least spared. The earl of Arundel was fined in 12,000 l. payable in twelve years. Southwel was put in the Fleet, and the rest made their compositions with the court as well as they could. As

The earl of Warwick avoids signing the ratification of the treaty.
Hayward.
Burnet.

The council's conduct is censured.

Inquiry of misdemeanors.
Burnet.

Edw. Jour.

Edw. VI. there were few but what were guilty of some misdemeanor, 1550. this inquiry established the earl of Warwick, every one fearing he would find means to be revenged of those who expressed not great submission ^a.

In the course of this year there were some changes in the bishopricks. The see of Westminster, vacant by the resignation of Thirleby, was united to that of London, and given to Ridley bishop of Rochester ^r. Thirleby had the see of Norwich, Poinet that of Rochester ^z, and on the 3d of July, John Hooper was made bishop of Gloucester ^z.

Polydore
Virgil retires
into Italy.
A&T. Pub.
xv. p. 234.
Burnet.

This year, Polydore Virgil, an Italian, who had been now forty years in England, had leave to go and spend the residue of his days in his own country. The king permitted him to enjoy his preferments ^b, in consideration of his having

^a Sir Thomas Smith, sir Michael Stanhope, Thomas Fisher, and William Grey, each of them acknowledged they owed the king 3000*l*. and sir John Thynn submitted to 6000*l*. fine, and then were discharged. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 149.

^r On February 24. Burnet, p. 149. — Miles Coverdale was also made, August 14, next year, bishop of Exeter, in the room of John Vesey, who resigned, after having alienated almost all the lands belonging to that bishoprick, and reserved to himself a yearly pension of 48*l*. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 166. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 282, &c.

^z Poinet, not having a house upon his bishoprick, held in commendam a prebend of Canterbury, the vicarage of Ashford in Kent, the rectories of St. Michael's Crooked-lane, London, and of Towen in the diocese of Bangor. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 241. But by an order of council of June 29, 1550, it was decreed, That no bishop should henceforth keep other benefice than his bishoprick only. Strype, tom. ii. p. 220.

^a Upon the vacancies of these, and other sees, the best and almost all the manors belonging to them, were surrendered into the king's hands, and distributed amongst the courtiers; and to make some sort of compensation, there were bestowed upon the same sees, either worse manors, or else rectories, and impropriated tithes. Thus on September 26, 1547, Shaxton, bishop of Lincoln, resigned to the king twenty-four manors; so that at present the revenues

of that bishoprick are said to consist of impropriations: Buckden being the only manor it has left. May 20, 1548, the bishop of Bath and Wells made the like resignation or exchange of ten manors. And April 12, 1550, Ridley, bishop of London, yielded up to the king the manors of Stepney and Hackney in Middlesex, and of Branktree and Southminster in Essex; in the room whereof he had the manors of Fering, Kilvedon, &c. in Essex; of Greengford, Hanwel, Drayton, and Paddington, in Middlesex; the advowson of St. Martin's in the Fields, and others; of which the reader may see an account in Strype's Eccl. Mem. tom. ii. p. 217, who there observes, that the advantage of the exchange was considerably on the bishop's side. The see of Winchester was also regulated. See *ibid*. p. 272. — Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 166, 171, 226. King Henry VIII. had led the way in this general regulation, as it was called, of the bishopricks, by a statute made in the 17th of his reign, c. 16. when no less than seventy manors, all at the old rents, were taken at once from the see of York, and annexed to the duchy of Lancaster, impropriations and tithes being given in lieu of them; and many were also at the same time dismembered from the archbishoprick of Canterbury. See Stat. 37 Henry VIII. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 75, &c. Heylin, p. 18.

^b His archdeaconry of Wells, and his prebend of Nonington in the church of Hereford.

employed

employed the best part of his life in writing the history of Edw. VI. England.^c 1550.

Before we proceed to the next year, it will not be improper to mention what had passed in foreign countries.

Paul III. dying the 13th of November 1549, the cardinals ^{Death of} who entered the conclave the 29th of the same month, ^{Paul III.} agreed in few days to raise cardinal Pole to the papal throne, ^{Spond.} and even came in the night to his chamber to adore him according to custom. But he desired them to defer the ceremony till it was day, telling them it ought not to be a work of darkness. This scruple, unheard-of till then, seemed to them so extraordinary, that some imputed it to stupidity. Others were afraid, if Pole was pope, he would reform the court of Rome, and the college of cardinals in particular. However this be, from that moment they thought of electing another pope. After which, being divided into three ^{Julius III.} factions, they could not agree upon the person till the February following, when they chose the cardinal de Monte, ^{chosen pope.} who took the name of Julius III. ^{d.}

In Germany, the emperor having opened the diet of the empire about the end of July, would have obliged all the protestants to submit to the determinations of the council, now removed back to Trent. Maurice elector of Saxony strongly opposed it, but with so much caution and regard for the emperor, that he did not lose his favour. On the contrary, the emperor agreed, that the diet should declare him general of the army of the empire, to end the war by the siege of Magdeburg, the only protestant town which still held out. Maurice had great designs, which the emperor knew not, till it was too late to hinder the execution.

Scotland enjoyed a great tranquillity after the conclusion of the peace.^e James Hamilton earl of Arran in Scotland, and duke of Chateleraut in France, still governed the kingdom as regent. But he was himself governed by the archbishop of St. Andrew's his natural brother, a man of a very lewd and in-

^c This year the city of London purchased from the king all the liberties of Southwark, for the sum of one thousand marks. Stow, p. 604.

^d He gave a strange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own hat (according to the custom of the popes, who bestow their hats before they go out of the conclave) on a mean servant of his, who had the charge of his money; and being asked what he saw in him to make

him a cardinal? He answered, As much as the cardinals had seen in him to make him pope. But it was commonly said, that the secret of this promotion was an unnatural affection to him. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 127.

^e It had been included in the late peace made between the crowns of England and France; and accordingly took care to have this comprehension ratified. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 255—273.

Edw. VI. famous life. Let us return now to England, and see what passed there during the year 1551.

Affairs of
religion.
Burnet.

After the conclusion of the peace with France and Scotland, the principal affair in the Kingdom was that of the reformation, which the young King wished to bring to as high a degree of perfection as possible. He was kept in this disposition by Cranmer, and the rest of the reformers. The earl of Warwick appeared also very forward to complete the work, because he thereby insinuated himself more into his young master's favour. The constant maxim of the Romish party was to oppose with all their power any intended alterations, before they were established by law. But they complied with them, at least outwardly, when there was no remedy, till a favourable opportunity should offer to throw off the mask. It was not possible to be rid of these hypocrites at once, because they gave no advantage by their outward behaviour. But they were narrowly watched, that their false steps might be improved. By this means Bonner was put out of the way the last year, and by the same method Gardiner was this year deprived on the 18th of April ^f.

Burnet.
Fox.

A confession
of faith is
prepared.

Burnet.
The princess
Mary refuses
it.

Edw. Jour.
Fox.

Burnet.
Strype.

She would
have gone
out of the
kingdom,
but is pre-
vented.

Hayward.
Edw. Jour.
Burnet.

During all the rest of the year, chosen commissioners were preparing a confession of faith ^g, which was the last mortal wound to be given to the old religion. Some places of the new liturgy were also corrected ^h. But the princess Mary refused to submit to these or the former changes. She continued to have mass said in her house, and thereby drew upon herself great mortifications from the council and the king himself, who seemed resolved to force her to a compliance. She was so alarmed at it, that she formed a design to withdraw out of the kingdom, by means of some vessels which the regent of the Low-Countries was to send upon the coast

^f He must have been deprived sooner; for J. Poinet bishop of Rochester was translated, on March 23, to the see of Winchester, said then to be vacant by the deprivation of Stephen the late bishop.---See Rymer's *Fœd.* tom. xv. p. 253. According to king Edward's Journal, it was on Feb. 23.---January 28, this year, a commission was given to several bishops, and others of the clergy and laity, to enquire after, repress, and extirpate the errors of the anabaptists, libertines, and other hereticks. Rymer's *Fœd.* tom. xv. p. 215.

^g It is not known who were the compilers of these articles of the church of England, being forty-two in number,

nor what method was taken in preparing them. Burnet thinks they were framed by Cranmer and Ridley, and that they were by them sent about to others, to correct or add to them as they saw cause. The reader may see them in Burnet's Collection, numb. 55, vol. ii. with the differences between these and those set out in queen Elizabeth's time, marked in the margin.

^h A general confession and absolution was added. And the commandments were put in the beginning of the communion-service. The *chrism*, use of the cross in consecrating the eucharist, prayers for the dead, &c. were laid aside. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 169, 170.

of England. But the design being discovered, the execution Edw. VI. 1551. was prevented, though it should seem that princess would have occasioned less trouble and embarrassment, had she been out of the kingdom. In all appearance, the project of excluding her from the succession was not yet formed, neither was the king's death thought so near as it was.

This princess's obstinacy drew upon her the king her brother's displeasure, who from thenceforward lost much of the esteem and affection he had for her. It was this, probably, that inspired the earl of Warwick with the thoughts of excluding her from the succession, and of forming in favour of his own family the project mentioned hereafter. It will be necessary however briefly to say here, that this project was, to marry the princess Elizabeth abroad, to cause Mary to be set aside, and to marry one of his sons to Jane Grey, eldest daughter of Henry Grey marquiss of Dorset, and of Frances Brandon, who was the next in the succession, after Henry VIII's two daughters ¹.

The earl of Warwick's ambitious project. Burnet.

At this time the sweating-sickness broke out in England with great violence, carrying off in twenty-four hours such as were seized with it, in spite of all remedies ². If we may believe the historians, this sickness was peculiar to the English nation. It did not seize the foreigners who were in England, and in other countries Englishmen only were afflicted with it. For this reason it was called the English sweat. There is much the same thing to be observed among the Polanders, who are alone subject to a distemper they call plica ³, unknown, as it is affirmed, in all other countries. The duke of Suffolk, son of Charles Brandon by his second wife, died of the sweating sickness, as did also two days after his brother, who had succeeded him. So, the title of duke of Suffolk being void, the earl of Warwick resolved to procure that honour for the marquiss of Dorset, father of Jane Grey,

The sweating sickness. Edw. Jour. Hayward.

¹ Last year, on June 3, John, the earl of Warwick's eldest son, married Ann, daughter of the duke of Somerset. And on the 4th of the same month, Robert, his third son, married sir John Robert's daughter. Edw. Jour. p. 14. 15.

² This sickness began first at Shrewsbury in April, and spreading towards the north, ended not till October. Rapin. Whoever was seized with it, died, or recovered within nine or ten hours at most. If he took cold, he died within three hours; if he slept, within six hours, he died raving. It raged chiefly

among young men, of a strong constitution. Edw. Jour. p. 30.

³ They that are troubled with it, lose the use of their limbs, as if they had a palsy, and feel great pains in their nerves, which generally continue a whole year. After that they fall into a great sweat at night, and next morning their hair is glued together, and has a nauseous smell, which continues ever after. If they cut their hair, the humour falls on their eyes, and makes them blind. This distemper is infectious, and communicated by coition. Atlas. Geog. tom. i. p. 199.

Two dukes of Suffolk die of it.

The earl of Warwick links himself in the family of the marquiss of Dorset. Burnet.

Edw. VI. whom he designed for one of his sons. He wanted the concurrence of that lord to set the crown on his daughter's head, 1551.

Design of
marrying
the princess
Elizabeth to
the prince of
Denmark.
Hayward.

to whom the mother was moreover to resign her right. It is however very difficult to conceive, that the earl of Warwick should have formed this project so early, since Edward was in good health, in his fifteenth year only, and very likely to have a numerous issue. The earl of Warwick must therefore have known that the king was to die very soon. And this is what they would insinuate, who make him form his design at the time I am speaking of, and before the king was seized with his last illness, in order to represent to him as the author of his death. However, it is pretended, all this lord's proceedings from the death of Jane Grey's two brothers, to the end of this reign, had relation to this project; as, for instance, the marriage of the princess Elizabeth to the king of Denmark's eldest son, which he caused to be privately treated, but without effect.

Negotiation
for the
king's mar-
riage with a
daughter of
France.
Burnet.

The marriage of the king himself with a daughter of France, which was negotiated and concluded this year, seems directly contrary to the earl of Warwick's designs, supposing they were already formed. Wherefore Dr. Burnet says, that this marriage was only to amuse the young king. Hayward, who wrote the history of Edward VI. says also, that after the marriage was concluded, Edward thought himself in perfect safety, though indeed he was in extreme danger. But whatever the earl of Warwick's motive might be, the marquiss of Northampton, the bishop of Ely, and some other ambassadors were sent with a splendid retinue to carry the Order of the Garter to Henry II. and to propose a marriage between his daughter the princess Elizabeth and Edward. Henry being then at Chateaubriant, the English ambassadors came to Nantes, from whence they were conducted to court. The marquiss of Northampton, as head of the embassy^m, presented the collar of the order to the king. Then the bishop of Ely desired him to appoint commissioners to treat with them about an affair tending to the common good of the two kingdoms. The commissioners being named, the ambassadors proposed the marriage of Edward with the princess Elizabeth, and the treaty was signed at Angers, the 19th of July. The princess's portion was to be two hundred thousand crowns, and her dower as great as any queen of England had ever enjoyed. But the marriage was not to be contracted by

Edward
sends an
embassy to
France on
pretence of
carrying the
Order of the
Garter to
the king.
Edw. Jour.
Hayward.
Burnet,

Treaty a-
bout the
king's mar-
riage.
Act. Pub.
xv. p. 273.
393.

^m The rest of the ambassadors were, liam Pickering, sir Thomas Smith, and Thomas Goodrick bishop of Ely, sir Dr. John Uliber. Rymer's Fœd. tom. John Mason, sir Philip Hobby, sir Wil- xv. p. 274.

words of the present tense, till a month after the princess was twelve years of age. This hindered it from being consummated, because Edward died before that time. Shortly after, Henry II. sent a noble embassy into England, of which the marshal de Montmorency was head, with the Order of St. Michael to the king.

Edw. VI.
1551.

Edw. Jour.
Hayward.
Burnet.

Foreign affairs being finished, the earl of Warwick applied himself to domestick, or rather to his own. He caused Henry Grey marquess of Northampton to be created duke of Suffolk, and himself duke of Northumberland^a. William Paulet earl of Wiltshire and lord treasurer, was made marquis of Winchester^o, and sir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke^p. They who were on this occasion dignified with new honours, were the intimate friends of the earl of Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, who sought to establish himself in the post he possessed of chief manager of the publick affairs, though without any patent to give him that authority.

The earl of Warwick is made duke of Northumberland. Other creations. October 18. Edw. Jour. Hayward. Burnet.

This lord could not however enjoy a perfect tranquillity, so long as he still saw such a rival as the duke of Somerset, who might one day be restored to favour, and who was really endeavouring to regain the post he had formerly possessed. Edward was near the time of his majority, and daily increased in the knowledge of affairs. The duke of Northumberland had therefore to fear, that when the king should compare his administration with the duke of Somerset's, he would perceive, the last had been wrongfully deprived of his dignity. Besides, Edward still expressed great esteem for his uncle, and gave him frequent and publick marks of it. All this made the duke of Northumberland very uneasy, who plainly saw, it would be almost impossible to execute his projects whilst he had such an inspector as the duke of Somerset. He determined therefore to be rid of this troublesome rival at any rate, and to that end made use of two ways. The first was to ruin him in the king's favour, by means of certain emissaries, who beset him continually^q. The second was, to cause his

The ruin of the duke of Somerset is determined. Hayward. Burnet.

Means made use of to that end.

^a Henry Percy, the last earl of Northumberland, dying without issue, his next heirs were the sons of Thomas Percy, who was attainted in the last reign for the Yorkshire rebellion.

^o Rapin by mistake says Wiltshire.

^p Sir Thomas Darcy, vice-chamberlain of the king's household, captain of the guard, and one of the four knights of the king's privy-chamber, was some time before, namely, on April 5, created

baron Darcy of Chich. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 352. Edw. Journ. p. 24. And William Cecil, made on September 6, 1550, one of the principal secretaries of state, was now knighted, (Edw. Journ.) as was also John Cheek, the king's preceptor.

^q Some reported, that he had caused himself to be proclaimed king in divers counties. Hayward, p. 320.

enemy

Edw. VI. enemy such mortifications as should throw him upon actions that would give an advantage against him. These two ways
1551.

The duke of Somerset gives his enemies an advantage.

Reports spread against him. Edw. Jour.

The king is prepossessed against his uncle.

Edw. Jour.

The duke is sent to the Tower. Edw. Jour. Hayward. Burnet.

Remarks upon the charge brought against him. Burnet. Hayward.

the king by degrees took a disgust at his uncle, and was thereby disposed to receive any ill impressions against him. On the other hand, the duke of Somerset could not, without extreme impatience, see himself daily exposed to affronts, the more provoking as they were done with design to incense him. Few have the prudence or moderation to avoid falling into such snares. 'Tis pretended, that seeing himself thus pushed, he resolved to kill the duke of Northumberland at a visit he was to make him. Others say, he intended to have invited him to dinner at the lord Paget's, and there he was either to kill or poison him. At least the historians thus speak of it, because the report was spread both before and after his disgrace, and even imbibed by the king. And yet his impeachment had no such thing in it, but ran only, that he intended to secure the duke of Northumberland's person. However, it cannot be denied, he had contrived some plot to be restored to his post, and devised, and perhaps imparted to his confidants, several expedients which were imputed to him afterwards as so many crimes, though he had executed none. One of these confidants was the person that ruined him, being in all appearance bribed by his enemy. This man, sir Thomas Palmer by name, having been secretly brought to the king, told him all he knew, and probably so turned his discourse as to make the king believe that bare projects or thoughts were fixed and settled designs^r. However, the king being persuaded, his uncle would have assassinated the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, consented that he should be brought to his trial. So on the 17th of October the duke was apprehended and sent to the Tower, with many others accused of being his accomplices. The next day, the duchess of Somerset with two of her women were also arrested; and after that, the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget underwent the same fate.

As soon as the duke of Somerset was in the Tower, his pretended crimes were every where published with circumstances proper to impose on the people. Upon these extravagant accusations it is that the historians, doctor Burnet excepted, have built their accounts of this event. What is most probable is, that the duke had projected to get himself declared protector in the next parliament, since the earl of Rut-

^r He afterwards denied all to the duke of Somerset. See king Edw. Jour. P. 37.

land affirmed it upon oath. As to the means he intended to use for that end, very likely he had devised several, but not yet fixed upon any, except that perhaps of securing the duke of Northumberland's person. As the custom of bringing the witnesses face to face had been some time since laid aside, we must be contented with knowing what the witnesses deposed against him, without any possibility however of receiving from thence an unquestionable proof of the truth of the facts. Every one is sensible, what great alterations the confronting of witnesses is capable of producing in seemingly the most positive depositions.

The witnesses are not confronted.

Palmer deposed, that sir Ralph Vane was to have headed two thousand men to support the duke of Somerset's designs, who with a hundred horse* was to have fallen upon the guard; that being done the duke intended to have gone through the city proclaiming Liberty, Liberty, and in case he failed to raise the people to have fled to the isle of Wight. One Crane affirmed the same thing, and added, that the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget were privy to the conspiracy.

The depositions of the witnesses. Edw. Jour. Burnet. Hayward.

Upon these depositions, the duke was brought to his trial before the peers on the first of December, the crimes laid against him being cast into three articles :

1. That he had designed to seize on the king's person, and the administration of the publick affairs.
2. That he with one hundred others intended to imprison the duke of Northumberland.
3. And that he had designed to raise an insurrection in the city of London.

Articles of accusation. Burnet.

These three articles, to which the duke of Somerset's crimes were reduced, plainly show, there was no proof of his having intended to kill or poison the three lords abovementioned, though the king had been made to believe it, and the people told the same. Of these three articles the first and third were high-treason, and the second concerning the duke of Northumberland was only felony. He positively denied the treasonable articles, and for the other, which was placed the second in the impeachment, he protested, he had never determined

* December 1550, there was appointed a band of horsemen divided amongst the nobles, an hundred to the duke of Somerset. These were the horse, that with the two thousand men were to set upon the Gens d'armes, who were nine hundred in number. See king Edw. Journ. p. 22. in Burnet, vol. II.

Edw. VI. to kill the duke of Northumberland, the marquiss of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, but had only talked of
 1551. it without any intention to do it.

It must be confessed, here is a difficulty which is not easy to be resolved. The duke of Somerset is not accused of intending to kill these lords, and yet he justifies himself on that head. This seems to intimate, there was some such article in the indictment. And yet, doctor Burnet, an exact historian, if ever there was any, who affirms that he took the accusation out of the records of the council, sets down but three articles, where there is no mention of these lords, who even sat among the peers his judges. On the other hand, it will appear presently, that the duke was condemned for felony, which was stretching the rigour of the law as far as it could go, if he was guilty only of an intention to seize the duke of Northumberland; whereas if he had really intended to kill these three lords, there was nothing in his sentence but what was agreeable to an act of parliament. It must therefore be said, either the famous historian abovementioned, has not exactly related the articles of accusation, or the peers condemned the unfortunate duke for a crime he was not legally charged with. The faithfulness and exactness doctor Burnet has professed, will not allow him to be accused of such a fraud. But the character of the duke of Northumberland, and of most of the duke of Somerset's judges, who for the most part were his professed enemies, give but too much occasion to suspect that the fear of offending the duke of Northumberland, or some other motives, prevailed over justice.

He is acquitted of treason, but found guilty of felony.
 Edw. Jour.
 Burnet.
 Hollingsh.

After the peers had heard the depositions against the duke, and his defences, they unanimously acquitted him of treason, but found him guilty of felony. They proceeded, in all appearance, upon a statute made in the time of Henry VII.^a, which declared it felony to intend to take away the life of a privy-counsellor. This was stretching very far that severe law, which perhaps was never executed before, especially upon a duke, peer of the realm, and uncle to the king. Besides his charge did not run that he had intended to kill

^a The marquiss of Winchester sat as high-steward, and his judges, twenty-seven in number, were the dukes of Suffolk, and Northumberland, the marquiss of Northampton, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntington, Rutland, Bath, Sussex, Worcester, Pembroke; and the viscount of Hereford; the lords Abergavenny, Audley, Wharton, Evers,

Latimer, Borough, Souch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Windsor, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray. The lord chancellor was left out of the number, being suspected of favouring the duke of Somerset. Edw. Jour. p. 41. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 179.

^u Third of Henry VII. See Statut. c. 14.

these three counsellors, but only had designed to secure the duke of Northumberland's person. But what is most strange in the trial is, that these three lords sat as judges. Sentence being given, he asked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, for his ill intentions against them. This asking pardon has made several believe him guilty. But it is a question, whether by these ill intentions we are necessarily to understand a design to assassinate them. When the people who were present at his trial, saw he was returned not guilty of treason, they shouted for joy so loud, that they were heard at Charing-cross. But their joy was turned into sorrow when they heard he was condemned of felony.

Every one believed the duke would be pardoned, because his execution was deferred almost two months. But so great care had been taken to prepossess the king against him, that young Edward, who abhorred the crimes he believed him guilty of, was very far from any thoughts of granting him a pardon. It appears in his Journal, that one Bartuile had affirmed upon oath, that the duke of Somerset had hired him to kill the duke of Northumberland. That the duke himself had owned it at his coming to the Tower, though he had denied it at first. But it is very strange, this evidence was not produced at his trial. Nothing argues his innocence in this respect so much as the indictment itself, which ran, not that he had intended to assassinate the duke of Northumberland, but only had designed to seize and imprison him. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the king believed him guilty of the first of these crimes, since we see in his letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick his favourite, then in France, that the duke had confessed it after sentence, though he had before sworn the contrary. But the king's belief does by no means prove the fact. It serves also equally to prove that the young king was abused, who even showed afterwards an extreme sorrow for having consented to his uncle's death. The duke of Somerset was in hopes however of undeceiving the king. He had now engaged the lord chancellor Rich to be his friend, who through a mistake in the superscription of a note he sent to the duke, discovered his design to use his endeavours for

The king is persuaded that the duke is guilty. Burnet.

Burnet. Fallor.

The chancellor is Somerset's friend, and is deprived of his office. Hayward.

Dec. 21. Edw. Jour. Burnet.

"The king's words, as in Burnet, are: "The duke seemed to have acknowledged the felony, and after sentence he had confessed it, though he had formerly vehemently sworn the

"contrary." So it was not the design of killing, (as Rapin says by mistake) but the felony, that the king said he confessed. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 181.

him.

Edw. VI. him. This occasioned the great seal's being taken from him, 1551. and given to the bishop of Ely*.

The king
signs an or-
der for be-
heading the
duke of
Somerset.
Act. Pub.
xv. p. 295.
The duke's
speech on the
scaffold.
January 22.
Burnet.
Buchanan.
Fox.

Stow,
p. 607.
Fox.

The duke of
Somerset's
character.
Burnet.

As soon as the duke had received his sentence, great care was taken to divert and entertain the king with pleasing sights, that he might not reflect upon this strange condemnation. At the same time, all his uncle's friends were carefully hindered from coming near him. At last, on the 22d of January, he signed an order for his execution. The duke appeared calm and undisturbed on the scaffold, and made a speech to the people. He affirmed, "he had never offended the king by word or deed. He gave God thanks for making him his instrument to promote the reformation, and exhorted the people to persist therein." When he had gone so far, he was forced to stop, by reason of an extraordinary noise among the people, which lasted some time. Sir Anthony Brown riding towards the scaffold, and crying to the people to give way, made many believe he was bringing a pardon. On the other side, a company of soldiers who had been ordered to attend at the execution, coming too late, caused others to imagine they were come to massacre them. This bred a terrible disorder, and fatal to some of the spectators, who were smothered to death. When the noise was over, he calmly went on with his speech, and said, "he had always been most diligent about his majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad; and no less diligent in seeking the common good of the whole realm." Here again he was interrupted by the people crying out, "It was most true." Then "he prayed for the king, asked forgiveness of all whom at any time he had offended, forgave all his enemies without exception, and desired the people to bear him witness that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ." When he had ended his speech he turned to his private devotions; after which he laid his head on the block to receive the fatal blow.

Thus fell the duke of Somerset, concerning whom opinions have been very much divided. Some have represented him as a very wicked man, capable of committing the most

* The lord chancellor intending to send the duke of Somerset an advertisement of somewhat designed against him by the council, and being in haste, wrote only on the back of the letter, "To the duke," and bade one of his servants carry it to the Tower, without giving him particular directions to the duke of Somerset. His servant fancying it was to the duke of Norfolk, he

ried it to him. He, to make Northumberland his friend, sent the letter to him. Rich understanding the mistake, prevented the discovery, and went immediately to the king and pretending some indisposition, desired to be discharged; and upon that took to his bed. So it seemed too barbarous to do any thing further against him. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 182.

heinous

benious crimes, and others, as a very good Christian.* It is Edw. VI. easy to see that religion, was the sole cause of this diversity. 1551. Had it not been for the prejudice religion begets in most men, his faults would not have been so much aggravated, which after all, were some of the least men are guilty of. On the other hand, without this same prejudice, there would not have been so much pains taken to colour his ambition, which doubtless was a little too great. They who have made it their business to vindicate all his actions, have also very lightly touched upon the vast riches amassed by him during his administration. Of this, Somerset-house now standing in London, is an authentick proof. But then, his enemies have made bare accusations artfully spread among the people, and instilled into the king, to pass for evidenced crimes, though it manifestly appears by the very articles of his indictment, that he was condemned only for an intention to commit an offence, not against the king or state, but against some private persons. It may therefore be affirmed, that the faults for which he was pardoned after his first condemnation, were much greater than that for which he suffered death. The people, who are seldom mistaken in their judgment of great men, were so generally persuaded of his innocence, that many dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, considering him as a sort of martyr. Nay, it happened in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, that a woman seeing the duke of Northumberland leading to the Tower, shook one of these bloody handkerchiefs at him, saying, "Behold, the blood which thou didst cause to be unjustly shed, does now apparently begin to revenge itself on thee."

About a month after this execution, sir Ralph Vane, sir Miles Partridge, sir Michael Stanhope, and sir Thomas Arundel †, who were said to be the duke of Somerset's chief accomplices, were also put to death. But they all protested they had never intended to form any plot, either against the king or any privy-counsellor. Vane added, he did not doubt his blood would make the duke of Northumberland's pillow uneasy to him. As for Palmer, Crane, and Bartuile, who had served as witnesses against the duke of Somerset, they were easily discharged. Nay, it was observed, there was a great intimacy afterwards between Palmer and the duke of Northumberland, which gave occasion to believe Palmer had been

* The jury could not agree in their verdict concerning this last, so that they remained shut up without meat or drink from noon, January the 28th, till the next morning, the 29th. Edw. Journ. p. 46. They were executed on Tower-hill, February 26. Fox, p. 99.

Edw. VI. corrupted to betray the duke of Somerset, who had honoured him with his friendship.

Affairs of
Germany,
Sleidan.
Burnet.

During the year 1551, the state of the emperor's affairs was changed in Germany, when he least suspected it. Maurice elector of Saxony, having formed the design of restoring his country to liberty, had secretly negotiated a league with France and the protestant princes of Germany. But before he declared himself openly, he had a mind to know what might be expected from England. To that purpose, he sent ambassadors to Edward, to gain him to his interest, and procure a sum of four hundred thousand crowns, by telling him it was for the preservation of the protestant religion. The ambassadors were told, the king would most willingly enter into a religious league; but did not mean to be engaged under that pretence in a war for other quarrels. That if the elector of Saxony would confer more particularly with the protestant princes, and then send the king ambassadors with fuller instructions and sufficient powers, he should have a more positive answer. Hitherto Maurice had but faintly pressed the siege of Magdeburg: but when his private affairs were settled, he so ordered it by the help of some friends in the town that the inhabitants surrendered by capitulation. Then he broke up his army, who parting into several bodies, quartered in the territories of some popish princes, putting them under heavy contributions. The catholicks complained very much of their being exposed to these oppressions. The emperor alone remained in an entire security, without having the least suspicion of the elector.

and of the
council of
Trent.
Burnet.

The council being removed back to Trent, was opened again in May, 1551. But a quarrel between the pope and the king of France interrupting the sessions, they were renewed in September; and though Henry II. protested against the council, the legates continued it, and caused several points to be decided which are foreign to our purpose².

1552.
Parliament.
An act en-
joining the
confronting
of the wit-
nesses.
Burnet.

The parliament met the 23d of January, 1552. The commons, seeing the great abuse of the pernicious custom of condemning people without confronting the witnesses, had a mind to put a stop to it. To that end, a bill was prepared, condemning, under divers penalties, those who should write or speak against the king, with a proviso, that none

² This year, the king founded a college or a collegiate church at Galway in Ireland. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 258. Strype, p. 259. And ap-

pointed a council, consisting of a president, and thirty other persons, for the government of Wales. Ibid.

should

should be attainted of treason on this act, unless two witnesses should come, and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except such as should confess it. The lords were very unwilling to agree to this proviso^a, as if it concerned them less than the commons to be freed from oppression: but at length the act passed as drawn by the commons.

In this session also some progress was made in the reformation^b. Among other things, the marriage of the clergy was declared good and valid, which had been for some time considered by the people as only tolerated. The marriage of the clergy declared valid.

The session of parliament being about to end, and not above a hundred and thirty-seven members remaining in the lower house, a bill was brought into the house of lords to repeal the settlement of the duke of Somerset's estate, made in favour of his children by his second wife. In this bill was inserted a clause, as the foundation of it, that the duke of Somerset and his complices were justly attainted^c. But the commons agreeing to the repeal, rejected the clause. This shows their opinion of the duke's innocence. Attempts to blacken the duke of Somerset's memory. Burnet.

In this same session, the duke of Northumberland attempted to get Tonsil bishop of Durham condemned, who had been accused of misprision of treason^d. The lords readily passed the bill for attainting him, but the commons would not proceed upon it, because it was intended to condemn the bishop without confronting the witnesses. The duke of Northumberland's aim was to have had the dignity of palatine. Another fruitless attempt to get the bishop of Durham condemned. Burnet. Edw. Jour. Hayward. Strype.

^a This does not appear. The commons rejected the bill itself, and then drew a new one, which was passed. See Burnet, tom. ii. p. 190.

^b The new Common-Prayer-Book, according to the alterations agreed upon in the former year, with the form of making bishops, priests and deacons, were appointed to be received everywhere, after the feast of All Saints next. Soon after, it was by the king's order translated into French, by Francis Philip, and printed in 1553, for the use of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, and the town of Calais. Collier's Eccl. Hist. tom. ii. p. 321. Strype, p. 37. And a letter was written, on July 12. 1553, to sir Peter Mewtas, captain of the isle of Jersey, to command him, that divine service might there be used as in England. Edw. Journ. p. 58.

By another act, the bishoprick of Westminster was suppressed, and united to London; but the collegiate church, with its exempted jurisdictions, was still continued.—About this time, David's psalms began to be turned into English rhyme, by Thomas Sternhold, one of the grooms of the king's privy chamber. He translated only thirty-seven. The rest were done by John Hopkins, and others. Heylin, p. 127.

^c It was read thrice in the house of lords, on April 12. Journ. Procer.

^d By one Mainvil. He was charged with consenting to a conspiracy in 1553, for raising a rebellion in the north. This charge was grounded upon a letter of his, found among the duke of Somerset's papers. See Burnet, tom. iii. p. 205.

Edw. VI. time of Durham, annexed to that see, conferred on himself.
1552. We shall see hereafter, his project had better success. Mean

while, finding the commons had not much condescension for him, because the parliament had been called during the duke of Somerset's administration, he resolved to have another which should be more at his devotion. Accordingly this which had now sat five years, was dissolved at the end of the session*. Then the council came to a resolution to call a new parliament for the next year only, in order to have time to take the necessary measures to cause representatives to be chosen, who should be more favourable to the court.

The parliament is dissolved.
Burnet.

Alteration as to the bishops.
Burnet, t. ii. p. 28. and iii. p. 195, &c.

There were this year two considerable changes with respect to the bishops. First, Heath and Day bishops of Worcester and Chichester were deprived, for too openly opposing the reformation. The second change was more considerable. After the parliament had given the king power of nominating to the vacant sees, his patents ran, that he appointed such a one, bishop of such a see, during his natural life. But at the time I am speaking of, it was thought proper to change the words into, "so long as he shall behave himself well." So the bishops made by these patents might be deprived of their sees by a bare act of the king's will, without being forced to observe the usual formalities in such cases.

The duke of Northumberland is absolute.

The duke of Northumberland still directed the affairs of the government, though he had no commission to distinguish him from the other privy-counsellors. His proceedings against the duke of Somerset putting every one in fear of being exposed to his vengeance, not a man dared openly to oppose him. It has been seen that in the late parliament he attempted to render the duke of Somerset's memory odious, by causing his sentence to be approved by the two houses. That project

* April 15. Journ. Parl. --- The acts made in this session, besides those already mentioned, were as follows: 1. An act enjoining the keeping of holidays and fasting-days. What days were particularly specified, see in the act itself. 2. That no one shall quarrel in a church or church-yard, upon pain of suspension; nor strike, upon pain of excommunication; nor draw a weapon, upon pain of losing one of his ears. 3. That no person shall forestall any market, or ingross any goods, upon pain of forfeiture of the goods, and two months imprisonment for the first offence; half a year's imprisonment, and

the double value of the things, for the second; and the pillory, and forfeiture of all his goods, besides imprisonment, for the third offence.

† The first patents with this clause in Rymer's *Fœdera*, are those of John Hooper, *Durante vitâ naturali, si tamdiu se bene gesserit*. Act. Pub. xv. p. 298. May 10. Rapin. --- This year the see of Gloucester, of which Hooper was bishop, was quite suppressed, and converted into an exempted archdeaconry; and Hooper was made bishop of Worcester. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 203. Rymer's *Fœd.* tom. xv. p. 297, &c. 320.

not succeeding, he took another method. He ordered a strict inquiry to be made of all who had been enriched by the chantry-lands, given to the king during the duke of Somerset's administration. Great numbers were found, some of whom were condemned in heavy fines, and others found means to purchase the duke of Northumberland's favour. But it was not possible for the lord Paget to divert the storm which fell upon him, the duke of Northumberland mortally hating him for having been entirely devoted to the duke of Somerset. He was not only fined in six thousand pounds, but also on pretence that he was no gentleman^b, was degraded from the order of the garter, which he had received from Henry VIII, as if that prince when he gave it him knew not his pedigree. Besides the motive of hatred and revenge by which the duke of Northumberland was swayed, he had also another, which was to make way for his eldest son^c the earl of Warwick, for whom he easily procured the vacant garter^d.

Inquiry of those who were enriched by the chantry-lands. Burnet. The lord Paget is degraded. Edw. Jour. Burnet. Hayward. Strype. Stow.

About this time the corporation of German merchants, who lived in the Steel-yard, was dissolved, because it was become detrimental to England, by engrossing the whole woolen trade^e. It was proved, that the Steel yard men, in the year 1551, shipped forty four thousand cloths, and all the English merchants together did not export above eleven hundred. The regent of Flanders and the city of Hamburg earnestly

The company of the German merchants dissolved. Burnet. Edw. Jour. Strype.

^a He had been chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and was charged with many misdemeanors in that office: particularly, with selling the king's lands and timber without commission; taking large fines for his own use; making leases in reversion for above twenty-one years. Edw. Jour. p. 55.

^b His father was one of the serjeants at law in the city of London. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 390.

^c Sir Andrew Dudley his brother. See Strype, tom. ii. p. 401.

^d On February 2, this year, there was a king at arms appointed for Ireland, by the name of Ulster. Edw. Jour. p. 46.

^e Henry III. had been much supported in his wars by the assistance he received from the free towns in Germany; in recompence whereof he gave them great privileges in England. They were made a corporation, and lived together in the Steel-yard near the bridge.

They had gone sometimes, particularly in the reign of Edward IV, beyond their charters, which were thereupon judged to be forfeited, but by great presents they purchased new ones. They traded in a body, and so ruined others by underselling them. Trade was now risen much: courts began to be more magnificent; so there was a greater consumption of cloth than formerly. Antwerp and Hamburg had then the chief trade in these parts of the world, and their factors in the Steel-yard (so called from the steel imported by them) had all the markets of England in their hands, and set such prices both on what they imported or exported as they pleased, and broke all other merchants. Whereupon the merchant-adventurers complained of them, and after some hearings, it was adjudged that they had forfeited their charter, and that their company was dissolved. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 207. Strype, tom. ii. p. 295.

Edw. VI. solicited to have the company restored, but it was to no purpose. The court also set on foot a project for the advantage

1552.

Project of
two mart-
towns in
England.

Edw. Journ.
Cardan in
England.
Burnet.

of the trade of England, namely, to open two free mart-towns in England, Hull and Southampton. But it was not executed for want of time.

This year Cardan the famous Italian philosopher passed through England in his return from Scotland, where he had been to cure the archbishop of St. Andrew's of a dropsy. His endeavours were crowned with success, but he foretold the archbishop he was to be hanged. As he passed through England he waited on young king Edward, and was so charmed with him, that he every where spoke of him as of a miracle. It is said he cast his nativity, and foretold to him a long and prosperous life. But for once the rules of his art were not just.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Burnet.

Edw. Jour.

The affairs of Scotland underwent this year some alteration. The queen-dowager had been in France on pretence of seeing her daughter, and had obtained of that court the regency of Scotland in the room of the earl of Arran. In November 1551, she returned to Scotland through England, where she was magnificently treated by the king, and her charges borne to the frontiers of the two kingdoms. At her arrival in Scotland, she persuaded the earl of Arran to resign the regency to her, according to the desire of Henry II. and his ministers, the earl perceiving he could not keep it against

■ After the king's death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he wrote the following character of him : — " All the graces were in him :

" he had many tongues when he was yet but a child ; together with the English, his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French ; nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and perhaps some more : but for the English, French, and Latin, he was perfect in them, and was apt to learn every thing : nor was he ignorant of logick, of the principles of natural philosophy, nor of musick. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal ; his gravity becoming the majesty of a king, and his disposition was suitable to his high degree. In short, that child was so bred, had such parts, and was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man " Afterwards he adds, " He was a marvellous boy ; when I was

" with him, he was in the fifteenth year of his age, in which he spoke Latin as politely and readily as I did. He began to love the liberal arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them ; and in him there was such an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world had reason to lament his being so early snatched away. — When the gravity of a king was needful, he carried himself like an old man ; and yet he was always affable and gentle as became his age. He played on the lute ; he meddled in affairs of state ; and for bounty, he did in that emulate his father ; though his father, even when he endeavoured to be good, might appear to have been bad. But there was no ground of suspecting any such thing in the son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of philosophy." See the original in Burnet's Hist. Ref. tom. II. Collect.

their

their will. The archbishop of St. Andrew's did not like his brother's resigning his dignity. He caballed against the queen-regent, who had the address to support herself by the assistance of the reformed, promising them the free exercise of their religion in their own houses. By this means, she established herself in the government in spite of the archbishop's attempts.

The revolution this year in the affairs of Germany was much more considerable. The elector of Saxony at length discovered his project, but not till after the king of France had proclaimed war against the emperor, and the constable de Montmorency taken Metz by surprize. Then Maurice, assembling his forces, marched directly to Inspruck, where Charles V. was, and had like to have taken him prisoner. Maurice's declaration obliged the emperor at last to give the protestants some satisfaction, by granting them the famous edict of Passau, whereby the several princes and towns were secured in the free exercise of their religion. That monarch soon met with another great mortification. He invested Metz: but by the brave resistance of the duke of Guise, who defended the place, he was forced to raise the siege. Let us return now to the affairs of England^a.

The new parliament meeting the first of March, 1553, the house of commons consisted of representatives who for the most part were disposed to follow the directions of the court. They gave the king a very considerable subsidy, grounded upon the great wasting of his treasure during the duke of Somerset's administration. This showed what power the duke of Northumberland had in the house^b. That lord procured likewise an act for suppressing the bishoprick of Durham, having first caused Tonstal to be deprived^c. This bishoprick

Revolutions
in Germany.
Sleidan.
Burnet.

1553.

Parliament
favourable to
the duke of
Northumber-
land.
Styrie,
t. ii. p. 394.
Somerset's
memory is
blackened.
Tonstal is
deprived,
and his see
suppressed.

^a This year the king's debts amounted to two hundred and fifty-one thousand, or, according to Styrie, two hundred and forty-one thousand, one hundred and seventy-nine pounds, and a commission was granted to certain persons, to sell part of the chantry-lands for the payment of them. Edw. Journ. p. 51. Styrie, tom. ii. p. 312.

^b They gave the king two tenths and two fifteenths, and a subsidy, to be paid in two years. At the passing the bill, there was a great debate about it in the house of commons, which seems to have been about the preamble, containing a long accusation of the duke of Somerset, for involving the king in wars,

wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debt, embasing the coin, and having given occasion to a most terrible rebellion. This was inserted by the duke of Northumberland, to let the king see how acceptable he and his party were, and how hateful the duke of Somerset had been. The clergy did also give the king six shillings in the pound of their benefices. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 215.

^c He was deprived, August 14, 1552. Styrie, tom. ii. p. 367. The bill for dissolving his bishoprick was first read on the 21st of March, and, for the second and third times, on the 22d and 29th. Journ. Parl.

Edw. VI. being suppressed, the king founded two others, one at Durham with 2000 marks revenue, and another at Newcastle with 1000. But the temporality of the bishoprick being

turned into a county palatine, was given to the duke of Northumberland. Probably, Tonstal was deprived and his see suppressed for that purpose.

The duke of Northumberland is made count-palatine. Strype. Burnet. The parliament sat but one month. It was dissolved the 31st of March, after the duke of Northumberland had procured a subsidy for the king, and a stain for the memory of the late duke of Somerset^q. The court had no farther need of a parliament, and the duke of Northumberland's interest required there should be none, when he was preparing to execute his designs.

The king's illness. Burnet. The church plate is called in. Edw. Journ. Hayward. Stow. The young king had been seized ever since January with a distemper which at length brought him to his grave. This did not hinder his being made to sign an order for visiting the churches, and taking thence all the superfluous plate and ornaments. The visitors were likewise to examine very strictly what embezzlements had been made in that respect. All this was done under colour of selling the superfluities, and giving the money to the poor, who had however the least share^r.

The council are jealous of the progress of France. Burnet. Hayward. Strype. The progress of the French in Germany beginning to make England uneasy, the council resolved to take some measures

^q But an act was made for the restoring in blood fir Edward Seymour, knt. who was eldest son of the duke by his second wife.—There was also a remarkable act made for avoiding excess of wines. It imported, That no person whatever should keep in his house above ten gallons of French wine, for spending, upon pain of forfeiting 10 l. sterling: unless he could spend an hundred marks yearly in lands, tenements, or other profits certain; or was worth a thousand marks of his own; or else was the son of a duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron. When it was read in the house of lords, the duke of Suffolk, the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Westmoreland, Rutland, the bishop of St. David's, and the lord Darcy of Chich, dissented from it. Journ. Parl.

^r April 2, 1552, he fell sick of the small-pox and measles, which probably might turn to a consumption. Edw. Journ. p. 49.

* Visitors were appointed to examine what church-plate, jewels, and other furniture was in all churches, and to compare their account with the inventories made in former visitations, and to see what was embezzled, and how. They were to leave in every church one or two chalices of silver, with linen for the communion-table and for surplices; and to bring in all other things of value to the treasurer of the king's household, and to sell the rest of the linen, copes, altar-cloths, and give the money to the poor. Heylin, and some others, urge from hence, that the king was ill-principled as to the matters of the church, because he was now in the sixteenth year of his age. But Burnet observes, that when all is done, it was only calling in the superfluous plate that lay in churches, more for pomp than use. And that perhaps being sick, he did not much mind what papers the council brought him to sign. Tem. ii. p. 217.

to stop their career. Nay, they seemed at first to have intended to join in a league with the emperor against France. 1553. But all this ended at last in the offer of the king's mediation, which produced no effect.

Mean while, Edward was still troubled with a defluxion upon his lungs, which wasted him by degrees, and daily grew more dangerous. Some plainly affirm, a slow poison was given him, and throw the suspicion upon the duke of Northumberland. Others only insinuate such a thing, without saying it positively. But after all, both speak only by conjecture, without giving any proof. The young king saw death approaching without any fears as to himself, but could not reflect without an extreme concern on the future state of religion, under his sister Mary who was to succeed him. Very probably, the duke of Northumberland, who constantly attended him in his illness, took care to increase his fears, on purpose to lead him more easily to the point he desired. All hopes however of the king's recovery were not given over till the middle of May, when it is likely, the physicians told the duke of Northumberland, his case was desperate. Then it was that he married the lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth son, the only one unmarried, to Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the new duke of Suffolk by Frances Brandon, who was in Henry VIII's will the next in the succession after the princess Elizabeth. At the same time, Jane's two sisters were also married, the second, the lady Catherine, to the earl of Pembroke's eldest son the lord Herbert; the third, the lady Mary, who was crooked, to the king's goom-porter, Martin Keys. These marriages were solemnized about the end of May, when there was no hope of the king's recovery. At last, one day, as the young king was expressing his great concern at the thoughts, that his sister the princess Mary would do her utmost to destroy the reformation, the duke of Northumberland broke the ice. He represented to the king, that there was but one way to prevent the misfortunes England was threatened with, in case the princess Mary ascended the throne after him; and that was, to settle the crown on the lady Jane Grey his daughter-in-law. Indeed it was natural in excluding Mary to transfer the crown to his sister Elizabeth, whom the king tenderly loved, and who was a hearty friend to the reformation. But, probably, the duke told the king, as he could exclude Mary but on the specious pretence of her being illegitimate, the same reason subsisted

The king's illness becomes very dangerous. Burnet. Hayward.

He is concerned about religion after his death. Burnet.

His recovery is despaired of.

Marriage of the duke of Northumberland's fourth son with Jane Grey. Burnet. Hollingsh. Stow. Hayward.

The duke persuades the king to settle the crown on Jane Grey. Burnet. Hollingsh. Hayward. Strype.

* Hollingshead says it was about the beginning of the month, p. 2085.

Edw. VI. with regard to Elizabeth, since the marriages of their mothers were equally annulled. That therefore, either the succession was to be left as settled by the late king, or the princesses were to be both excluded together. Very likely, the young king, who found himself dying, and only thought of saving the reformation from the impending destruction, was prevailed with by this argument to sacrifice the princess Elizabeth. Besides, he had a great esteem and affection for Jane Grey, who was an accomplished lady both in body and mind.

The judges refuse to draw the settlement. Burnet.

However, the king having taken the resolution suggested to him by the duke of Northumberland, three judges of the realm^a were sent for, and required to draw an assignment of the crown to Jane Grey. The judges desired a little time to consider of it. At last, they answered, they could not presume to do any such thing without being guilty of high treason. Adding, that all the privy counsellors who consented to the assignment would unavoidably be liable to the pains expressed in the act of succession. Upon which the duke of Northumberland was in such a fury, that he had like to have beaten the judges; but they stood to what they had said. On the 16th of June they were sent for again, and at length by threats and the expediency of a pardon under the great seal, were wrought upon to draw the settlement of the crown, which was signed by all the rest of the judges, except Hales, who could never be prevailed with. All the privy-counsellors set their hands to it likewise on the 21st of the same month. Cranmer was absent that day on purpose to avoid signing; but the king importuned him so much, that he set his hand at last as a witness, as it is pretended, and not as a privy-counsellor^v.

They are as it were forced to it. Burnet, tom. iii. Col. p. 207. Hollingh. The settlement is signed by all the council.

A woman undertakes to cure the king, but cannot. Suspicion against the duke of Northumberland. Burnet. Hayward. Strype.

Mean while, the king's distemper increasing, without the possibility of finding any remedy, the council thought fit to dismiss the physicians, and put him into the hands of a certain woman, who undertook his cure. It was said, this was done by the duke of Northumberland's advice, and that the woman shortened the king's days. But he was now so ill,

^a They were, Montague chief justice of the common-pleas, and Baker and Bromley; and were sent for on June 11. Goshald came with them on the 19th. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 222.

^v Burnet says, he does not know whether the archbishop used this distinction, though it seems probable that he did so, seeing that liberty was al-

lowed to Cecil, who, in a relation which he made one write of this transaction, for clearing himself afterwards, says, when he heard Hales declare how much it was against law, he refused to set his hand to it as a counsellor, and that he only signed it as a witness to the king's subscription, p. 223.

that

that it was entirely needless to hasten his death. It is true, Edw. VI. the woman instead of curing him, only put him to more pain 1553. by the medicines she gave him; and this was sufficient to inspire the people with violent suspicions of the duke of Northumberland, who was not beloved, and was thought capable of any thing. At last the physicians were sent for again. But it was not in their power to stop the violence of his distemper, which carried him out of the world on the 6th of July, after his giving sensible proofs of a true piety. Some days before his death, the duke of Northumberland got the council to write to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, desiring them to come and keep him company, in his sickness. His aim was to have them in his power, that they might not obstruct the promotion of his daughter-in-law Jane Grey. The two princesses not imagining the king so near death were upon the road, but hearing he was expiring, turned back, and the duke was disappointed of his expectation *.

The king's death.
The duke tries to have Mary and Elizabeth in his power.
Burnet.
Hayward.
They escape the snare.

* His body was buried on the 8th of August, in the chapel of St. Peter's church in Westminster, and laid near the body of Henry VII. his grandfather. The charge of his funeral amounting but to 475 l. 2s. 2d. Strype, p. 432. He died in Sir Henry Sidney's arms, son-in-law to the duke of Northumberland. It is said, king Edward was in body beautiful, of a sweet aspect, and especially in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry liveliness and lustre in them. He kept a book, in which he writ the characters of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord-lieutenants, and justices of the peace over England, marking down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had studied the business of the mint, with the exchange and value of money. He also understood fortification, and designed well. He knew all the harbours and ports in his dominions, as also in Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He had acquired so great knowledge in foreign affairs, that the ambassadors who were sent into England, published very extraordinary things of him in all the courts of Europe. He took notes of almost every thing he heard, which he writ first in Greek characters, that these about him might not understand

them, and afterwards copied out fair in the journal or diary that he kept. This journal, written with his own hand, is still preserved in Sir John Cotton's famous library; from whence the learned bishop Burnet transcribed and published it, in his second volume of the History of the reformation. In it the most considerable transactions in this reign are perhaps as well registered (says bishop Nicolson) by the young king himself, as by any other historian. — June 26, a few days before his death, the king endowed Christ's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell hospitals, in London, with the revenues belonging to the Savoy in the same city, which amounted then to 600 l. a year; and gave licence for the purchasing of lands, to the use of the same hospitals, as far as the yearly sum of 4000 marks. Hollingh. p. 1082. He also founded Christ's hospital in Abington. Heylin, p. 141. — The expences of his household yearly, during his reign, were as follows. The first year, 49,187 l. 18 s. The second, 46,902 l. 7 s. The third, 46,100 l. 3 s. The fourth, 100,578 l. 16 s. The fifth, 62,863 l. 9 s. The sixth, 65,923 l. 16 s. Strype, tom. ii. p. 454, 455. As for the prices of meat, and other provisions during this reign, see *ibid*, p. 151, 223. Reposit. p. 143.

BY indentures of the 1st and 2d of Edward VI, a pound weight of gold, of twenty carats fine and four carats allay, was coined into thirty pounds by tale, out of which the king had a great profit; and a pound of silver of four ounces fine and eight ounces allay, was coined into forty eight shillings: after which rate, every pound of fine silver made in current money seven pounds four shillings; and the king's profit on every pound weight was four pounds four shillings.—In the 3d year of this king, a pound weight of gold, of twenty-two carats fine and two carats allay, was to be coined into thirty-four pounds by tale, into sovereigns at 20 s. a-piece, half sovereigns at 10 s. a-piece, crowns at 5 s. and half-crowns at 2 s. 6 d. a-piece: and a pound weight of silver, of six ounces fine and six ounces allay, was to be coined into seventy-two shillings, which were to go for 12 d. a-piece by tale; of which the merchant, for every pound weight of fine silver, received three pounds four shillings, and the king above four pounds gain.—In the 4th year of this reign, a pound weight of gold of the old standard, of twenty-three carats, and three grains and a half fine, was coined into twenty-eight pounds sixteen shillings by tale; namely, into sovereigns at 24 s. a-piece, half-sovereigns at 12 s. angels at 8 s. and half-angels at 4 s. a-piece.—In the 5th of this reign, a pound weight of silver, of three ounces fine and nine ounces allay, was coined into seventy-two shillings at 12d. a-piece; and the merchant received for every ounce of fine silver, which he should bring to the mint, ten shillings of such money; by which means twelve ounces of fine silver was exorbitantly raised to fourteen pounds eighteen shillings.—In the 6th of this reign, a pound weight of gold, of the old standard aforesaid, was coined into thirty-six pounds by tale; namely, twenty-four sovereigns at 30 s. a-piece, seventy-two angels at 10 s. a-piece, or one hundred and forty-four half angels: and a pound weight of crown gold, of twenty-two carats fine and two carats allay, was coined into thirty-three pounds by tale; namely, thirty-three sovereigns at 20 s. a-piece, or sixty-six half-sovereigns at 10 s. a-piece, or one hundred and thirty-two crowns, or two hundred and sixty four half-crowns: and a pound weight of silver, consisting of eleven ounces one penny-weight fine, and nineteen penny-weight allay, was coined into three pounds by tale; namely, twelve crowns, or twenty-four half-crowns, or sixty shillings, or one hundred and twenty six-pences, or two hundred and forty three-pences, or seven hundred and twenty pence, or one thousand four hundred and forty half-pence, or two thousand eight hundred and eighty farthings.

The gold coins of this king are sovereigns, half-sovereigns, angels, half-angels, crowns, half-crowns. The sovereign has on one side the king's bust crowned; reverse, SCV FVM. FIDEL. PROTEGIT. EVM. the arms in a shield crowned, between E.

E.R. Another has the king's titles on the arms side; on the reverse, the king with a youthful countenance, bare-headed, the motto as in the last. The other sort has the king's figure in armour crowned, holding a naked sword in his right hand, and ball in his left. EDWARD VI. D. G. AGL. FRANCI Z. HIB. REX. Reverse, the arms crowned between E. R. IHS. AVTEM TRANSIÆ. PER MEDI. ILLO. IBAT. (Fig. 2.) The crown and half-crown have the same impression as the former sovereign.—— The silver monies of this prince, who was the first of this name that added the number to it, are contrary to those of his father; the fine money of Henry VIII, having the half face, and his bad the full; whereas king Edward's bad has the half, and his good the full. Of the base there are two sorts of testoons, which give him half-faced; the one having this legend, TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITE. M.D.XLIX. (Fig. 1.) and the other, INIMICOS EIVS INDVAM CONFVSIONE. It was on the former of these that bishop Latimer remarked,



2



1

Edw. VI. remarked, it was such a pretty little shilling, that he had like to have put it away for an old groat. The crown, half crown, shilling, and six-pence, have all of them the king's titles thus, EDWARD. VI. D. G. AGL. FRA. Z. HIBER. REX. Reverse, the king's arms with POSVI, &c. only the crown and half crown give him on horseback, and underneath the horse 1551; another has the feathers on the horse's head (Fig. 3.) whereas the shilling and six-pence give him full faced; of which there are of two different mints: of York with the letter Y; and Throgmorton's mint in the Tower, an O or an. (See Fig. 4.) Both these, as well as the six-pence, have a rose on one side the king's head, and XII. or VI. on the other. The three-pence with the rose and III. has the same inscription as the shilling.

22. MARY.



22. M A R Y.

HENRY the Eighth's divorces from Catherine of Arragon and Ann Bullen: the acts of parliament confirming these divorces: other subsequent acts which seemed to repeal what the first had ordained: the power given to the king to appoint his successors, and to place them in what order he pleased: in a word, that prince's last will itself, had so imbroiled the affair of the succession, that it appeared full of contradiction and obscurity. It would not have been possible to decide by the antient laws and customs of the realm, the queries arising from so many inconsistent acts, because the makers of these new laws had not in view justice and equity, but only the gratifying of a prince to whom it was dangerous to refuse any thing. Henry VIII. had foreseen the difficulties and perplexities his two divorces might one day occasion, and even seemed desirous to prevent them. But he only increased them by the new statutes he obtained of the parliament, wherein his aim was not so much to procure the welfare of the kingdom, as to follow his humour, and cause his will to be a law. To set this matter in a clear light, it will be proper to insert here a brief recapitulation of that monarch's proceedings with respect to the succession.

1553.
M A R Y.

It has been seen in the history of his reign, that after living eighteen years with Catherine of Arragon his first wife, and having by her several children, of whom there was but one daughter alive, he had a mind to put her away. He pretended, his marriage was void, and because the court of Rome for reasons of state would not condescend to annul it, he caused a sentence of divorce to be pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury, before he had abolished the papal authority in his kingdom. He thereby afforded a very specious pretence to question the prelate's authority by whom the sentence was pronounced. What is more, he took a second wife, before he was legally divorced from the first, and by this precipitation, gave a fresh occasion to dispute the validity of his second marriage. Here are already two contradictions in these his two first steps. He applied to the pope, as to his judge, and before he had solemnly renounced his authority, contemns it, and in spite of the pope, whose jurisdiction was still acknowledged in England, is divorced from queen Catherine.

Mary.
1553.

therine. On the other hand, he owns there was need of a legal sentence to justify his divorce, and yet he prevents the sentence by running into a second marriage, before it was pronounced.

In the next place, he beheaded his second wife for adultery, and yet, before the execution, pretended she could not be his wife, and was divorced from her on a frivolous pretence. These two divorces were confirmed by an act of parliament passed in 1536, wherein was also a manifest contradiction. The act declared Mary and Elizabeth, born of the two first marriages, illegitimate and incapable of succeeding to the crown, and yet it gave the king power to place them on the throne, since, without any limitation, it invested him with all the authority necessary to settle the succession as he pleased.

There was likewise another contradiction in a statute of the year 1540, wherein it was declared, that a marriage after consummation should not be annulled by reason of a pre-contract. Nevertheless Henry's divorce from Ann Bullen had no other motive. Thereby, the king and parliament owned they had injured Elizabeth in declaring her illegitimate. It will be said perhaps, this act was not to regard what was passed. But it is certain, it was made only with design to favour Elizabeth. Notwithstanding, she was not restored by this act, but it still lay in the king's breast to give her a place in, or exclude her from, the succession.

In another act made in 1544, there was a no less manifest contradiction. By this act, both houses themselves put in the line of the succession Mary and Elizabeth after their brother Edward. Did not this seem to be making them an authentick reparation, and owning them for legitimate? And indeed, hitherto no bastards had ever been on the throne of England. Nay, it might be questioned, whether it was in the parliament's power to place them there. At least there would have been need of a very express and authentick law for that purpose. Nevertheless by a particular clause of this act, the king was allowed the liberty to impose conditions on these two princesses, without which they could have no right to succeed; a thing the parliament would not, nay could not, have done, if they had been owned for legitimate. It was not therefore on account of their natural right, but by mere favour, that they were enabled to succeed to the crown.

Henry followed the same plan in his last will. He put Mary and Elizabeth in the line of the succession after their brother Edward, but in such a manner that he let them see,
it

Mary.
1553.

it was by mere grace, since he bound them to certain conditions, without which they were to forfeit their right. The difference he made between them and Edward, showed he owned them not for legitimate, and thereby afforded a pretence to question the right he gave them. But what concluded still more to embroil the affair of the succession was, that this will passing over in silence the issue of Margaret queen of Scotland, Henry's eldest sister, placed next to Elizabeth the children of Mary queen-dowager of France and dutchess of Suffolk, the younger sister. This was a manifest abuse of the power granted him by the parliament, and consequently it was furnishing the queen of Scotland with a plausible pretence to demand the annulling of a will which subverted the most steady laws of the kingdom.

Edward VI. completed this confusion in the affair of the succession, by conveying the crown to Jane Grey, contrary to the rights of Mary and Elizabeth. This was an act of absolute sovereignty very unbecoming a king of England, and one that died a minor. But moreover, in this act of conveyance there were contradictions no less palpable than those Henry VIII. had been guilty of. Edward owned for good and valid the act declaring Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate. But at the same time, he repealed by his own authority that which gave the king his father the power to settle the succession. On the other hand, he followed his father's will, in giving the preference to the younger sister's children; but withal, annulled the will by excluding Mary and Elizabeth.

By this short recapitulation, it may be easily perceived what a door to divisions and civil wars was opened by Henry VIII. and his successor. By the abovementioned acts, four princesses, namely, Mary, Elizabeth, the queen of Scotland, and Jane Grey, could pretend to the crown after Edward's death, and each could find in these very acts, arguments to combat the claims of her adversaries.

Mary rested upon her father's will. But she received, in Examination her opinion, a much stronger support, tho' she durst not openly of Mary's ally it, from her natural right and the want of authority right. in those who annulled her mother's marriage. On the other hand, it might be objected to her, that having been declared illegitimate by an act of parliament, that act was never repealed, and it was not in the king's power to place bastards on the throne, in exclusion of the lawful heirs. That besides it was known to the whole nation, that the parliament was far from being free when she was placed in the succession after Edward, but however this act ought to have been preceded by

Mary. by an exprefs repeal of that whereby ſhe was declared incapable of ſucceeding.
1553.

Of Elizabeth's.

The ſame thing could be alledged againſt Elizabeth. But ſhe might answer, that her mother's divorce was grounded only upon a claufe which was afterwards declared inſufficient, and that by the act of the year 1540 ſhe was reſtored to her rights. Conſequently it was to her the crown was devolved, if her ſiſter Mary was incapable of ſucceeding.

Of Mary queen of Scotland's.

The queen of Scotland could plead the illegitimation of Mary and Elizabeth, and affirm, it was her right to aſcend the throne of England, as grand-daughter to Henry VIII's eldeſt ſiſter. As to the objection of her being born out of the land, it was a groundleſs cavil, ſince the princes of the blood in England are never deemed foreigners, though born out of the kingdom.

Of Jane Grey's.

Jane Grey had for her Edward's aſſignment, approved by all the counſellors and the judges of the realm. But it muſt be confeſt, it was a very ill-grounded right. Herein, 'tis certain, the king, the council, and the judges, had undertaken what exceeded the bounds of their power. Beſides, the duke of Northumberland was known to hold the council in ſubjection, and it would have been eaſy to prove the judges were forced to draw and ſign the inſtrument.

Mary and Jane Grey are the only competitors.

Had this affair been to be decided by the law and impartial judges, many difficulties would doubtleſs have occurred. On the other hand, if each of the four princeſſes who might have pretended to the crown, would have maintained her right, and had been ſtrong enough to ſupport her pretenſions, to what calamities would the kingdom have been expoſed? But the affair took another turn, becauſe Elizabeth and the queen of Scotland endeavoured not to poſſeſs the crown. So Mary and Jane were the only competitors. This was very advantageous to Mary, becauſe her right was thereby put in the balance with only Jane's the weakeſt of all. Undoubtedly this is what induced all the hiſtorians to declare for Mary's right, becauſe they compared it only with that of her rival. But if Elizabeth and the queen of Scotland had been each ſupported with a good army, perhaps all the advantage would not have been ſo readily given to Mary. Having thus ſeen the grounds of the quarrel, let us now proceed to the deciſion.

The duke of Northumberland's error. Burnet.

The duke of Northumberland took great care to conceal Edward's death, becauſe he expected Mary would come and throw herſelf into his hands. It muſt be confeſt, this miniſter, tho' very politick, committed a very groſs error in neglecting to ſecure Mary and Elizabeth, immediately after

Edward

Edward had signed the conveyance to Jane Grey. He might have easily effected it whilst the king was alive. But instead of suddenly taking so necessary a precaution, he expected they would come of their own accord into the snare he had laid for them, by causing them to be sent for to keep their brother company in his sickness. Mary had like to have been intrapped. She was within half a day's journey of London, when she had notice from the earl of Arundel of the king's death, the assignment of the succession, and the design upon her person. This news obliging her to take other measures, she immediately turned back, and went to Kenning-hall in Norfolk. From thence she wrote a letter to the council which plainly discovered she was informed of what they intended to conceal from her. She told the counsellors, she thought it very strange that the king her brother being three days dead, she had not been advertised of it by them, since they could not be ignorant of her just right to the crown. That their neglect on this occasion was a plain intimation of some ill design against her; but that she was ready to take all in good part, and to pardon those who would have recourse to her clemency. That, in the mean while, she required them to proclaim her queen. After writing this letter she departed from Kenning-hall, and repaired to the castle of Framlingham in Suffolk. Two reasons induced her to retire to this place. The first, that the duke of Northumberland was much hated in those parts, ever since the great slaughter he had made of the rebels who had taken up arms under Ket. The second, that the castle of Framlingham being near the sea, she might, if the ill success of her affairs should oblige her to it, have an opportunity to fly with more ease into Flanders. Upon her arrival at this place, she took the title of queen, and being proclaimed at Norwich, sent a circular letter to all the nobility, requiring them to come and aid her in maintaining her right. Let us now see what passed at London.

Mary.
1553.

Mary retires
into Nor-
folk;
Godwin.
Burnet.
Hollingh.
p. 1081.
Heylin.
Speed.

and from
thence to
Suffolk.
Burnet.

She takes
the title of
queen, and
calls the
nobles to
her aid.

The duke of
Northum-
berland is
absolute in
the council.

It has been observed in the foregoing reign, that the duke of Northumberland was become so absolute in the council, that not one of the counsellors dared to oppose his will. Edward's death seemed likely to free them from this servitude. But as probably the duke would have more authority under his daughter-in-law Jane than under Edward, every one dreaded to make him an enemy. It is not therefore to the council so much as to the duke of Northumberland, by whom the board

^a At Hunston in Hertfordshire. Hollingh. p. 1024.

^b On the 9th of July. Ibid.

Mary.
1553.

He gives
Jane notice
of her being
queen.
Burnet.
Jane's cha-
racter.
Godwin.
Burnet.

She accepts
the crown
with reluc-
tance.
Godwin.
Burnet.

was directed in all their resolutions, that whatever was done in favour of Jane after Edward's death is to be ascribed. This minister soon found it impossible to conceal long the king's death. Two days after, the news of it was publick in London. Besides, Mary's retreat plainly showed how fruitless were the pains that were taken on that account. So the duke, thinking it no longer proper to hide his designs, caused himself to be sent with the duke of Suffolk to give Jane notice of her destination to the throne^c, by virtue of Edward's letters-patents. Jane was then but in her sixteenth year. But at that age, wherein the judgment hardly begins to be formed, her's had acquir'd such a degree of perfection, as is rarely found in one so very young. All the historians agree, the solidity of her mind, joined to a continual application to study, rendered her the wonder of her age. She understood perfectly French, Latin and Greek, and made use of these languages as helps to attain to the highest knowledge in the sciences^d. Herein she was very like her cousin king Edward, who had a tender friendship for her, as on her part she had a great esteem for him. She appeared much moved at his death which however she must have expected, since his recovery had been now some time despaired of. But as she knew not that his death was to procure her the crown, she was extremely surprized at the news which her father and the duke of Northumberland told her. Instead of receiving it with joy, as they doubtless expected, she told them, she did not mean to enrich herself by the spoils of others: that the crown belonged to the princess Mary, and after her to the princess Elizabeth, and that being acquainted as she was with king Henry's will, she was unwilling to aspire to the throne before her turn. Against these reasons were urged king Edward's and the council's authority, with the approbation of the judges, and it was endeavoured to convince her, that this unanimity was a clear evidence there was nothing in it contrary to the laws of the land. She found herself moved by these arguments, and the importunities of Guildford Dudley her husband prevailed with her at length to receive the offered

^c She was then at Durham-house, which was the place of her residence. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 234.

^d Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, coming once to wait upon her at her father's house in Leicestershire, found her reading Plato's works in Greek, when all the rest of the family were hunting in the park. He asked

her, How she could be absent from such pleasant diversion? She answered, The pastimes in the park were but a shadow to the delight she had in reading Plato's Phaedon, which then lay open before her. Ibid. What a noble pattern is here for the education of young ladies of quality, and how different from the modern way of bringing them up!

crown.

crown. It was however in such a manner, as convinced the two dukes that she did it not so much from a persuasion of the justice of her title, as out of complaisance and for want of resolution. Accordingly the duke of Northumberland declared in his report to the council, that so far was Jane from aspiring to the crown, she was rather by enticement and force made to accept it.

Mary.
1553.

As soon as the duke of Northumberland had obtained Jane's consent, it was resolved that the council should withdraw to the Tower with her, and she be proclaimed. This resolution being taken, the lord-mayor of London was sent for, and being informed of the king's death, and of the settlement in favour of queen Jane, the ceremony of the proclaiming was fixed to the next day, the 10th of July, and the 5th after Edward's death. Mean while the council writ an answer to Mary's letter, signed by twenty-one counsellors to this effect, "That Mary could not pretend to the crown, since she was born of an unlawful marriage, dissolved by a legal sentence, confirmed by more than one parliament: that she ought to give over her pretensions, and acknowledge queen Jane for her sovereign, who was now on the throne by virtue of the late king's letters-patents: that if she showed herself obedient, she should find the counsellors all ready to do her any service, consistent with their duty to queen Jane."

She withdraws to the Tower with the council. She is proclaimed at London. Burnet, Strype, Stow. The council's answer to Mary. Hollingsh. p. 1085. Burnet, Heylin,

Jane was proclaimed in London with the usual formalities. But there were none of the acclamations customary on such occasions; so astonished were the people to see a queen proclaimed they had never thought of. Besides, as the duke of Northumberland was very much hated, and as Jane was his daughter-in law, when she was heard to be proclaimed queen, the duke was imagined to be proclaimed chief governor, which was by no means pleasing to the people. Nay, an accident happened on this occasion, which was very ominous, and confirmed the Londoners in their prejudice against the duke of Northumberland. A vintner's boy having some way expressed his scorn at the proclamation, was immediately ordered to be set in the pillory, with his ears cut

The people express no joy at Jane's proclaiming. Godwin. Burnet, Strype. A vintner's boy punished for making a jest of it. Burnet, Strype.

* Of which Edward lord Clinton, high-admiral, was appointed constable, in the room of sir James Croft. Strype's Eccl. Mem. tom. iii. p. 2.

† The archbishop of Canterbury: the lord chancellor; the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the marquisses of Winchester and Northampton; the earls

of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Huntington, Bedford, and Pembroke; the lords Cobham and Darcy; sir Thomas Cheney, sir Robert Cotton, sir William Petre, sir William Cecil, sir John Cheek, sir John Mason, sir Edward North, and sir Robert Bowes. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 235. One Gilbert Pet. Stow, p. 610.

Mary. off, and nailed to it; which was accordingly done. This
 1553. proceeding, the odium whereof was cast upon the duke, made
 it judged what was to be expected from his government, since
 this new reign began with an act of severity.

Reasons why
 the duke of
 Northum-
 berland kept
 the council
 in the Tower.

The duke of Northumberland took care not to omit the
 custom long since introduced, that the new sovereigns should
 withdraw to the Tower with the council, in the beginning of
 their reign. He could not doubt, Mary would pretend to the
 crown, and use all possible endeavours to take possession,
 neither was he ignorant how the nobles and people stood af-
 fected with regard to the situation the state was then in. For
 this reason, he was very glad to have the counsellors in the
 Tower, in order to be master, and cause them to come to
 resolutions agreeable to his interests. As the change which
 shortly after happened proceeded from the disposition of the
 several members of the state, it will be absolutely necessary to
 have a distinct notion how they stood inclined, in order to
 understand the causes of the revolution.

Disposition of
 the several
 members of
 the state.

Of the
 council.

The council consisted of one and twenty counsellors, among
 whom there were few real friends of the duke of Northum-
 berland; but every one feared him. Some, as the earl of
 Arundel, still adhered to the Romish religion, though out-
 wardly they complied with the new laws. Others, as the
 archbishop of Canterbury, were truly protestants. But the
 major part, without being really addicted to any religion,
 blindly followed that which was uppermost. As they had
 readily embraced that of Henry VIII. they had with the same
 ease followed that established by Edward, being ready to re-
 sume the Romish religion if it suited best with their temporal
 interest. This was particularly the duke of Northumberland's
 character. So, though he professed the reformed religion,
 the protestants themselves had a very ill opinion of him.
 They were persuaded, his pretended zeal for the advancement
 of the reformation was all grimace, and the pure effect of his
 policy. This disposition of the counsellors manifestly shows,
 that a religious zeal alone was not capable of keeping them in
 Jane's interests. There was need of a much stronger mo-
 tive to that end. But instead thereof, there was a reason
 which entirely disengaged them from her party, namely the
 slavish subjection they were held in by the duke of Northum-
 berland. That lord, whose pride was intolerable, could not
 bear contradiction. The council seemed to have nothing to
 do, but to follow his directions without examination. Then,
 he was one of those unreasonable persons, with whom if you
 fail on a single occasion, all past services are cancelled. This

the earl of Arundel in particular had sadly experienced. Tho' Mary. 1553.

he had been very serviceable to the duke in ruining Somerset, yet afterwards, because he did not find him submissive enough, he caused him to be condemned in a heavy fine, under colour of his having wasted the king's treasure. This usage was still remembered by the earl, who only waited an opportunity to be revenged. The rest of the counsellors were no less desirous to free themselves from the duke's yoke. But they were as prisoners in the Tower, where they apprehended, the least false step would cost them their life, before the quarrel between Jane and Mary was decided. And therefore, they approved of whatever the duke pleased to order, and the resolutions tending to establish Jane on the throne, were made in the council's name, though the duke alone was the author.

The rest of the nobility, who had no share in the govern-Of the nobility.
ment, were in much the same sentiments with the counsellors.

Whilst the duke of Somerset was protector, he was hated by the nobility, as appeared in the former reign. And therefore, they assisted to the utmost the earl of Warwick to ruin him. But when that was done, they soon perceived they were no gainers by the change, since it gave them a much prouder, and more formidable master than the person they were freed from. The new minister treated them afterwards with so much haughtiness, that they had reason to regret the duke of Somerset. Consequently they earnestly desired to see him ruined, which they could not expect whilst his daughter-in-law should be on the throne. This made them incline to Mary, tho' that princess was little beloved in the kingdom.

The duke of Northumberland had been the principal au-Of the
thor of Somerset's fall, who was the people's idol. This people.

was sufficient to render him odious. Besides, he was counted a hard and cruel man, whose counsels always leaned to the side of severity. After he had dispersed the Norfolk rebels in the late reign, he caused so many to be executed, that he drew upon him the hatred of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. This hatred afterwards spread itself over the kingdom, when he came to be at the head of affairs. Wherefore, all the people in general wished to be freed from this odious minister, and that could be only by the ruin of Jane's party. The Londoners in particular hated him mortally, because they believed him guilty of king Edward's death.

Let us now consider the English nation in respect to the two religions. Jane openly professed the protestant religion, and showed, she was entirely convinced of the truth of its doctrines.
Of the Roman Catholics.

Mary. doctrines. Mary, on the contrary, was extremely addicted to the Romish church, and though during Edward's reign she had pretended to adhere to the religion established by Henry VIII. it was known to be only with design to silence those who governed during her brother's minority. She was not only thought devoted to the pope, but also a favourer of the most absurd doctrines of the Romish religion. It may easily be guessed, that all who were still for the old religion in their hearts, passionately wished that this princess might ascend the throne. This was the only way they could hope to see their religion restored, whereas if Jane reigned, they could expect only the continuance of the measures taken to abolish it. The duke of Northumberland, who probably was to be Jane's prime minister, had even appeared zealous for the reformation. So, to judge of him by his past conduct, the friends of the old religion could hope for no advantage from him. Some who knew him better than the rest were however sensible, he was far from being a good protestant. But they knew also, though he might have favourable thoughts of their religion, they could expect nothing from him but what was agreeable to his temporal interest, and that this interest would naturally hold him attached to the protestant party. So, the Roman catholicks were all for Mary, and ready to lend their assistance to place her on the throne.

Of the reformed.

The better to understand the disposition of the reformed at this time, it must be observed, that to consider England in general, it may be said, she was wholly protestant. Hardly was there a man but what had submitted, at least outwardly, to the laws made for that purpose in the reign of Edward. But among the great numbers which were looked upon as protestants, there were many who were so only in name. Some still halted between the two religions. Others were papists in their hearts; and very many regarding only temporal advantages, had embraced the reformation to make their fortunes. The smallest number was of those, who truly convinced of the tenets of the new religion, were ready to sacrifice their all for its sake. None but these therefore were real friends to Jane. As for the others, there were many who wished indeed the reformation might prevail, and considered Mary's accession to the throne as a misfortune, but were unwilling to hazard their lives and fortunes to prevent it. However, there was one thing wherein all the reformed, as well the zealous as the lukewarm and timorous were agreed, namely, in their hatred of the duke of Northumberland, and their dread of falling again under his tyrannical government.

These

These two passions caused them to look upon Jane's reign as a misfortune to them and the kingdom. They were the more confirmed in this opinion, as, not foreseeing what was to happen in Mary's reign, they flattered themselves, that content with the private exercise of her own religion, she would leave the protestant in the same state she found it, or at most would be satisfied with giving her party liberty of conscience; and this was what her friends every where, and on all occasions, took great care to insinuate. So Jane's cause was like to be but ill supported, especially as Mary having no other rival, the English did not believe they ought, through a principle of religion, to depart from the rules of justice and equity, by depriving her of the crown, who had the best title. If their posterity have not continued in the same opinion, it is to be wholly ascribed to the cruelties exercised upon the protestants, where-ever the Romish religion prevails.

It is certain, though Mary had for her all the well-wishers to the old religion, that party would not have been able to place her on the throne, if the people's hatred of the duke of Northumberland had not determined the protestants themselves to declare for her. Most of the English historians take great pains to prove the justice of Mary's title, to infer from thence that the protestants preferred right to their own interest. I won't deny that several acted from that principle. But very probably the dread of falling again under the government of the duke of Northumberland, helped Mary to more friends than the justice of her title, especially as this title was not so clear but that it was liable to many objections. However, Mary being proclaimed at Norwich, the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk declared for her, and furnished her with troops. The men of Suffolk, though strongly attached to the reformation, signalized themselves on this occasion. It is true, they desired to know of her, whether she would leave religion in the same state she found it; which she positively promised, reserving to herself however the liberty of professing her own religion. Upon these assurances, they resolved to hazard their lives and estates in her quarrel. Many lords and gentlemen came also to Framlingham to offer their service; and the earls of Bath and Suffex, the sons of the lord Wharton and Mordant^b, with many more^c, raised forces for her.

The publick hatred of the duke of Northumberland is advantageous to Mary. Burnet.

Norfolk and Suffolk declare for her. Godwin. Burnet. Stow.

She promises to make no change in religion. Burnet. Stow.

^b Rapin says, the lord Mordant, which is a mistake; it was sir John Mordant his son.

^c Sir William Drury, sir John Shelton, sir Henry Bedingfield, Henry Jer-

ningham, John Sulierd, Richard Freston, serjeant Morgan, Clement Elgham, &c. Stow, p. 610, Godwin, p. 330. Compl. Hist.

Mary.
1553.

Jane sends
an ambassa-
dor to the
emperor,
who refuses
him au-
dience.
Burnet.
Strype.

The council
raises an
army, the
command
whereof is
designed for
the duke of
Suffolk.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.

The earl of
Arendel
takes mea-
sures against
the duke of
Northum-
berland.

He manages
it so, that
the duke of
Northum-
berland goes
and heads
the army.

Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Mean time, the council was drawing instructions for Richard Shelley, who was to go and inform the emperor of what passed in England. It was believed there was most danger from that quarter. Shelley went indeed ^k, but the emperor would neither give him audience, nor receive Jane's letter to notify her accession to the crown, and to desire his friendship.

Mean while, the council received advices from all sides, that Mary's party gathered strength, that she had been proclaimed in several places, and had an army already which daily increased. These advices, which flowed in very fast, obliged the ministers to raise forces to send against Mary's. Immediate orders were given to those that were ready to meet at Newmarket, with whom were joined some regiments levied in haste at London. At the same time they sent sir Edward Hastings, the earl of Huntington's brother, to raise Buckinghamshire, and the earl of Northampton undertook also to raise Herefordshire. The duke of Suffolk was appointed to command the army, because the duke of Northumberland was unwilling to go away, for fear his absence should produce ill effects. But the earl of Arundel, who wished for an opportunity to act for Mary, seeing the duke of Northumberland's presence was an insuperable obstacle to the execution of his designs, found means to break his measures. He intimated to Jane, that the duke her father would be exposed to great danger; that it would be more proper for the duke of Northumberland to head the army, and for the duke her father to stay with her. On the other hand, he insinuated, or caused it to be insinuated to the duke of Northumberland, that it would be very dangerous to put the army under the duke of Suffolk's command, who had never been very fortunate in his expeditions: that on such an important occasion, he ought instantly to head the troops himself, and that his name alone was capable of striking terror into those assembled by Mary, in a country where he had given singular proofs of his conduct and valour. Jane's tender affection for the duke her father caused her so ardently to embrace this advice, that all the duke of Northumberland's endeavours to make her alter her mind were ineffectual.

At so critical a juncture, the duke of Northumberland was much distracted in his mind. Indeed, he knew he was much fitter than the duke of Suffolk to command the army against Mary, and was very sensible, all depended upon it. But

^k He was dispatched July 11. Strype, p. 4.

then he was afraid to leave the young queen in the hands of the council, of whom he was not well assured, and who complied with him purely out of fear: and the more, as the duke of Suffolk, the queen's father, was reckoned but a weak man. However, as it was not entirely in his choice to accept or refuse the command, and besides all depended upon the success against Mary's army, he resolved to march. He left London on the 14th of July, without being wished success (as is usual on such occasions) by the great crowds looking on as he passed, and went and headed six thousand men assembled at Newmarket¹.

Though most of the counsellors had no great inclination to favour the duke of Northumberland's designs, they were obliged however to use great caution. They saw themselves as prisoners in the Tower, under the direction of the duke of Suffolk, who was concerned to prevent all proceedings against his daughter. It was necessary therefore to seem very zealous for Jane's interests till a favourable opportunity offered to declare for Mary. To this end, they appointed Ridley bishop of London to set out queen Jane's title in a sermon at St. Paul's, and to warn the people of the dangers they would be exposed to, if Mary should mount the throne. Ridley discharged his commission^m like one that was persecuted the reformation would very much suffer under Mary's government. And therefore, he largely insisted upon Mary's attachment to the Romish religion, and informed the audience of some things which had passed between him and her, and which were plain indications of her aversion to the reformation and the reformedⁿ. Mary never forgave him this sermon, which at that juncture was capable of doing her great injury. For, it was at a time when her friends were using their utmost endeavours to persuade the people, she was not so zealous for the Romish religion as she was represented, and that she would make no change in that which was established by law. Sands, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, afterwards archbishop of York in the reign of queen Elizabeth, having received the same orders from the duke of Northumberland, chancellor of that

Mary.
1553.

Disposition
of the coun-
sellors.

Ridley's
sermon in
favour of
Jane.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.

Another of
Sands at
Cambridge.
Burnet.

¹ He marched out of London at the head of two thousand horse, and six thousand foot. But as he rode through Bishopsgate-street and Shoreditch, tho' there were great crowds of spectators, none cried out to wish him success, which gave a sad indication how ill they were affected to him. Burn. t. ii. p. 238.

^m On July 16. Hollingh. p. 1087.

ⁿ Name'ly, when he went to wait on her, and offered to preach in her-house, which she refused. See Fox, at the end of tom. ii.

^o Rapin says of Canterbury, which is a mistake.

Mary. university, managed it more artfully, and by keeping to more general terms gave no offence to either party.

1553.

Defection in
Northum-
berland's
army.

Hastings
declares for
queen Mary
with 4000
men.

Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.

as do six
men of war.

The duke
sends for
succours.

Godwin.
Burnet.

Some of the
counsellors
resolve to
act for

Mary.

Godwin.
Burnet.

They find
means to go
out of the

Tower.

Godwin,
Burnet,
Stow.

Mean while, the duke of Northumberland was extremely embarrassed. He had marched to Cambridge with six thousand men ^p, and from thence was advanced to St. Edmundsbury. But instead of seeing his army increase by the way as he expected, it daily diminished by desertions. On the other hand, he heard of Mary's progress in Norfolk and Suffolk, and to complete his misfortunes, news was brought him that sir Edward Hastings ^q, who was to have joined him with four thousand men he had raised, had declared for Mary, and proclaimed her at Buckingham. In short, he was informed likewise, that the six men of war sent to cruise on the coast of Suffolk to prevent Mary's escape, had followed the example of Hastings. All these things made him resolve to return to Cambridge, from whence he writ to the council for a speedy supply. But the counsellors were then otherwise employed.

The news they received from all parts of the prosperous state of Mary's affairs, had now determined some of them to provide for their safety by changing sides, whilst their change might be of service to them. In all appearance, the earl of Arundel had already laboured to take off some of his colleagues from Jane's party. The marquiss of Winchester, who always went with the stream, was easily prevailed with. The earl of Pembroke had been one of the most zealous for Jane, because his son had espoused the new queen's younger sister. But finding her affairs in an ill way, he resolved either of himself, or by the solicitations of the earl of Arundel, to screen himself from the impending storm, in doing Mary some signal service ^r. These three lords gained other counsellors, and they all resolved to declare for Mary as soon as it was possible. The difficulty was to get out of the Tower, without giving suspicion to the duke of Suffolk. Had the duke of Northumberland been present, they would have found it very hard to succeed; but the duke of Suffolk was far from having his penetration. The letter lately received from the duke of Northumberland furnished them with the wanted pretence. They represented to the duke of Suffolk, that the readiest way to find the desired supply was to apply to the mayor of London, and to that end, it was proper the council should meet some-

^p He had eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse, when he arrived at Cambridge. Godwin, p. 331.

^q The earl of Huntington's brother. *Ib.*

^r Sir Thomas Cheney, warden of the Cinque-ports, declared also for her. *Ibid.*

where in the city, the more easily to confer with the mayor, concerning the means of speedily raising a body of troops: that the earl of Pembroke's house was convenient for that purpose, and there the affair would be forwarded more in two hours than in six in the Tower. But as it might be objected, that the mayor and aldermen could be easily sent for to the Tower, they added, that at the same time audience might be given to the French and Spanish ambassadors, who scrupled to receive it in the Tower. Whether the duke of Suffolk did not suspect them of any ill design, or at such a juncture durst not discover his suspicions, he suffered the council to meet at the earl of Pembroke's, whom he did not mistrust, on the 19th of July.

As soon as they were met, the earl of Arundel made a speech, representing to them, That now or never was the time to shake off the tyranny of the duke of Northumberland: That they had sufficiently experienced his insolence, injustice, cruelty, treachery to his friends, and if they were so unwise as to support Jane on the throne, they would but render more heavy the yoke which the duke had already laid on their necks: That the only way was to declare for Mary, and when the people should see the council take that course, the duke of Northumberland would be forsaken by all. The council's sudden resolution to follow the earl's advice, shows that the affair had been already determined among the principal members. After a short debate, they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and declaring their resolution, they went together and proclaimed Mary in several parts of the city. Then they repaired to St. Paul's, where Te Deum was sung. The ready compliance of the magistrates of London can be ascribed only to their hatred of the duke of Northumberland. Let it be affirmed ever so much, that these magistrates longed for the re-establishment of the old religion, and therefore gladly embraced the opportunity to set Mary on the throne, it is not likely, that men placed in their offices in Edward's reign should be so well inclined to the old religion, as to come to so sudden a resolution with that view, if there had not been some other motive. However, as soon as they came from St. Paul's, the council sent an order to the duke of Suffolk, to require him to deliver up the Tower, and that Jane should lay down the title of queen and give over her pretensions. The duke immediately obeyed, seeing no possibility of keeping the Tower at such a juncture.

Mary.
1553.

They de-
clare for
Mary.
Godwin.
Burnet.

and pro-
claim her
at London.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Strype.
Stow.

The duke of
Suffolk de-
livers up the
Tower.
Godwin.
Burnet.

* At Baynard's castle. Godwin. p. 331.

Mary.
1553.

Jane lays
down her
dignity.
The duke of
Northum-
berland is
ordered to
dismiss his
army.
He tries to
escape.
Godwin.
Burnet.

He pro-
claims the
queen at
Cambridge.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Strype.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

He is appre-
hended with
his sons and
several
others.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Strype.
Stow.

The whole
kingdom
declares for
Mary.
Burnet.

Godwin.
Strype.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

As for Jane, she saw herself stript of her dignity (held but nine days) with more joy than she had seen herself clothed with it. Then the council dispatched orders to the duke of Northumberland to disband his army, and behave himself as became an obedient subject to queen Mary. At the same time the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget were sent to inform Mary of these transactions.

The duke of Northumberland heard what passed at London, before he received the council's orders to dismiss his troops, and plainly perceiving it would not be possible to keep his army together, prevented the orders and obeyed beforehand. His first thoughts were to fly out of the kingdom: but, it is said, he was hindered by the band of gentlemen pensioners, who plainly told him, they had need of his testimony to justify their conduct. After that, he thought only of gaining Mary's favour by expressing a zeal for her service, as if it had been possible to deceive her by some external actions. To that purpose, he went to the marketplace in Cambridge, and proclaimed the queen, flinging up his own hat for joy and crying, God save queen Mary. But all this signified nothing. The next day, the earl of Arundel arrested him by the queen's order. Then was that proud and haughty man seen to cringe as much as he had been exalted in his prosperity. He fell at the earl of Arundel's feet to beg his favour, and showed many other signs of fear, abjectness, and pusillanimity. This is the common character of men whom fortune raises above their birth and merit. Three of his sons, namely, the earl of Warwick his eldest, Ambrose and Henry, sir Andrew Dudley his brother, John and Henry Gates, sir Thomas Palmer, and doctor Sands, were apprehended with him, and sent to the Tower the 25th of July. Upon this occasion, a woman seeing the duke of Northumberland pass to the Tower, shook at him a handkerchief dipt in the duke of Somerset's blood, upbraiding him with having caused it to be unjustly shed.

When the duke of Northumberland was in the Tower, Mary met with no more opposition. All Jane's adherents strove to atone for their fault by a ready submission and supplication of the new queen's mercy. She received very graciously those who came to pay their duty to her, though she was determined to sacrifice to her safety or vengeance some of those whom she looked upon as her principal enemies. Of this number were Jane Grey, the duke of Suffolk, the

marquis of Northampton, Ridley bishop of London, Cheek, Mary. who had been Edward's preceptor, Robert Dudley the duke of Northumberland's son, Guilford Dudley Jane's husband, 1553.
Cholmley and Montague judges. All these were sent to, or detained in the Tower by the queen's express order. But three days after, she released the duke of Suffolk, having pitched upon him for an instance of her clemency, because she thought him incapable of creating her any disturbance w.

She pardons the duke of Suffolk.

On the 3d of August she came to London with her sister Elizabeth, who had met her on the way with a thousand horse * she had raised for her service. When she entered the Tower, she released the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, Bonner, the dukes of Somerset, and the lord Courtney, eldest son of the marquis of Exeter, whom she shortly after created earl of Devonshire. Thus, without any effusion of blood, she was peaceably settled in the throne, notwithstanding the attempts to deprive her of it. She owed this good success to the universal hatred of the duke of Northumberland; for, it may be truly affirmed, that as Jane Grey without that lord would never have borne the title of queen, so without him she would doubtless have preserved it. Very probably, the restoring of religion to the state it was in before the alterations introduced by the two last kings, and perhaps the being revenged of her enemies, were the principal things intended by Mary when she ascended the throne. At least, we shall see no other project in the course of her reign.

She makes her entry into London, and sets the prisoners in the Tower at liberty. Godwin. Burnet. Strype. Stow.

As the new queen had nothing in her thoughts but the establishing of her religion, her first care was to consult her trusty friends how to effect it. She was herself disposed to keep no measures, but to force the kingdom to return immediately to what she called, the Union of the catholick church. To that end, she had now determined to send for cardinal Pool as legate, to reconcile England to the pope. But Gardiner, who was considered as a man of great experience, was of another opinion. He knew the reformation must be pulled down the same way it was set up, that is, by degrees, and therefore it was sufficient at first to bring back religion to what it was at king Henry's death. This advice was more prudent, and withal more suitable to the interests of the per-

Council about religion. Burnet.

Gardiner's opinion.

* Cholmley and Montague were committed on July 27, and the duke of Suffolk and sir John Cheek the 28th. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 240.

† July 31, the queen made sir Henry Jernejan vice-chamberlain, and cap-

tain of the guard; and sir Edward Hastings master of the horse. Strype, p. 17.

* Two thousand. See Strype, tom. iii. p. 114.

Mary.
1553.

His in-
trigues with
the emper-
or.
Burnet.

King Ed-
ward's fu-
neral.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Styrc.

The queen
declares that
she will not
force any
man's con-
science.
Burnet.

son who gave it. He was sensible the queen had a great esteem and affection for Pool, and was afraid the cardinal being in England would dispossess him of the chief place in the queen's favour, nay, quite ruin him with her, because he was not his friend. Mean while, as this advice was not relished by the queen, it was in danger of being rejected, if Gardiner had not used other means to compass his ends. He sent a messenger to the emperor to represent to him, that what the queen proposed was too hazardous, and in case Pool came so soon into England, his zeal for the see of Rome would undo all, because the English were not yet prepared to submit to the papal yoke ^r. That, on the contrary, by his method every thing would succeed to the queen's satisfaction, and to the advantage of religion, provided the queen would be pleased to make him chancellor, and thereby give him the authority necessary to conduct so nice an affair. Probably, it was now the emperor projected the marriage between his son Philip and Mary, either of himself or by Gardiner's suggestion. However, the emperor approving Gardiner's measures, writ several letters to Mary to persuade her to moderate her zeal, lest too much haste should spoil her designs. As she had a great deference for his counsels, she brought herself by degrees to comply with the bishop's projects, to whom at length she gave the great seal ^z.

King Edward's funeral was solemnized at Westminster the 18th of August. The new ministers were for having the old abolished office made use of on that occasion, but Cranmer, supported by acts still in force, stoutly opposed it, and officiated himself according to the new liturgy, giving the communion to as many as were desirous to receive it ^a. But the queen had a solemn service in her own chapel performed with all the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

On the 12th, the queen in council declared she would use no force upon conscience in affairs of religion. Great care was taken to disperse this declaration, and to magnify it as a

^y He observed to the emperor, That the English were averse to the papacy upon a double account. The one was, for the church lands, which they had bought, and should be in danger of losing again. The other was, the fear they had of the papal dominion, which had been for about twenty-five years represented to them as a most intolerable tyranny. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 242.

^z August 23. Godwin, p. 333.

^a Day, the deprived bishop of Chester, preached the funeral sermon. Godwin, p. 334. And very probably performed the rest of the service; for it does not appear likely, that Cranmer should be suffered to officiate, he being now under displeasure, and about this time confined to his house. See Burnet, tom. iii. Collect. p. 403; and Hollingshead, p. 1089.

great

great instance of the queen's generosity. But the protestants easily saw the difference betwixt her declarations in council and her promises to the Suffolk-men. She had told these, that religion should be left in the same state as at Edward's death; but in the declaration thought it sufficient to give a general assurance, that protestants should not be forced to embrace the Romish religion; for this was the most natural meaning of her expressions. This restriction to her first promise greatly alarmed them.

The adherents of the Romish church were so confident of the queen's intention to restore their religion, that they made no difficulty of owning it publickly, and of even inveighing against the protestant religion, though it had still the countenance and protection of the laws. The day after the queen had made the declaration in her council^b, Bonner went to St. Paul's church to hear a sermon preached by his chaplain Bourn. The preacher spoke so honourably of Bonner, that he raised the indignation of his audience. Then, aggravating the pretended persecutions suffered by this prelate in the late reign, he spoke of king Edward in so injurious terms^c, that the hearers lost all patience. Some reproached, and others threw stones at him. One even threw a dagger, which he happily avoided, and which stuck fast in the wood of his pulpit. At last the people grew so furious, that probably the preacher had been torn in pieces, had not Bradford and Rogers, two eminent protestant ministers, interposed, and conveyed him from the danger into a neighbouring house. What recompence this service met with will hereafter appear.

The protestants still hoped that the queen would keep her word, and even gave the restriction, she had added by her declaration in council to her first promise, a favourable interpretation. But they were not long left in this hope. Shortly

^b August 13. Rabin.

^c Bourn taking occasion of the gospel of that day, to speak somewhat largely in justifying Bonner, who was present, said, "That he, upon the same text, in that place, that day four years, had preached before, and was upon the same most cruelly and unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon of the Marshalsea, and there kept during the time of king Edward." The matter of this sermon tended so much to the derogation and dispraise of king Edward, and his words

sounded so evil in the ears of the hearers that they proceeded to the extremities here related. Fox, tom. iii. p. 17. Ed. 1631. Heylin affirms, That the preacher "inveighed in favour of bishop Bonner." Eccl. Hist. p. 192. And Hollingshead says, That "this matter being set forth with great vehemency, so much of fended the ears of the audience," that they could not help insulting Bourn, for reflecting on the administration of king Edward, whose memory was so justly dear to them, p. 1089.

Mary.
1553.

The Roman catholicks in favour with the queen.

Bonner's chaplain preached at St. Paul's. Godwin. Hollingsh. Burnet. Strype. Stow.

Is in danger of his life, but rescued by two protestant ministers. Burnet.

The queen discovers her intention by a proclamation. Fox.

t. iii. p. 16, 17. Burnet, t. ii. p. 245. Strype.

after

Mary.
1553.

after^d, the queen published a proclamation, which was but too capable to remove their mistake. The terms were so artfully managed, that they implied much more than they seemed to express. The queen said, she had the same belief in which she had been educated from her infancy, and intended to adhere to it during her life. She passionately wished all her subjects would follow her example, but would use no force, 'till publick order should be taken by common assent.' This plainly discovered her intention to change religion by the parliament, and that then she should think herself discharged from her promise of not compelling conscience. Then she forbid her subjects to give one another the odious names of Papist and Heretick. The protestants considered the prohibition as levelled entirely against them, because they clearly understood, that a disobedience to it would be punished in them, but not in their adversaries. After that, all sorts of unlawful assemblies were forbid, and this article had the same construction with the foregoing. By another clause of the proclamation, it was forbid to preach without her special licence. A man must have been wilfully blind, not to see this was intended to exclude the protestants out of all the pulpits. Finally, the queen said, it was her intention no man should be punished for the last rebellion, 'without her order.' Hereby, she left all in fears. The proclamation ended with saying, the queen was resolved to punish rigorously all those who should foment pernicious designs; but she hoped to have no cause to execute the severity of the law. This clause naturally inspired the protestants with terror, for it was easy to foresee, that religion and the laws were going to be changed, and that those who submitted not blindly to the new statutes would be considered as rebels.

The duke of Northumberland brought to his trial, with the earl of Warwick, marquis of Northampton, &c. Godwin. Burnet. Strype. Stow. Hollingsh. A. & Pub. xv. p. 337.

The same day the proclamation was published^e, came on the trial of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Warwick, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John and sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer. Upon the evidence of Palmer and sir John Gates, king Edward had consented to the execution of his uncle the duke of Somerset, and they were become the principal confidants of the duke of Northumberland. The queen made the duke of Norfolk lord high-steward at the trial of these three lords. He was still under condemnation, since the act of attainder against him had not been reversed. But the queen had granted him a pardon, which indeed was not dispatched till eleven

^d August 18. Rapin.

^e August 18. Rapin.

days

days after. It was thought without doubt that the queen's Mary. promise was sufficient, otherwise it is not easy to conceive by 1553. what sort of right a man under sentence of death could preſide in a capital trial, or even give his vote ^f.

The duke of Northumberland being brought before his peers, deſired information upon two points before he answered to the articles exhibited againſt him. The firſt was, Whether a man acting by order of council and the authority of the great ſeal, could be guilty of treaſon? The ſecond was, Whether perſons who had acted with him in the ſame affair and were equally guilty, could ſit as his judges? This doubtleſs related to the marquis of Wincheſter, and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, who were actually members of the council when Jane was proclaimed, and had given orders for her proclamation. After a ſhort conſultation, it was answered, that the great ſeal of an uſurper could give no authority nor indemnity to thoſe that acted by ſuch a warrant. To the ſecond point, he was answered, that none of the peers who ſat in judgment upon him, having been either condemned for or even accuſed of the ſame crime, could be deprived of their right upon a bare ſuſpicion or report. It belongs to the lawyers to conſider whether theſe answers are very ſolid. It ſeems as to the firſt, that if this maxim was admitted in its utmoſt extent, it would draw after it very dangerous conſequences. Let us, for inſtance, ſuppoſe an uſurper upon the throne of England, it is certain the adherents to the lawful king cannot avoid great danger, which way ſoever they turn. If they obey the uſurper, they will be guilty of treaſon when the lawful king is on the throne; if they reſuſe obedience, they will be puniſhed by the uſurper. It ſeems that the maxim, which allows that every ſubject ought to be faithful to the king on the throne who exerciſes the ſovereign power, is liable to fewer inconveniences. As to the ſecond, let the peers inſiſt ever ſo much on their privileges, it is contrary to reaſon and equity, that accomplices of a crime ſhould ſit in judgment on him who committed it with them, when it is notorſouſly certain, they were equally guilty. At leaſt it is unlikely this maxim ſhould be approved by the judges of the realm, if there was the leaſt room to believe the accomplices would vote for the accuſed, which might very eaſily happen.

Burnet.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

^f It was ſaid, the duke of Norfolk had never been truly attainted, and that the act againſt him was not a true act of parliament, ſo without any pardon or reſtitution in blood, he was ſtill duke of Norfolk. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 243.

Mary.
1555.

Condemnation of the three lords.
Burnet.
Stow.

The duke of Northumberland executed, who declares himself a catholic.
Burnet.
Fox.
Strype.
Stow.

The deputies from Suffolk ill received at court.
Burnet.

The duke seeing these two points determined against him, confessed himself guilty and submitted to the queen's mercy. The other two lords followed his example, and they were all three found guilty of high-treason. Of the seven condemned, three were destined to execution, the duke of Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer. The bishop of Worcester being sent to the duke with the message of death, he confessed to the bishop, and declared, he had always been a Roman catholic in his heart. He made the same confession on the scaffold; but it was still doubted whether this was done in hopes of a pardon^h, or he had really dissembled during the whole course of his life. It is pretended, that to engage him to this publick declaration, he had been flattered with the hopes of his pardon, even though his head were laid on the block. He died unlamented, his past conduct having given no person whatever any cause to love him. His two companions were executed the same day, being the 22d of August.

The proclamation lately published by the queen concerning religion, plainly showed in what spirit she designed to rule. But immediately after, there were more convincing proofs. The inhabitants of Suffolk relying on the queen's promise, and having transgressed the prohibitions contained in the proclamation, the court sent an order to the magistrates of that county to look strictly to the execution of it, and rigorously punish the disobedient. Upon this the inhabitants, not believing the queen would break her word after the great service they had done her, sent deputies to pray her to remember what she had promised them with her own mouth. The petition was rejected with great haughtiness, and thought the more offensive, as it justly reproached the queen with failure of her word. They were answered, that subjects were not to controul the actions of their sovereign, and Dobbeⁱ, one of their number, was set in the pillory for speaking more freely than the rest.

^h Nicholas Heath.

^h Some say, That having a promise, and being put in hope of pardon, even though his head were upon the block, if he would recant and hear mass, he consented thereto, and denied in words that true religion, which he had before professed. Fox, tom. iii. p. 16. He went to mass in the Tower, and received the sacrament after the popish manner. He begged his life with all possible mean-

ness, "That he might do penance all the days of his life, if it were in a "mouse-hole." Gardiner interceded for him; but the emperor, being afraid he should hinder the intended marriage, between Philip and Mary, had him put out of the way. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 152. He was buried in the Tower chapel. Stow, p. 685.

ⁱ Strype calls him Thomas Cobb. Mem. tom. iii. p. 52.

A few days after, Bradford, one of the two ministers who Mary. had rescued Bourn, was sent to prison, and Rogers his com- 1553. panion confined to his house. Afterwards he was also thrown into prison. The great changes meditated by the ministers, Bradford and Rogers com- made them afraid of meeting with obstacles from those who mitted to had most credit with the people, and therefore they were glad prison. on divers pretences to secure them. These proceedings made Burnet, Fox. the protestants think they were going to be exposed to a terrible storm.

At the same time, all the bishops deprived in the reign of The bishops Edward, were restored by commissioners appointed by the deposed in queen to examine the causes of their deprivation. Five Ro- king Ed- ward's time; man catholick bishops, Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstal, Day, restored, and Heath, were substituted in the room of five reformed k. Burnet, A. & Pub. Gardiner was made chancellor at the same time, and a few xv. p. 334. days after, a commission was given him by the queen, em- P. 337. powering him singly to grant licences to preachers, in consequence of what she had before enjoined by her proclamation. Some ecclesiastical protestants not thinking proper to submit Other to the order, were sent to prison. Hooper bishop of Glou- bishops im- cester, Ferrar bishop of St. David's, and Coverdale bishop Fox. of Exeter, were of this number. The two first were impris- Godwin. oned, the last commanded not to stir out of his house without Strype, leave.

After the Roman catholicks plainly saw the queen's inten- The worship tions, they had not patience to wait for the restoration of their of the church religion by publick authority, but boldly celebrated divine ser- of Rome per- vice in several places, according to the old rites before the- formed con- trary to the reformation; and though this was against law, the court con- laws. nived at it and silently approved it. Burnet.

At the same time the partiality of the queen and her minis- ters appeared evidently in favour of the Roman catholicks against the protestants. Judge Hales, who had alone refused Injustices done to the protestants. to sign the instrument which transferred the crown to Jane Burnet. Grey, was thrown into the Marshalsea for charging the jus- tices of Kent to conform to the laws of Edward not yet re- pealed, or rather for being a protestant¹. For the same rea-

¹ The reformed ejected bishops were, Ridley of London, Storey of Chichester, Coverdale of Exeter, Hooper of Worcester.

² Rapin by mistake says, he was fined a thousand pounds, which was part of Montague's punishment. — Hales was first put into the Marshalsea; thence removed to the Compter, and after that to the Fleet; where he was so disor-

dered at the report of the cruelties which the warden told him were contriving against those who would not change their religion, that it turned his brains, and he endeavoured to kill himself with a penknife. He was afterwards set at liberty, but never recovered his senses, so that at last he drowned himself. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 248.

Mary.
1553.

son, Montague, who had been forced to assist in drawing the forementioned instrument, was turned out of his office, fined in a thousand pounds, and succeeded by Bromley, who had drawn and signed it without scruple.

Peter Mar-
tyr leaves
Oxford.
Godwin.
Burnet.

In fine, since the short time the queen had been on the throne, protestants were every-where injured and oppressed, the magistrates not venturing or caring to protect them. Peter Martyr, professor of divinity in Oxford, finding himself exposed to the insults of the enemies of his religion, was obliged at last to leave the place, and retire to the archbishop of Canterbury. But Cranmer, whose ruin was resolved, was little able to protect him. Mean time Bonner launched out into invectives and raileries against Mr. Canterbury, as he was pleased to call him, and published every-where, that he was so resigned to the queen, that he had promised her a solemn abjuration of his errors. Cranmer refuted this calumny in a writing. He called the queen herself to witness, that he had never made her any such promise, and offered to maintain publicly the truth of what he professed, if the queen would grant him leave. The writing being published, Cranmer was called before the Star-chamber. He owned himself the author, though it was published without his consent, and, contrary to all men's expectation, was dismissed without any punishment. But the queen was not satisfied, though she was advised to treat Cranmer with the same moderation, he himself had used whilst he was in authority. The queen herself owed her life to him, which was saved merely by his solicitation, when her father Henry VIII. had designed to put her to death *. To this it was opposed, That if the queen treated with mildness the chief of the hereticks, they would all grow obstinate and insolent, but the punishment of Cranmer would intimidate the champions of heresy. This advice was very agreeable to the queen, who had conceived a mortal aversion to the archbishop, by reason of the sentence of divorce pronounced by him against the queen her mother, this injury making a stronger impression upon her, than the service received from him afterwards. So, three days after, Cranmer being cited before the council, was sent to the Tower on an accusation of treason and of publishing seditious libels. Old Latimer, who had been bishop of Worcester in the reign of Henry VIII, had been sent thither the day before.

Godwin.
Burnet.

Cranmer
cited into the
Star-cham-
ber.
Escapes
without
punishment.
Burnet,
t. ii. p. 240,
241, 249.
Godwin.

Sent to the
Tower,
where he
finds Lati-
mer com-
mitted the
day before.
Burnet.

* Her crime was, her resolute adherence to her mother's interest. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 240, 241.

Shortly after the court came to a resolution of sending away Mary. all foreigners that were come on the publick faith and encouragement. Peter Martyr, and a Polish professor named John a Lasco, were included in the number *. This was the only act of mildness and equity shown in this reign with reference to religion. But this sufficiently discovered what was intended against the English protestants. The court's daily proceedings before the repeal of any one law so intimidated those who had religion at heart, that great numbers passing for Frenchmen, withdrew out of England into foreign countries †. Those who made haste to escape the impending storm were wisest and happiest. For soon after, others, who had taken the same resolution, were arrested by an order sent to all the ports, to suffer no person to leave the kingdom as a Frenchman, without a passport from the ambassador of France.

1553.
The reform-
ed, who were
Arrangers,
permitted to
leave the
kingdom.
Burnet.

But the
English not
permitted.
Burnet.

It was time now for the queen to reward those who had done her service. The earl of Arundel was made lord-steward, sir Edward Hastings a peer of the realm, and some others who had early declared for the queen, had employs and dignities conferred on them †. But the earl of Suffex ‡, who had been her general, obtained an honour unusual in England, namely, to be covered in the presence of the queen, as it is practised in Spain. He had his letters patents under the great seal the 2d of October.

The queen
rewards her
friends.
Burnet.

As the parliament had been summoned to meet the 5th of October, it was necessary for the queen to be crowned before. The ceremony of the coronation was performed the 1st of that month, with the usual solemnity, by the bishop of Winchester, who forgot not one formality practised before the reformation. The same day a general pardon was published,

Is crowned.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Strype.

* This last was a Prussian nobleman, minister of the German protestant congregation in London. They had a church granted them by king Edward, (which was the church belonging to the late dissolved monastery of the Augustinians, near Broad-Street, London, now called the Dutch church. See Rymer's Feed. tom. xv. p. 242, &c.) but it was now taken from them, and their composition dissolved. Burnet, p. 250.

† Above a thousand. Burnet, p. 251. See the names of the chief of them in Collier's Eccl. Hist. tom. ii. p. 340.

‡ Sir John Gage was made lord-chamberlain; sir John Williams, who

had proclaimed the queen in Oxfordshire, lord Williams of Tame, &c. Burnet, p. 251. Also September 27, the order of the garter was restored to William lord Paget. Strype, tom. iii. p. 34.

§ See Heylin Eccl. Hist. p. 170. This earl was Henry Ratcliff, of a family long since extinct. Courcy, baron of Kingsale in Ireland, enjoys this privilege of sitting covered in the royal presence, by a grant made from king John to the famous Courcy, earl of Ulster, from whom he is descended. The present baron asserted this ancient right of his family in the reigns of the late and present king.

Mary. but with so many exceptions, that few persons could receive any benefit from it. All those who had been arrested before September were excepted by name ^r.

Remits a
subsidy
granted to
king Ed-
ward.
A&C. Pub.
xv. p. 335.
Burnet.
Strype.
The arch-
bishop of
York sent to
the Tower.
The deprived
bishop of
Exeter re-
stored.
A&C. Pub.
P. 340.

The me-
thods to in-
fluence elec-
tions, and
procure re-
turns fa-
vourable to
the court.
Burnet.

Then came out a proclamation ^s, by which the queen discharged the subsidies granted by the last parliament to the king her brother for the payment of his debts ^t. This was to gain the good will of the ensuing parliament, and render it subservient to her designs with respect to religion. Before the parliament met ^u, the archbishop of York was sent to the Tower on a general accusation of several capital crimes. Six days before, John Vesey, some time bishop of Exeter, but deprived in the last reign, was restored by an order of the queen. This was with intent to strengthen the catholick cause in the upper house.

The court had resolved to abrogate all the laws made in favour of the reformation, and to restore the ancient religion. This was not to be done without the concurrence of the parliament. But if elections had been left free, it would have been difficult, not to say impossible, for the queen to succeed in her design. The number of the reformed was without comparison greater than that of the Roman catholicks, and consequently the elections would not probably be favourable to her. But besides the ordinary ways made use of by kings to have parliaments at their devotion, all sorts of artifices, frauds, and even violences, were practised in this. As care was taken beforehand to change the magistrates in the cities and counties; and there was hardly one but who was a catholick, or had promised to be so, every thing tending to the election of catholick representatives was countenanced. On the contrary, those who were suspected of an inclination to chuse protestants, were discouraged by menaces, actions, imprisonments, on the most frivolous pretences. In several places, things were carried with such violence, that protestants were not allowed to assist in the assemblies where the elections were to be made. In short, in places where it was not possible to use these direct means, by reason of the superiority of the reformed, the sheriffs, devoted to the court, made false returns.

^s On September 28, the queen made fifteen knights of the bath; and October 2, ninety knights of the carpet, whose names see in Strype's Mem. tom. iii. p. 35, 39.

^t October 4. Rapin.

^u The last parliament of king Edward had granted him two tenths, and five fifteenths; and a subsidy of 4 s. to

be raised of the lands, and 2 s. 8 d. of goods and chattles. This subsidy of 4 s. and 2 s. 8 d. was what the queen remitted. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 335, 336. and Strype, tom. iii. p. 32.

^v October 4. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 222.

Mary.

1552.

As the disputes arising from such elections can only be decided by the house of commons, it is easy to imagine, that a house composed of such representatives failed not to approve all the elections that were favourable to the court, and reject all the others that were in the least contestable. This is one of the greatest abuses belonging to parliaments, and which is but too frequent whenever the kingdom is rent into factions. By these methods, the court secured a house of commons ready to comply with their suggestions, and whose members had an interest in the change of religion, or were indifferent to all religious establishments.

As to the upper house, which cannot be thus modelled to the liking of the court, the queen probably laboured so successfully to engage it in her interests, that she found no opposition from the peers. It is very strange, that the lords, who but a few months before were all protestants, and had in their whole body but seven or eight who opposed the laws made in Edward's reign in favour of the reformation, were become almost all zealous catholics in queen Mary's. I pretend not to decide in which reign they dissembled their sentiments; but it is too clear that, in the one or the other, they were guilty of a base and scandalous prevarication. Mean while, to make this house still more compliant, the court took care beforehand to make changes amongst the bishops in favour of their designs. Besides both the archbishops and the bishops of Gloucester and Exeter, in actual imprisonment, six others had been changed, as has been observed. Probably all the rest, excepting two, were for pre-^{Burnet.} ferring their sees to their religion. The two I except, were ^{Fox.} Taylor bishop of Lincoln, and Harley of Hereford, who were even thrust out of the house the first day for refusing to kneel at the mass. Such was queen Mary's first parliament, composed of a house of commons filled with the creatures of the court, and of a house of lords, who, through fear, avarice, or ambition, dissembled their sentiments, or, a few excepted, thought all religions alike. It is easy to foresee what is to be expected from such a parliament.

In the first session, which lasted but eight days, care was taken that nothing should be moved with regard to religion. ^{The parliament meets. October 5.} The only publick act was a declaration of treasons and felonies, by which nothing was to be judged treason, but what ^{An act made relating to high-treason.} was in the statute of the 25th of Edward III. or felony, ^{Statutes.} but what was so before the 1st of Henry VIII. This act seemed unnecessary, since the like had been passed since Henry's death. But as some crimes, not contained in the

Mary. Statute of Edward III. had been since declared felony, the intent of this was to abolish the late acts. It is true, this might have been attended with another inconvenience, namely, the discharge of several persons then in prison, had not an express exception been made of all who were committed before the last of September, as they had been excepted out of the queen's general pardon.

A private act to reverse the attainder of the marchioness of Exeter.

By a private act, the attainder of the marchioness of Exeter, executed in the reign of Henry VIII. was reversed, and her son the earl of Devonshire restored to all his honours. Then the parliament was prorogued from the 21st to the 24th of October.

The divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine repealed. Statutes. Burnet.

In the second session, the designs of the court were more open. The divorce of the queen's mother was immediately repealed. This act passed in fewer days than Henry had spent years in prosecuting the divorce *. In the preamble it was said, "That the marriage of Henry with queen Catherine was not contrary to the law of God, and that man ought not to put asunder what God hath joined: that king Henry's scruples had been suggested to him by malicious persons, and supported by the decisions of some universities, which had been previously secured by corruption and bribery: that Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury had falsely pronounced sentence of divorce, upon the authority of these decisions and other groundless conjectures, and by a blameable presumption had thought himself more knowing than all the other doctors." Upon these foundations, the parliament repealed the sentence, and all the acts to confirm it. Gardiner, chief promoter of the act, must have been past all shame, to make the parliament talk thus of Henry's divorce, in which he was principally concerned, even before Cranmer was known to the court, which he had himself approved and advised, and at which he had assisted as judge. But such was the character of the man.

The queen jealous of her sister Elizabeth. Burnet.

The princess Elizabeth being thus again declared illegitimate by an act which restored Mary, found a great change in the behaviour of the queen, who no longer shewed her any affection. It is even pretended, that another secret cause alienated Mary from her, and that was, her love for the earl of Devonshire, whom she had some thoughts of marrying, but that the earl, too indiscreetly perhaps, continued to pay his respects to Elizabeth.

* It was read in the house of commons, the 26th, 27th, and 28th of October; on which last day it was sent up to the lords. Journ. Hou. Com.

The 31st of October, the lords sent down to the commons a bill for repealing Edward's laws concerning religion, and six days after the commons sent it back with their approbation. By the act it was ordained, that no other form of publick worship should be allowed from the 20th of December, but what had been used in the last year of Henry VIII. This shows Gardiner's influence on the parliament, since the act precisely followed the plan he had proposed.

Mary..
1553.

The mass restored.

Another act passed, decreeing the severest punishments against all who should molest any preacher for his sermons, or disturb him in any part of the divine service. The same punishments were ordained for those who should profane the sacrament, or pull down crosses, crucifixes or images.

An act made in favour of ecclesiasticks.

The commons at the same time sent up another bill against those who came not to church or the sacraments, when the whole service should be set up. But the lords thought not proper to go so far at once.

A bill preferred by the commons, rejected by the lords.

Shortly after, the parliament revived an act of the last reign, forbidding any, to the number of twelve or more, to meet with design to change the established religion, and declaring the offenders guilty of felony, that is, worthy of death. This act was directly contrary to that made by this very parliament, to repeal all new treasons and felonies. But the pretence of religion covered all.

An act made against assemblies, to alter the established religion.

In this session, the act of attainder against the duke of Norfolk in Henry's reign was reversed, on pretence that all the necessary formalities were not observed *.

The duke of Norfolk's attainder reversed.

These were the most remarkable transactions of this first parliament, which, in a few days, overturned all that had been done with regard to religion in the reign of Edward VI. King Henry's laws were not yet to be touched, because they had difficulties concerning which the pope was first to be consulted.

The 3^d of November^a, the parliament still sitting, Jane Grey, Guilford Dudley her husband, two other sons of the duke of Northumberland^a, and Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, were brought to their trial. They all confessed their indictments, and received sentence of death as traitors^b.

Jane Grey, Cranmer, and others attainted of high treason, Burnet.

Cran- Stow.
Hollingsh.

* By an act made during this session, it was also ordained, That no person who is a sheriff, shall at the same time exercise the office of justice of peace.

† This parliament granted the queen tonnage and poundage for life, upon the same foot as it was granted to king Edward VI.

^a Stow says, it was the 13th, p. 627. Strype.
^a Sir Ambrose, and Henry Dudley.

Hollingsh. p. 1093.

^b Cranmer appealed to the judges, for them to declare, with what reluctance he signed the instrument of the queen's exclusion. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 257. If the queen did in earnest forgive him the treason,

Mary.
1553.

Cranmer's sentence rendered him incapable of possessing any benefice, and consequently his archbishoprick was void in law. But two^e reasons obliged the queen to dispense with the ordinary forms, and leave Cranmer, tho' condemned, in possession of his dignity. The first was, that intending to restore the clergy to all their privileges, she was resolved Cranmer should be canonically degraded, but this could not be done till the laws of Henry VIII. were repealed. The second was, that by a refinement of self-love, she was willing to pardon Cranmer his treason, to make the world believe, she proceeded against him from no motives of private revenge. But at the same time she devoted him to death as a heretick, as soon as any laws should be made upon that subject, as if she only acted out of pure zeal for religion. Therefore at present, the archbishop's revenues were only sequestered, and himself detained in prison till a proper time for his execution.

Commendone's negotiation in England.
Burnet.

Burnet.

The queen demands Pole for legate.
Burnet.

Since Mary's accession to the throne, she had appeared to be wholly employed in these publick transactions. But at the same time, she was forming secret designs which were not known till ripe for execution. The news of king Edward's death was no sooner spread in the world, than the court of Rome conceived hopes of re-uniting England to the Holy See, and even began to project it. Cardinal Dandini, the pope's legate at Brussels, as of himself, sent Commendone, afterwards cardinal, to sound Mary's inclinations. Commendone being unknown in England, easily concealed himself under a borrowed name, and repairing to London, obtained a private audience of the queen^c. This was soon after her coming to that city, since the envoy was present at the duke of Northumberland's execution, which was on the 22d of August. At this audience the queen told Commendone, she designed the restoration of the papal authority in England, and prayed him to intercede with the pope to send cardinal Pole as legate. But she intimated to him, that the discovery of this secret would blast the design. The pope communicating to the consistory his intentions of sending Pole into England, found

treason, it might be owing to this appeal: that is, if she forgave the treason in earnest, for the taking away his life afterwards, leaves it a very disputable point, whether this injury, added to the divorce of her mother, or his religion, wrought most powerfully on her resentments.—The attainder of Cranmer, the duke of Northumberland, marquis of Northampton, &c. was confirmed afterwards by the parliament; and the bill

for it was read in the house of commons the 27th and 28th of November, and December 4. See Journ. Comm. and Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 361.

^c He came to Newport, where he gave out, he was the nephew of a merchant lately dead in London; and hiring two servants unknown to him, came over unsuspected to London. Burnet, p. 258.

at first great opposition. The cardinals feared to expose the honour of the Holy See, in sending a legate without a solemn embassy from the queen. But the pope telling them, he knew more of the affair than he thought fit to communicate, they complied with his proposal.

At the same time, the emperor was projecting a marriage for his son Philip with queen Mary. Gardiner was in the secret, whether it arose at first from him, or was only communicated to him by the emperor. However, this prelate neglected no endeavours to accomplish it. The news of Pole's nomination to the legateship was equally disagreeable to the emperor and Gardiner. Commendone had doubtless divulged at Rome queen Mary's question to him, whether Pole might not have a dispensation to marry? This occasioned a belief, that it was her intention to make him her husband. The emperor being informed of this, and apprehensive that Pole's presence might obstruct the design he was meditating, resolved to use his endeavours to prevent the legation, or at least to retard it as long as possible. On the other hand, Gardiner could not without the utmost concern think of Pole's arrival, who might intercept his views upon the see of Canterbury, and perhaps the smiles of the queen herself. And indeed there was danger, that if the cardinal, who neither loved nor esteemed him, should insinuate himself into the queen's favour, (as it was very likely) he would use his credit to ruin him. He was therefore to find some expedient to keep him at a distance, and none was more natural, than an insinuation to the queen, that the cardinal's zeal for the Holy See would prejudice the affairs of religion in England: that the people were first to be managed and persuaded to own the papal authority, to which they were extremely averse: that besides, Pole was not enemy enough to the protestants; and religion, in the present conjuncture, required to be conducted by other maxims than those of that cardinal. The emperor, on the other side, believing it his interest to keep Pole where he was, writ the same thing to the queen, and represented to her, that Pole would ruin her affairs, let her intentions be ever so good. In fine, he proposed her marriage with his son, and supported his proposal with all the reasons most apt to persuade her. Above all, he set forth the necessity of a foreign power in restoring religion in England, or at least of an alliance capable to inspire terror into those who should oppose her designs: that an alliance with the emperor and Spain was doubtless most advantageous, as France being able to form projects in favour of the young queen of Scots, who was to marry

Mary.
1553.

The emperor projects a marriage for his son Philip with the queen.

Cause of Pole's being detained.
Burnet.

The emperor proposes it to the queen.
Burnet.

Mary.
1553.

who accepts
it.

Pole detained
in Ger-
many.
Burnet.

Opposite
councils
given the
queen by
Pole and
Gardiner.

Burnet,
tom. ii.
p. 260, 261.

The com-
mons pre-
sent an ad-
dress to the
queen
against her
marriage.
Burnet.
Steph.
She dissolves
the parlia-
ment,
Burnet.

marry the dauphin, was in interest concerned to raise and foment disturbances in England. Mary was much pleased with the proposal, which was probably made about the beginning of November. Besides a zeal for religion, which might induce Gardiner to second the emperor's designs, he saw a considerable advantage for himself, namely, the securing his own credit, since Philip would be indebted to him for his marriage. Mean while, Pole was to be kept at a distance till the queen's marriage was concluded; and this the emperor did first by his own authority in detaining him in his dominions^d; but afterwards got the queen to send an express^e to acquaint him that the interests of religion required a stop in his journey, because the nation was not yet disposed to own the papal authority.

* While the legate was thus detained in Germany or the Low-Countries, he tried several times to obtain leave to pursue his journey: but it was still in vain. He knew not to whom this usage was owing, and perhaps was never fully informed. However, he held a constant correspondence by letters with the queen on the affairs of religion, but his counsels were secretly opposed either by the emperor or Gardiner. It was his opinion, that, laying aside all ceremony, the kingdom should immediately be reconciled to the Holy See. Gardiner, on the contrary, believed the marriage ought to be concluded before the reconciliation was mentioned, that the consideration of so powerful an alliance might awe those who were inclined to stir. He thought Pole, and would have had others think him, a weak man, a shallow politician, and of little use in the cabinet. Pole, on the other hand, believed Gardiner a very improper person to direct the affairs of religion, because, in his opinion, he relied too much on his intrigues and the arm of flesh. Their little esteem of each other ended at last in an open enmity.

The design of the queen's marriage was not conducted with sufficient secrecy, to keep it from the commons. They were so alarmed, that they sent their speaker with twenty of their members, to pray the queen not to marry a foreigner. This convinced the queen, she could expect no more supplies from the commons, if she refused to satisfy them in that point. But as she had no such intention, she chose to dissolve the parliament^f. Gardiner improved the juncture, to the obtaining conditions from the emperor, which he could not otherwise

^d At Dilling, a town on the Danube.
Burnet, p. 249. Thuanus, lib. 13.

St. Asaph, Burnet, *ibid*.

^f On December 6, Journ. Parl.

^e By Goldwell, afterwards bishop of

here expected. He represented to him, that the English were so averse to the marriage, that the worst was to be feared, unless he complied with two things absolutely necessary. The first was, his consent that the treaty of marriage should contain terms so advantageous to England, as to silence the most zealous opposers. The second was, his remitting considerable sums to gain those who would be wanted to curb the people, or who could most easily induce them to rebel. The emperor not doubting of Gardiner's zeal for his interests, approved the advice, and left it entirely to him to prescribe the conditions of the marriage; and moreover, put into his hands twelve hundred thousand crowns, to be disposed of as he saw fit ^a. These particulars were printed in a little book, in form of a petition to the queen, by the English exiles at Strasburg. The author added farther, that Gardiner denied common justice in the court of Chancery to those persons who would not engage to second the queen's intentions.

The emperor complies with every thing which might forward the marriage. Burnet, t. ii. p. 262.

While the parliament was assembled, the convocation held its sessions according to custom. It is not known whether any bishops, consecrated in the time of king Edward, appeared in the upper-house. If any did, the number could be but small, and of such too, as the lords vouchsafed to receive into their house, that is, men who were not likely to oppose any measures. Care was taken to fill the lower house with persons entirely devoted to the court; so that only six members ¹ had the inclination or courage to oppose the decision made in favour of transubstantiation ². These six members demanded a regular disputation on the subject, which was granted. But three of them declined the dispute ³, well foreseeing what would be the result. The other three stood their

The disputation of the clergy met in convocation. Burnet. Strype.

Transubstantiation established.

A dispute upon it between the popish and protestant clergy.

^a This sum was equal to 400,000 l. English, the crown being then a noble. The emperor made his son bind himself to repay him that sum, when he had once attained the crown of England. Of this the emperor made so little a secret, that when, a year after, some towns in Germany, that had lent a part of this money, desired to be repaid; he answered them, that he had lent his son 1,200,000 crowns to marry him to the queen of England, and had yet received of him only 300,000 crowns, but he had good security for the rest, and the merchants were bound to pay him 100,000 l. Sterling, and therefore he demanded a little more time of them. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 263.

¹ These were Philpot archdeacon of Fox, Winchester, Phillips dean of Rochester, Haddon dean of Exeter, Cheney archdeacon of Hereford, Ailmer archdeacon of Stow, and Young chanter of St. Holling. David's. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 263.

² In the Collection of the Publick Acts, there are about nine hundred and sixty presentations to livings a little before the parliament met. This discovers the changes which were made amongst the inferior clergy. Rapin. On the 21st of December, the mass began to be sung again in Latin, throughout England, as in the former times of popery. Stow, p. 627.

³ Haddon, Ailmer, and Young. Burnet, *ibid*.

Mary. ground, so a disputation was had ^m. But the Roman catho-
 - 1553. licks, for want of better arguments, received those of their
 adversaries with hootings, reproaches, menaces, and conti-
 nual interruptions, and then published that they were van-
 quished. This at least is the account given by the pro-
 testants ⁿ.

The latter
 ill treated.

1554.
 The emperor
 sends am-
 bassadors to
 conclude the
 marriage.
 A.C. Pub.
 xv. p. 337.
 Godwin.
 Burnet.
 Strype.

In the beginning of the year 1554, a magnificent ambassly arrived at London from the emperor, with the count of Egmont ^o at the head of it, to settle the articles of the marriage. The queen intrusted Gardiner with the management of the negotiation ^p, or rather with the care of drawing the treaty, since probably every thing material was agreed before the arrival of the ambassadors. That able politician had a double design. The first was, to have such conditions inserted in the treaty, as the parliament might approve. The second was, to exclude the Spaniards from having any share in the government. The emperor complied with every thing, in the belief, no doubt, that his son would find ways to evade the observation of the articles, which should restrain him too much. To be convinced that this was his thought ^q, let it only be considered, that so able a politician as Charles, would never have parted with twelve hundred thousand crowns to procure for his son the empty title of king of England. For indeed the treaty, as will appear, promised him no more. In all probability, Gardiner had the same thoughts with the emperor. But the business was to dazzle the parliament with conditions advantageous to the nation, for whose interests though he affected a great zeal, he was probably but little concerned for what might happen after his death. Mean while, he acquired a high reputation, the publick ascribing to his capacity and prudence the terms of the marriage, which seemed to secure England from all Philip's attempts. The principal articles of the treaty, which was signed the 12th of January 1554, a few days after the arrival of the ambassadors, were these :

^m On October 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 30. See Fox.

ⁿ This year, sir Thomas White, merchant-taylor, and mayor of London, founded St. John's college in Oxford, upon the site of Bernard-college, which he purchased from the crown. He also erected schools at Bristol and Reading. Hollingh. p. 1092.

^o This was the brave count Egmont, of whom the reader will find an account below, towards the close of the year 1567.

^p The commissioners appointed by queen Mary, to treat with the emperor's ambassadors, were, Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Henry earl of Arundel, William lord Paget, sir Robert Rochestre, controller of the household, and sir William Petre secretary of state. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 337.

^q See this explained in Strype's notes on Godwin, p. 339. Comp. Hist. vol. ii.

That

That Philip, in virtue of the marriage, should jointly with queen Mary enjoy the title of king of England, while the marriage subsisted, saving always the rights, laws, privileges, and customs of the kingdom of England. It was likewise stipulated, that the queen should have the sole disposal of the revenues of the kingdom, the nomination to all employments, offices and benefices, which should be conferred on the natural subjects of her majesty, and no others.

Mary.
1554.

The chief
articles re-
lating to it.
A. & P.
xv. p. 397.
393—403.

That the queen likewise should bear the titles belonging to her husband.

That her dowry should be sixty thousand pounds of Flemish money, forty Gros each¹, of which forty thousand should be assigned to her upon Spain, and twenty thousand upon Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and Holland. That she should enjoy the dowry in the same manner it was enjoyed by Margaret, sister of Edward IV. and wife of Charles duke of Burgundy.

That the children born of this marriage should inherit their mother's estate, according to the custom of the respective countries.

With relation to the father's estate, it was agreed, that the archduke Charles, son of Philip, should succeed to the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Sicily, the dutchy of Milan, and all other properties and domains situate in Lombardy or Italy; but in default of Charles and his issue, the eldest son of Philip and Mary should succeed to the same sovereignties.

That the first-born of Philip and Mary should inherit Burgundy and the Low-Countries, from which the archduke Charles should be excluded, as the children of Philip and Mary were excluded from Spain and Italy.

That the younger sons and daughters of Mary and Philip should have their appennages and portions assigned them in England, without prejudice however to what they might expect from Philip their father, or Charles their grandfather, in the Low-Countries, or Burgundy.

That in case only daughters proceeded from this marriage, the eldest should succeed to Burgundy and the Low-Countries, provided, that with the consent of the Infante Don Charles, her brother, she married a husband out of these countries, or the dominions of the queen her mother. That on her refusal or neglect to perform this covenant, prince Charles should preserve his right to the said countries, with obligation however to assign a portion to his sister, both out of Spain and the Low-Countries.

¹ Of Flemish money.

That

Mary.
1554.

That if prince Charles died without issue, the eldest son or daughter of Philip and Mary should succeed, as well to Spain and Italy, as the other dominions.

Lastly, it was expressly agreed, that in all the forementioned cases, those children who should succeed to either the paternal or maternal estates, should leave them possessed of all laws, rights, privileges, and customs belonging to the respective countries, and should administer the government by the natives of the said countries.

A CLAUSE annexed to the Treaty.

By this clause it was expressly covenanted, that before the consummation of the marriage, Philip should solemnly swear to the observation of the following articles :

That he would retain no domestick, who was not either an Englishman or subject to the queen, nor bring any foreigner into England to give uneasiness to the English. That if any of his retinue transgressed this article, he should be punished in such a manner as should be thought convenient.

That Philip would make no alteration in the laws, rights, statutes, and customs of England.

That he would never take the queen out of her own dominions, unless at her own particular request; nor carry out of England any of the children born of this marriage, without the consent of the nobility.

That if the queen should die first without children, he would pretend to no right upon England or its dependencies, but leave the succession to the rightful heir.

That he would carry out of the kingdom no jewels, or other valuable things: nor alienate any thing belonging to the crown, or suffer any person whatsoever to seize them.

That England should never, by virtue of this marriage, be concerned directly or indirectly in any war depending between France and Spain; but that the alliance between England and France should subsist and remain in full force.

That he would not give any occasion of rupture between France and England.

A reflection
upon this
treaty.

It would be very difficult to discover what advantages England could receive from this marriage, if the interests of the sovereign and his ministers were not commonly confounded with those of the kingdom, though frequently very opposite. The court had in view the restoration of the Roman catho-

lick

lick religion in England, and therefore believed they wanted Mary. the assistance of Spain. On the other hand, this marriage was advantageous to the chancellor, who strengthened his credit with Philip's protection. But at the same time England ran a great risk of falling under the dominion of Philip, who probably meant not to be bound with chains of parchment. 1554.

The day after the treaty was signed *, the queen granted a pardon to the marquis of Northampton, who had been condemned with the duke of Northumberland. The marquis of Northampton pardoned.

We have before seen, that about the end of the reign of Edward VI. the court had taken measures to prevent the company of the German merchants, called the Steel-yard, from engrossing the whole woollen trade, in prejudice to the English, as till then had been practised. For this purpose the parliament had laid a heavy duty upon the goods, whether exported or imported by that company; and the act was renewed in Mary's first parliament. But the beginning of this year, the queen, to gratify the Hanse-towns, suspended the execution of these acts for three years, and discharged the company of German merchants from the payment of the extraordinary taxes imposed upon them, all acts to the contrary notwithstanding. This was the first effect of the queen's alliance with the emperor. Act. Pub. xv. p. 360. The queen suspends the act against the German merchants. Ib. p. 364.

After the treaty of the queen's marriage with Philip was made publick, complaints and murmurs were every where heard. The protestants in particular believed themselves lost, and feared to see erected in England a Spanish inquisition. But they were not the only murmurers. Independently of religion, the greatest part of the nation was not free from the fears of king Philip's introducing the Spanish tyranny into England, of which the Indies, the Low-Countries, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the duchy of Milan, afforded recent instances. In a word, few persons could believe that the emperor had agreed to the articles stipulated in the treaty, with any design to observe them. At last, these murmurs grew into a conspiracy against the queen, of which the marriage was either the cause or pretence. The duke of Suffolk, sir Thomas Wyatt †, sir Peter Carew, formed the design of a general insurrection. Carew was to act in Cornwall, Wyatt in Kent, and the duke of Suffolk in Warwickshire, which is in the center of the kingdom. Complaints against the queen's marriage. Godwin, Burnet. Wyatt's conspiracy. Godwin, Burnet. Stow. Homingth.

* January 13. Rapin.

† This sir Thomas Wyatt had been oft employed in embassies, particularly in Spain; where he had made such observations on the cruelty and subtilty of

the Spaniards, that he could not look, without a just concern, on the miseries his country was like to fall under. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 224.

Mary.
1554.

Godwin.
Burnet.

Carew managed so ill, that his plot was discovered ^a, and one of his complices arrested before he had concerted his affairs. This sent him into France, and Wyat, upon his flight, hastened the execution of his enterprize, tho' it was the design of the conspirators to wait the arrival of Philip for a more plausible colour to their insurrection. Wyat therefore resolving to push his point, tho' he was yet unprepared, went to Maidstone with a few followers, and gave out, he took up arms to prevent England from being invaded. Afterwards he marched to Rochester, from whence he writ to the sheriff to desire his assistance. But the sheriff, instead of espousing his cause, required him to lay down his arms, and assembled forces to oppose him.

Burnet.
Stow.

Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.

Hollingsh.

This rebellion alarmed the court ^w, where nothing was ready to allay it, the queen having dismissed her forces, when she thought herself out of danger. Wherefore she sent a herald to Wyat with a full pardon, if he would lay down his arms in twenty-four hours. But he refused the offer of pardon. Mean time, the court was so unprepared, that the duke of Norfolk was sent with only six hundred of the city trained-bands ^x, commanded by an officer named Bret. Whilst this was doing, the sheriff of Kent ^y, as he was going to join the duke of Norfolk, met and defeated Knevet, who with some troops was marching to join Wyat, and killed sixty of his men. This ill success so alarmed Wyat, that he had now resolved to consult his own safety ^z, when an unexpected accident inspired him with fresh courage. Sir George Harper, one of Wyat's adherents, pretending to desert him, went to the duke of Norfolk, and so artfully managed the trained-bands, that they took part with the rebels, and quitting the duke, joined Wyat ^a.

Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Burnet.
Hollingsh.

With this reinforcement and his other troops, making together a body of four thousand men, Wyat marched towards London ^b. He met near Deptford two messengers from the queen, who in her name asked what would content him. He demanded the Tower and the queen's person to be put into

^a It seems he was too hasty in raising men, and making other preparations. Godwin, p. 340.

^w The news of it came to London, January 25. Idem. p. 341. Stow, p. 618.

^x Five hundred, says Godwin, together with the queen's guards. Ibid.

^y Sir Robert Southwell. Hollingsh. p. 1094.

^z He was seen to weep, and called for

a coat, which he stuffed with money, designing to escape. Burnet, p. 235.

^a Thereupon the duke of Norfolk fled, together with the earl of Arundel, and sir Henry Jernegan captain of the guard. But Wyat coming up that moment with a party of horse, intercepted the rest; and seized eight brass guns, and all Norfolk's baggage. Godwin, p. 341.

^b January 31. Hollingsh. p. 1095.

his hands, and the council to be changed as he should think proper. This demand being rejected, the queen repaired ^b to Guildhall, and acquainted the magistrates with Wyat's answer. She then spoke of her marriage, and told them she had done nothing in it but by the advice of her council. And, to give them a proof of the confidence she reposed in them, she resolved to stay in the city, though many advised her to withdraw to the Tower ^c.

Mary.
1554.

Godwin.
Stow.
Hollingh.
p. 1096.

Wyat in the mean time continued his march, and reached the borough of Southwark the 3d of February, expecting to enter the city without any difficulty. But the bridge being strongly barricaded and guarded, he was obliged to march along the Thames to Kingston ^d, ten miles from London. Here he found the bridge broken, and spent some hours in repairing it. He then passed to the other side with his army, increased now to near six thousand men. After that, he continued his march to London, and, after some time lost in repairing one of his broken carriages, reached Hyde-Park about nine in the morning, the 7th of February. The time unseasonably spent in repairing the carriage, rendered his undertaking abortive. For in that interval Harper, who had been so serviceable in bringing over the trained-bands, deserted, and, posting to court, discovered his intentions to march through Westminster, and enter the city by Ludgate. This advice came seasonably to the earl of Pembroke and lord Clinton, who, at the head of some troops, had resolved to engage him as he entered the city. But, observing he was entangling himself in the streets where he could not extend his troops, they thought it better to let him pass, after orders given to shut the gate through which he designed to enter.

Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.
Hollingh.

Stow.

Godwin.
Stow.

Wyat, still prepossessed that the citizens would favour his undertaking, left his cannon under a guard at Hyde-Park, and entering Westminster ^e, pursued his march through the Strand, in his way to Ludgate. As he advanced, care was taken to cut off his retreat by barricades and men placed at all the avenues. He believed himself now at the height of his wishes, when he found the gate into the city shut a-

Godwin.
Stow.

^b On February 1. Godwin, p. 341.

^c She armed five hundred men, most of them foreigners, whom she placed in several parts of the city. Idem, p. 342.

^d Where he arrived February 6, about four o'clock in the afternoon. Stow, p. 620.

^e He advanced with five companies towards Ludgate, whilst Cuthbert Vaughan, with two companies more, marched towards Westminster. At Charing-cross, sir John Gage, lord chamberlain, went to oppose Wyat, but retired in disorder. Godwin, p. 342.

Mary.
1554.

Wyat sur-
renders, and
is sent to
prison.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Stow.

The duke of
Suffolk be-
trayed and
taken.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Religion not
concerned in
this conspi-
racy.
Burnet.

against him. He then first discovered his danger, and, perceiving it was impossible to retire, lost all courage. As he was endeavouring to return, a herald ^f came to him, and exhorting him not to sacrifice the lives of so many followers, he surrendered quietly ^g, and was sent to prison. This unfortunate man, who doubtless had but a slender capacity, foolishly imagined, without having good assurances, that the city of London would declare in his favour, and that proved his ruin. If his measures had been better taken, the queen and her ministers would have been greatly embarrassed, at a time when the government, weak as it was, had already created many enemies. But the ill success of this enterprize so strengthened the queen's authority, that henceforward she found no more resistance. After the taking of Wyat, his men being dispersed, were taken at pleasure, and filled the prisons.

While Wyat was acting in Kent and London, the duke of Suffolk had made but small progress in the county of Warwick. He would not have been so much as suspected, had not an express been seized, sent to him by Wyat to inform him of the reasons which had obliged him to hasten his undertaking, and to pray him to be as expeditious as possible. Upon this advice, the earl of Huntington had orders to arrest him. The duke was informed, and being not yet secure of fifty horse, chose to conceal himself in the house of one of his domesticks ^h, who basely betrayed him to the earl of Huntington, by whom he was conveyed to the Tower the 11th of February. Such was the success of this conspiracy. Had it been managed by abler heads, it might have been attended with great consequences. But few men of reputation cared to put themselves under the conduct of such leaders. If it had caused only the death of the principal actors, they might have been said to meet the just reward of their folly. But it produced two considerable effects, one fatal to an illustrious and innocent person, and the other to all protestants. Not that religion had any share in the conspiracy, Wyat himself being a Roman catholic, and the queen in her proclamation not accusing the protestants, though since some historians have been pleased to brand them. But as the queen's authority was strengthened by the ill success of this undertaking, she turned it entirely to the ruin of the reformed and the reformation. The duke of Suffolk being concerned

^f Clarenceux king at arms.

^g To Sir Maurice Berkeley.

^h One Underwood, whom he had

made his ranger at Astley near Coventry.
Godwin, p. 341.

in the conspiracy, the court easily understood his design was to replace his daughter the lady Jane on the throne; and this determined the queen to sacrifice her to her own safety.

Two days after the taking of Wyat, a message was sent to Jane Grey and her husband to bid them prepare for death. Jane, as she had long expected it, received the message with great resolution. Mean while, Dr. Feckman who brought it, and had orders to exhort her to change her religion, preposterously imagining she desired some time to be determined, obtained three days respite of her execution. But she let him know, it was no satisfaction to her. She was well assured, the jealousy of the government would not suffer her to live, and therefore she had employed the whole time of her confinement in a preparation for death. Some have believed, that without this last attempt of the duke of Suffolk, the queen would have spared his daughter. But as afterwards such numbers were put to death for their religion, it is not likely that Jane, so firmly attached to the protestant religion, would have been more mercifully used than the rest, even though the queen could have prevailed with herself to pardon her treason. Be this as it will, she was executed the 12th of February, after seeing the headless body of her husband pass by her, as he was brought back from execution to be interred in the chapel of the Tower. She showed to the last moment a great constancy and piety, and an immoveable adherence to the reformation, owning however herself guilty of a great sin in accepting a crown which belonged not to her. The duke of Suffolk her father was tried the 17th of the same month, and executed the 21st¹, with great grief for having been the cause of his daughter's death.

Next, Wyat was brought to his trial, where he offered to make great discoveries if his life might be saved. He accused even the princess Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire^{*} as concerned in the conspiracy. This did not prevent his sentence, but only gained him a respite of two months, because of the hopes of drawing from him considerable discoveries. Mean time the earl of Devonshire was committed to the Tower¹, and the princess Elizabeth, though indisposed, was brought to London and closely confined in White-Hall^m, Stow.

Execution of
Jane Grey,
her husband,
and father.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Godwin.
Stow.

Burnet.
Fox.

Wyat at his
trial accuses
the princess
Elizabeth
and earl of
Devonshire,
Godwin.
Hollingsh.
who are sent
to the
Tower.
Stow.
Strype.

¹ The 23d, says Stow. His brother beth on the 18th, says Godwin, p. 343.
Thomas was beheaded April 27. Stow, Stow, p. 623.

p. 624.

^{*} Edward Courtney.

¹ February 12, and the lady Eliza-

^m For a fortnight. Strype, tom. iii.

p. 84.

Mary. without liberty to speak to any person. On the 11th of March 1554. following she was sent to the Tower.

Many rebels
executed,
and six hun-
dred pardon-
ed.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.

The 14th and 15th of February, Bret, commander of Wyat's forces, and fifty-eight more, were hanged. Some days afterⁿ, six hundred prisoners with halters about their necks waited on the queen, and received their pardon. But this was not capable to efface the impression made in mens minds by so many executions for a conspiracy in which was no effusion of blood. The fault was thrown on Gardiner, who was accused of leading the queen to an excessive jealousy of her authority, and the most extreme rigour. An affair happened at the same time, which also greatly alarmed and filled the people with fears of the queen's intending to rule with too extensive a power. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton being accused and tried as an accomplice in the conspiracy, was acquitted by his jury for want of sufficient proof to condemn him. For this the jury were severely fined. So the juries were deprived of the liberty of judging according to their consciences, and, instead of being governed by proofs, they were to examine how the court stood affected to the prisoners, and by that determine their verdict. This rigour exercised upon the jury was fatal to sir John Throgmorton, who was found guilty upon the same evidence on which his brother had been acquitted.

Hollingsh.
p. 1104, &c.
Burnet.
Throgmor-
ton acquit-
ted, and his
jury fined.

His brother
condemned.

Wyat ac-
quits the
princess and
earl of De-
vonshire.
Godwin.
Stow,
p. 624.
Hollingsh.
p. 1101.

The respite granted to Wyat had a quite contrary effect to what the court expected. This unhappy man, who had accused Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire only in hopes of a pardon, finding he must die, fully cleared them in his second examination: and for fear his last declaration should be suppressed, he renewed it at the place of execution^o. As there was no other proof against them, and their accuser himself had acquitted them with his last breath, no process could be formed against them, though Gardiner passionately desired the death of the princess. Nay, it is very probable, the queen would have gladly consented to it, could she have supported her rigour with any colour of justice^p.

After

ⁿ The 20th of February.

^o He was executed April 11. Godwin, p. 343.

^p By Gardiner's malice a warrant was procured, signed by some privy-counsellors for her execution. But the lieutenant by an application to the queen, to know what was her pleasure, and her denying any knowledge of the

warrant, saved the life of the princess. See Fox, tom. iii. p. 537. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 227. Had the queen immediately dislodged Gardiner, she might have been thought innocent of so barbarous a design. But the confidence and trust in which he continued till his death, gave a suspicion at least that she would not have been displeased with an obedience

After Elizabeth had suffered a long and severe imprisonment in the Tower, she was removed to Woodstock. This was not intended as a favour, but to take her out of the hands of the lord Chandois, lieutenant of the Tower, who had treated her with great humanity and distinction. She was at Woodstock committed to the custody of sir Henry Beningfield¹, who paying her no such respect as she had received from the lord Chandois, gave her room to suspect a design against her life. It is even pretended that certain persons officiously undertook to murder her, in the expectation of pleasing the queen and her ministers, but that the strictness with which she was kept denied them access.

The disturbances occasioned by Wyat's conspiracy being entirely appeased, the queen resumed her first design of an utter destruction of the reformation. Though to this the authority of parliament was necessary, she failed not to anticipate the design by her own authority, in virtue of her supremacy, which she herself detested, and yet scrupled not to use against the protestants! For that purpose, she gave instructions to the bishops to visit their dioceses. Their instructions drawn by Gardiner contained a bitter narration of all the pretended disorders introduced into the church in the reign of Edward. She afterwards gave the chancellor a particular order to purge the church of all married bishops and priests.

Some days after², the queen granted a special commission to Gardiner and five others³, to deprive four bishops who were married, namely, the archbishop of York, the bishops of St. David's, Chester, and Bristol, and all in actual confinement⁴. Two days after, the commissioners were or-

Rigours exercised on the princess Elizabeth. Fox, tom. iii. p. 527. 43, &c. Godwin. Burnet. Stow. Hollingh. p. 1157. The queen's orders against the married bishops. Act. Pub. xv. p. 376.

March 4. Fox, tom. iii. p. 37. Burnet, tom. ii. Col. p. 252. Heylin. Four bishops deprived. Act. Pub. xv. p. 370.

obedience to the warrant, which she could have denied her knowledge of, as it wanted her hand, and perhaps obtained a belief by a sacrifice of the counsellors concerned in it. Queen Elizabeth herself afterwards took that method in the affair of Mary queen of Scots.

¹ May 16. Rapin. On the 19th, according to Hollinghead, she was released out of the Tower, and committed to the custody of the lord Williams, who treating her more courteously than some could have wished, she was put under the custody of sir Henry Beningfield, p. 1117.—The earl of Devonshire was removed to Fotheringay castle, May 25. Godwin, p. 343.

² The 13th of March.

³ Bishop Tonstal, Bonner, Parfew of St. Asaph, Day of Chichester, and Kitchen of Landaff. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 274. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 340.

⁴ Holgate, Farrar, Bird, Bush. Those deprived two days after were, Taylor, Hooper, and Harley. Story bishop of Chichester renounced his wife, and fled beyond sea, and Barlow bishop of Bath and Wells resigned and fled. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 275. In the room of these deprived bishops were placed, Morgan at St. David's, Cotes at Chester, White at Lincoln, Brokes at Gloucester, Bourn at Bath and Wells. Parfew was translated to Hereford, and Griffyn made bishop of Rochester. Strype, tom. iii. p. 116. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 374—376, 383, &c.

Mary.
1554.

And three
more upon
other pre-
tences.

Act. Pub.
xv. p. 370.

Fox.

Godwin.

Burnet.

Strype.

Act. Pub.

xv. p. 376.

Tom. xv.

p. 333, 343,

&c. 381,

392.

The mass is
restored e-
very where.

Burnet.

dered to deprive the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, for having behaved themselves ill and preached erroneous doctrines. The pretence to deprive these bishops by a bare order of the queen was taken from the letters patents of king Edward, in which it was provided that they should hold their bishopricks so long only as they behaved well; and therefore it was no injustice to deprive them, since their conduct was displeasing. This was the pretence, but the true reason was, the court's desire to fill these sees with their creatures, before the meeting of the parliament. As to the inferior clergy, Dr. Burnet pretends, that of sixteen thousand then in England, twelve thousand were turned out for having wives^a. And indeed, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, we meet with an infinite number of presentations to livings, which sufficiently show the alterations made in the church. Mean time, in consequence of the act of parliament, the mass was every where restored, with the liturgy used in the end of Henry VIII's reign. Such was the constitution of the state and church when the new parliament met the 2d of April, 1554^b.

The disposi-
tion of the
commons of
the new par-
liament.

The care of the court to have a parliament at their devotion had not been less than in the foregoing year. Nay, it was so much more successful, as Gardiner had money in his hands to gain the electors and representatives. The court had a double design, the first to have the queen's marriage approved, the second to restore the pope's authority. For the first, it was not sufficient to have representatives well inclined to the intended alterations in religion, it was farther requisite, they should be little zealous for the good of their country, since the queen's marriage put England in evident danger of becoming one day a province to Spain. For the second it was necessary, not only that most of the commons should be convinced of the Romish doctrines, but also should be really papists, that is, persuaded that religion could not subsist without a pope. Now the men of this opinion were not very numerous among the Roman catholicks. There were many more, who believing transubstantiation, invocation of saints, adoration of images, &c. were however per-

^a This computation seems to be exaggerated. See Collier, tom. ii. p. 366.

^b The queen had at first summoned this parliament to meet at Oxford, because that place had showed itself very obedient and forward in restoring the

popish religion; and London, on the contrary, did not much favour her proceedings about religion, and had given her some jealousy, during Wyatt's insurrection; but she altered her mind. Hollingh. p. 1302.

suaded that the papal authority was by no means necessary to the church, and were well content with its abolishment. To have persons returned proper for the designs of the court, or to gain those who were not so compliant, it was that Gardiner used all his interest with the emperor and queen to promise pensions. This was done with so little caution and secrecy, that with regard to a great number of members, their pensions were known. The parliament when met was so obsequious to the queen's will, that she was sometimes obliged to check the impetuous zeal of the commons.

The first act passed in this session gave occasion to many reflections: but the intent of it was unknown till long after in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when a certain person, let into the secret, discovered it to the earl of Leicester. The bill was brought in by the speaker. It imported, "That as the laws declarative of the royal prerogatives had been made in favour of kings, it might be pretended that the queen had no right to them: it was therefore declared, That these prerogatives did belong to the crown, whether it was in the hands of male or female: and whatsoever the law did limit or appoint for the king, was of right also due to the queen, who was declared to have as much authority as any of her progenitors." This bill occasioned some debates in the house of commons. Some feared that the pretence of securing to the queen her just rights covered a design of enlarging them beyond their just bounds; and that the last clause, 'that she had as much authority as any of her progenitors,' might encourage her to exercise the same power as William the Conqueror, who stripped the English of their lands to bestow them on foreigners. The queen's marriage with the prince of Spain still increased this suspicion, by the fear of having a despotick government, like that of Spain, introduced into England. It was therefore thought proper to alter the words of the act, in such manner as they should secure to the queen all her legal rights, without giving her an opportunity to usurp such as were not so. The court found no fault with the correction. Gardiner, who promoted the bill, had no intention to make the queen absolute, but to prevent Philip from seizing the government on pretence of sex. The example of Henry VII. furnished a just cause of fear. That prince had at first no pretension to the crown but what flowed from his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. However, when he afterwards found himself sufficiently strong, he resolved to reign in his own right, as heir to the house of Lancaster. Philip might

An act to confirm the queen's rights. Burnet.

The secret motive to it. Burnet, torn. ii. p. 277.

Mary.
1554

Occasions
of it.
Burnet.

Burnet.
Hollingsh.
Strype.

The bishop-
rick of Dur-
ham restored
to its rights.
The duke of
Suffolk's
sentence
confirmed
and the trea-
ty of mar-
riage.
Burnet.

might have done the same thing, as descended from the same house. So that here Gardiner consulted at once the interest of the nation and his own. It was the nation's interest, that Philip should not have any opportunity of seizing the government. Gardiner's likewise required the same, because if Philip should once become master of England, the administration of affairs would probably be put into the hands of Spaniards, and consequently Gardiner be excluded. In a word, the true occasion of Gardiner's bill was this: A certain person had contrived a model of government, according to which the queen was to declare herself a conqueror; or assert, that as she came to the crown by common law, she was not bound by the laws which limited the regal power, because these restrictions were made for kings and not queens. This plan was communicated to the imperial ambassador, who put it into the queen's hands, and prayed her to read it with attention. The queen doubtless read and then delivered it to her chancellor to examine, and give his opinion upon it. He thereby saw what was the aim of the Spaniards, and set before the queen the consequences and peril of following, or even listening to such counsels. In a word, he so managed her, that she threw the project into the fire. It was not without reason that Gardiner began to be alarmed with respect to the Spaniards. Besides, that such projects as this, gave him just cause to suspect them of some design upon the liberties of England, there was another thing that confirmed his suspicions. This was, the Spaniards had published a genealogy of Philip, which derived him from a daughter of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, and son of Edward III. Gardiner therefore thought it high time to break the Spanish measures; and this he undertook to do by the fore-mentioned act. But he took particular care not to be known for the author, for fear of forfeiting Philip's favour *.

In this session the bishoprick of Durham, suppressed in the end of the late reign, was restored to its antient rights, and the act of suppression repealed.

The sentence against the duke of Suffolk and the fifty eight men executed for the late rebellion was likewise confirmed.

* Another reason for this act might also be, to prevent any disturbance that might arise from an opinion broached by some of queen Mary's enemies, That

it was unlawful for a woman to govern; to prove which, Knox and others writ books soon after. Strype's notes on Godwin, p. 344.

Lastly,

Lastly, the parliament approved the treaty of marriage between the queen and Philip. But as Gardiner began to fear the Spaniards, he so ordered that the parliament in approving the treaty, explained more clearly and enlarged the articles, by which the government of the kingdom was declared to belong only to the queen. Mary. 1554.

No more was desired of the parliament in this session. If the zeal of the commons to please the court had been indulged, many rigorous acts against the reformation and the reformed would have been made. But the lords, by the court's direction, threw out the bills sent by the commons on that subject. Without doubt the ministers thought it not proper to begin the persecution before the consummation of the queen's marriage, lest some unforeseen accident should retard the prince of Spain's arrival. For that reason, the parliament was dissolved on the 25th of May, after the queen's principal desire, the approbation of her marriage, was obtained.

At the end of this session of parliament, the court thought proper to interrupt the convocation, in order for a new conference to be held at Oxford concerning the eucharist. The protestants complained publickly of the treatment they had met with, in the dispute held at London. From hence occasion was taken to lay a new snare for them, by appointing another disputation in the presence of the university of Oxford, as if more justice was intended them. But this was in effect only to give them a fresh mortification. If the court had meant to act with sincerity, they would never have chosen, as they did, for managers of the dispute on the protestants side, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, all prisoners in the Tower, and the two first without controversy the most learned and able men of their party. But as it was resolved to confound them otherwise than by reasons and arguments, the court was glad to expose these three grave prelates to the insults of their enemies. They were therefore removed to Oxford to dispute against some of the Romish clergy, at the head of whom was Weston prolocutor of the lower house of convocation. The disputation or conference was managed like the former at London. A dispute at Oxford between the popish and protestant clergy. Fox. Godwin. Burnet. Strype.

¹ A convocation met at the same time with this parliament. And in the writs of summons, the queen's title, of supreme head of the church, was omitted. See Fox, tom. iii. p. 41.

² Rapin by mistake says, the parliament was prorogued.

³ About April 10. Fox, tom. iii. p. 44.

^b It was held April 16, 17, 18. See Fox, ibid. &c. Godwin, p. 344.

Mary. were forced to be silent, by reason of the continual interruptions and noises which hindered them from being heard, whence it was inferred they were vanquished. Those who are curious to see the particulars of the dispute, will find them in the History of the Reformation of England. But to mortify these bishops was not thought sufficient. The dispute, which lasted three days, being ended, they were summoned to abjure their pretended errors, and upon their refusal excommunicated.^c

Fox, t. ii.
p. 280, &c.

Cranmer,
Ridley, and
Latimer ex-
communicated.

The prince
of Spain's
arrival.

Godwin.
Burnet,
t. ii. p. 286.
Stow.
Fox.

Fox.

Godwin.
Hollingsh.
Stow.
Burnet.

Brings with
him a great
deal of sil-
ver.

Burnet,

Prince Philip being informed that nothing now retarded the consummation of his marriage, left the Groyne the 16th of July and arrived the 19th at Southampton^d. At his landing he drew his sword and carried it naked some time. This mysterious action was variously interpreted. Some said it signified that he would draw his sword in defence of the nation. Others believed, that he intimated to the English by this action, that he intended to govern them by the sword. The magistrates of Southampton presenting him with the keys of their town, he took and returned them without speaking a word. This gravity displeased the English, who used to be treated more affably by their sovereigns. The queen met him at Winchester, where Gardiner married them the 25th of July. The same day they were proclaimed king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and by many other titles^e. The emperor had lately made a present to his son of the kingdoms of Naples, and Jerusalem. Philip was but twenty-nine years of age, and Mary was thirty-eight. Many chests of bullion^f, brought by Philip, were landed, which no doubt were a great part of the one million, two hundred thousand crowns, promised to be sent into England by the emperor, but which he was not inclined to part with before the consummation of the marriage. This infused fresh zeal for the queen's interest into those who had before been gained by Gardiner^g.

^c Twentieth of April.

^d With a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail. Godwin, p. 345. John earl of Bedford, the lord Fitz-Walters, and many other noblemen, &c. were sent into Spain to attend on him. Hollingsh. p. 1118.

^e Ireland; defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily; archdukes of Austria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Habsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol. Rymer's Fœd.

tom. xv. p. 404.

^f Twenty-seven chests, each a yard and four inches long, and ninety-nine horse-loads, and two cart loads of coined gold and silver. Burnet, p. 286. Strype computes, that this prince's revenues were yearly worth two millions four hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling. Tom. iii. p. 128.

^g August 12, the king and queen made their entry into London. Stow, p. 625.

Philip, desirous to acquire the affection of the English, Mary. began with acts of clemency, which would have produced 1554. that effect, had the rest of his conduct been answerable to them. However, some persons of distinction were the better for his generosity. The princess Elizabeth was the chief. Gardiner was for removing her out of the way at any rate. He apprehended, if she succeeded Mary, she would be led by her own interest to subvert whatever should be done in this reign with respect to religion. Besides it was known, that notwithstanding all her caution, she was reformed in her heart. Now, as it was resolved to persecute the protestants, there was some room to fear an insurrection under colour of asserting her rights. The queen herself was not far from Gardiner's sentiments; but Philip interceded for Elizabeth, and freed her from this danger ^a. This was doubtless at first from a motive of generosity. It has been pretended, that policy had afterwards a great share in the preservation of this princess, and two several reasons are assigned. First, it is said, that when he had no longer hopes of children by queen Mary, he reflected that if Elizabeth died before the queen, the crown of England would devolve to the queen of Scotland, who would bring this rich inheritance to the dauphin of France. It is indeed true, that by Henry VIII's will, the queen of Scots could not claim the English crown, till after the posterity of the dutchess of Suffolk. But it was not likely the dauphin would regard the will; and he might happen to join the crowns of England and Ireland to those of France and Scotland, which could not but be prejudicial to the house of Austria. The second reason which induced Philip to save Elizabeth was, as 'tis pretended, his hopes to marry her, if Mary died first. Besides the princess Elizabeth, some other persons obtained their pardon by Philip's intercession, namely, nine knights, and the archbishop of York ⁱ. It is presumed, that prelate was not firm to his religion, because all the rest who were released were men who suited their religion to the times. Probably they had been engaged in

Obtains pardon for Elizabeth, and some others. Godwin, p. 349. Burnet, Stow.

His reasons in interceding for Elizabeth. Burnet.

Godwin. Stow. Burnet.

^a She was released about the latter end of April. Godwin, p. 349.

ⁱ Robert Holgate. The knights were, sir Edward Rogers, sir James Crofts, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir Nicholas Arnold, sir Edward Warner, sir George Harper, sir William Saintlow, sir Gawin Carew, and sir Andrew Dudley; as also, William Gibs, Cuthbert Vaughan, Harington, Tremain, &c. They were

released January 18. Stow, p. 626 — Edward Courtney earl of Devonshire likewise reaped the benefit of this generosity, who, to give no more jealousy, retired into Italy, and the year after died, some say of poison, being buried at Padua, and put an end to that illustrious family, of which he was the eleventh earl. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 287. Hollingsh. p. 1129.

Mary. Wyat's or the lady Jane's cause. Besides, the archbishop of York was suffered to live in quiet during the residue of this reign.

Displeases
the English.
Burnet.

Philip's grave manner and reserved air gave great disgust to the English. None were suffered to come either into his or the queen's presence, without a formal demand of an audience, as is practised by ambassadors. This rendered the court entirely unfrequented, the English nobility not enduring to conform to customs so opposite to their own.

The duke of
Norfolk
dies.

The old duke of Norfolk died in September, about a year after obtaining his liberty ^k.

The parliament
meets.
Burnet,
t. iii. p. 234.

Mary's third parliament met the 11th of November ^l, disposed as the court could wish ^m. The money come from Spain produced such effects, that most of the representatives only wanted occasions to signalize their zeal for the queen.

The court
sends to fetch
over Pole in
quality of
legate.
Godwin.

The court was so sensible of this, that without any law yet made to restore the papal authority, two noblemen were sent to receive cardinal Pole as legate, and bring him over into England. One of these was the lord Paget, who having been a principal friend and confident of the duke of Somerset, and one of that protector's instruments to establish the reformation in the reign of Edward, was nominated in this of Mary, to meet the pope's legate ⁿ. Such change had a new reign produced amongst the nobility. Whilst the legate in Flanders was preparing for his voyage, an act passed in parliament to repeal his attainder in the reign of Henry VIII. This cost but three days ^o, in order to avoid the inconvenience of seeing a legate arrive in the kingdom, still liable to a sentence of death.

The act of
his condemnation
reversed.
Godwin.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.

Pole arrived the 24th of November ^p, and after communicating his instructions to the king and queen, he laid before them and both houses of parliament sent for on purpose, the occasion of his legation. This, he said, was to bring back

His speech
to the parliament.
Godwin.

Fox,
t. iii. p. 108.
Hollingsh.
Stow.

^k He died at Framlingham in Suffolk, where he was buried October 2. Stow, p. 625. Strype, tom. iii. p. 200.

p. 1122.

^m The other was sir Edward Hastings. Fox, p. 105. Strype, p. 156.

^l In the writs of summons, it was remarkable that the queen omitted her title of supreme head of the church, as she had done a little before in the writs of summons to the last convocation. Rapin by mistake makes this to be a session of the former parliament.

^o It was thrice read in the house of lords, on November 17; and the third time on the 19th, when it was sent down to the commons; who read it twice on November 19, and the third time on the 20th, and sent it up the 21st. The king and queen passed it on the 22d. Journ. Parl.

ⁿ The king and queen rode together in their robes to this parliament, having two swords, and two caps of maintenance, carried before them. Hollingsh.

^p He landed at Dover the 21st, and came to London the 24th. Fox, p. 108.

to the fold of Christ the sheep that were gone astray: that the pope, who held on earth the place of sovereign pastor, was ready to receive them; and therefore he exhorted the English to embrace an opportunity at once so favourable and happy. The queen, who passionately desired to see the pope's authority restored in England, was so moved on this occasion, that she fancied she felt a child stir in her womb. This news was immediately published in all places, and even by an order of council ¹ Te Deum was sung at St. Paul's. Some flatterers spared not to say, that as John Baptist leaped in his mother's womb at the salutation of the virgin, so here a happy omen followed on the salutation from Christ's vicar speaking by the mouth of his legate. The queen's women, who saw her so fond of her imaginary conception, humoured her in this belief, till the middle of the next year, when to her great mortification, she discovered her mistake.

The queen
fancies her-
self with
child.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Fox.

Is mistaken.

The 29th of November the two houses presented a petition to the king and queen, praying their intercession with the legate for a reconciliation of the kingdom with the church, from which a horrible schism had long disunited it. They promised in the same petition to repeal all the acts against the pope's authority. Upon this the legate came to the parliament, and in a long speech enlarged upon the pope's affection and tenderness for the kingdom of England, and the extraordinary favours which in every age that nation had received from the holy see. Then he enjoined for penance the repeal of all the laws against the papal authority, and granting a full absolution, which was received by both houses on their knees, absolved also the kingdom from all censures.

The two
houses pe-
tition for a
reconcilia-
tion with
the pope.
Fox,
t. iii. p. 108.
Godwin.
Hollingsh.
Stow.
Burnet.
Are absolved
by the legate.
Godwin.
Hollingsh.
p. 1123.
An act re-
storing the
pope's au-
thority.
Statute.
Burnet.

The repeal promised by both houses could not be ready before the beginning of January. By this act the pope's authority was restored to the same state as before the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII. But the five following articles inserted in it were so many restrictions upon the papal power.

I. That bishopricks, cathedrals, and colleges, should remain in their present condition. With some restrictions.

¹ Dated November 27. In the same order, all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers were enjoined, in their masses and other services, continually to pray Almighty God that he would continue and bring to good effect what he had so graciously begun. Forms of prayer were composed on this occasion by doctor Weston dean of Westminster, and

printed copies of them dispersed through the kingdom. In one of them, they prayed God to "give the queen a male infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, and in pregnant wit notable and excellent." See the order and forms in Hollingsh. p. 1123--1126. and Fox, tom. iii. p. 115, &c.

II. That

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II. That marriages contracted within the degrees forbidden only by the canons, and not the law of God, should be deemed good and valid.

III. That institutions into benefices made during the schism should be confirmed.

IV. That all judicial processes should also be confirmed.

V. That the alienations of the lands of the church should be authorized, and the possessors subject to no censures or prosecutions on that account.

Ratified by
the legate.

Artifices of
the court of
Rome touch-
ing church-
lands.

Burnet, tom.
ii. p. 237.

The legate ratified all these articles, but with a denunciation of the judgments of God on all those who possessed the church-lands. As this article was the most important and obstructive to a re-union, the court of Rome had not been a little embarrassed to settle it. The nobility and gentry, enriched with the plunder of the church in the two last reigns, were not to be alarmed. On the other hand, the canons make the lands of the church so sacred, that the pope himself, however extensive his power be in other respects, cannot alienate them. Consequently, Julius III. could not consent to the alienation made in England without violating the canons: nay, his consent would have been of no force, since he would have exceeded the bounds of his power. Mean while, had he insisted upon the necessity of restitution, and told the English, that without it he could not possibly absolve them, the affair of the re-union of England, the conclusion whereof was so passionately desired by the pope, would have been in danger of miscarrying. This was one of those nice affairs, which called for some of those expedients, the court of Rome seldom wants. The expedient now used was to deceive the English. The pope first gave Pole a general power^r, which was not thought sufficient however to remove the uneasinesses of the persons concerned. Afterwards he sent him another^s, authorizing him, "to transact with the possessors of church-lands for the reits they had unlawfully received, and for the moveables they had consumed; in restoring first, if the legate thought proper, the lands they unjustly possessed^t." This clause "in restoring first, if the legate thought proper," had a very equivocal meaning. It might

^r Dated March 8, 1554. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 230.

^s It is part of the first. See Burnet, *Ibid*.

^t Ac cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum (restitutis prius si tibi ex-

pedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebitis detentis) super fructibus male perceptis, ac istis mobilibus consumptis, concordandi, & transigendi, ac eos de super liberandi & quietandi, &c. Burnet, tom. iii. Collect. p. 217.

signify,

signify, that the legate had the liberty to oblige the possessors to restitution, or to dispense with it; or else that he had power to transact with them for the received rents before or after the restitution of the lands. In all appearance, the pope understood the clause in this last sense, but was willing to give room to believe, that he understood it in the first. This power appearing insufficient to the emperor and the court of England, the pope gave a third not less equivocal, and which, under a heap of general terms, contained certain restrictions, which left him free to act afterwards as he should please: for his present business was to blind the possessors and the parliament, in giving them a seeming satisfaction. This last power ran:

"That whereas he had before given power to his legate to transact with the possessors of the church's goods, and to discharge them the rents they had unjustly received, or the moveables they had wasted; nevertheless, to the end that the entire reduction of England might become so much the more easy, by the greater hopes which the pope gave of condescension and compliance on this occasion, (unwilling as he was to keep back the great work of the salvation of so many souls by any human considerations, and desirous to imitate the good father going out to meet the prodigal son) he gave power to his legate, agreeably to the confidence he reposed in him, to transact and agree, by authority of the Holy See, with the possessors of the goods of the church, for whom the queen should intercede, and to give them a dispensation for the future enjoyment of them; with reservation however of such things, wherein, for the greatness and importance of them, he should think fit to consult the Holy See, for its approbation and confirmation."

This last power, far from correcting what was defective in the former, was still more equivocal and useless. First, for the word Transact, which was in the first power, and remained likewise in this, it is manifest, that the pope did not mean by it a bare acquiescence of his legate to a possession deemed unjust; and that on this occasion, a transaction imported at least some previous reparation to be made to the church. But for fear the term Transact should not be significant enough, the pope added in this last power the term Agree, which evidently showed in what sense he would have this transaction understood. Wherefore the bare acquiescence of the legate was useless, since he thereby exceeded his power, which was to Transact and Agree. Secondly, under these terms Future Enjoyment, was an equivocation, since the Fu-

Burnet,
tom. ii. p.
232.

Mary. 1554. ture might imply either a perpetual or a temporary enjoyment. Thirdly, the legate could grant a dispensation for the enjoyment of these lands but to those for whom the queen interceded, so that the queen might chuse whether she would intercede for any person: nay, it is very likely, she would have scrupled it, since, as will appear, she herself made restitution of all such lands as were in her possession. Fourthly, all that the legate could do on this occasion was insignificant without the pope's confirmation, who could revoke it, so that the legate's power was only provisional. Lastly, the obligation to consult the Holy See in matters of importance, was also an uncertain expression, and liable to endless cavils.

Pope Julius III. died before he was informed of the success of this affair. But if we judge of him by the terms of the power granted to his legate, he acted with no sincerity, and his successor plainly refused to confirm the legate's acquiescence. It was therefore a manifest illusion put upon the possessors of the church-lands, since, according to the canon law, they could thereby acquire no just title. On the other hand, they could not possess them with a safe conscience, since the legate, at the same time that he gave his consent to their enjoyment of these lands, denounced the judgments of God ready to fall on their heads. It will be asked, perhaps, how the English could suffer themselves to be imposed upon by so palpable an artifice? To this may be answered: first, that the king and queen being in the sentiments of the court of Rome, assisted the fraud as much as possible, and the parliament, corrupted with Spanish gold, seemed not to see what they saw. In the second place, the legate's powers were probably shown only to the king and queen, who appeared satisfied with them, and the parliament, without examining these powers, supposed the legate sufficiently authorized. I have a little enlarged on this subject, because it is very material at present, and possibly may be more so hereafter. The English may see by this, not only the impossibility of the court of Rome's acting with sincerity in this affair, but that, though a pope should have the best intentions towards the possessors of church-lands, his consent would be insignificant. His successors might always say with some foundation, that he had exceeded his power. However, the possessors were or seemed to be satisfied, and the rather because the parliament made a law which in some manner dispelled the fears of the persons concerned. This law imported, That whoever should disturb the subjects, in their possession of any lands or goods once belonging to the church,

church, on pretence of any ecclesiastical authority, should fall into a præmunire. Mary.

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The affair of the reconciliation being ended, and the government become entirely popish, the parliament passed an act to revive the statutes of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. against hereticks. The commons were so hasty, that if their zeal had been indulged, they would have finished at once what the court desired to do only by degrees. They brought in several bills, which were rejected by the lords, for fear of alarming the protestants and driving them to despair. But the commons were almost indifferent whether their bills were approved or rejected, because, whatever happened, their zeal for the queen was rendered indisputable. This was the real aim of all their proceedings.

An act made to renew the ancient statutes against hereticks. Statutes. Burnet.

Afterwards an act was made by way of supplement to the statute of treasons and felonies. It was in favour of Philip that this act was renewed, by which, if any person asserted, that Philip had no right to the title of king of England during his marriage with the queen, he was to be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and to forfeit all his goods. Moreover, that prince having consented to take upon him the guardianship of the children he might have by the queen, and to govern the kingdom for a son till he was eighteen, and for a daughter till fifteen; it was also enacted, That conspiring his death during that time should be treason. It was likewise death by another act for any to pray, "That God would turn the queen's heart from idolatry, or shorten her days."

The statutes against hereticks were no sooner revived, than the court took into consideration how to reduce them. Their number was great, and without doubt much greater than that of their adversaries. But these had the government for them. In this party were those who were indifferent to all religions, and these appeared the most zealous, because it was a sure means to render them acceptable to the court. On the other hand, the protestants could not make any advantage of their numbers, because they were without support. Besides, many of them concealed their sentiments, for fear of losing their

The court consults what measures were the properest to be taken against the protestants, Burnet.

Reflections upon the state of the reformed,

1. Richard II. 2. Henry IV. 3. England; and forbids the bringing of them into the realm, under the penalty of forty pounds. 2. That persons arrested for manslaughter, or felony, shall not be bailed, but in open sessions, except it be by two justices of the peace at least. See Stat. 1 and 2 Phil. Mar. c. 4. 13.

* The other acts now made were these: 1. An act confirming that of 22 of Henry VIII. which enjoined Egyptians (or Gypsies) not to come into the kingdom, upon pain of forfeiting their goods. The present act makes it felony in any Egyptian to remain a month in

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lives and fortunes. Others, by a principle of conscience, chose to suffer, rather than resist. So those who would have used force against the attacks of their enemies, would probably have been ill supported, and the rather, because the emperor would not have failed to assist the queen, had it been necessary. The protestants therefore with the greatest consternation saw a storm ready to fall on their heads, without any possibility to avoid it.

Pole advises to moderate counsels. Burnet. Gardiner is for rigorous methods, and prevails. Burnet.

In the council, held at court on this subject, Pole was for gentle methods rather than force, thinking this would only inflame instead of curing the evil, and at most, would but increase the number of hypocrites. He added, that the best means of converting the protestants was the reformation of the clergy, whose irregular lives had first given birth to heresy. Gardiner, on the contrary, maintained, that only rigour was capable to have a good effect upon the protestants. That in the reign of Henry VIII. it was notorious, all submitted to the statute of the six articles through fear of punishment. As Gardiner had in many things complied against his conscience, he could not believe that others had more resolution than himself. For that reason he thought, the punishment of some of the most obstinate would be attended with a blind compliance in all the rest, to whatever was enjoined. Hence it appears, he was little concerned to gain men's hearts, provided the prevailing religion found no more opposition. The queen, who was a furious bigot, embraced his opinion. But to show Pole that his counsels were not wholly neglected, she charged him with reforming the clergy, and left to Gardiner the care of extirpating heresy.

An embassy sent to Rome. Godwin.

Towards the end of the year, the queen sent viscount Montague^{*}, the bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Karne to Rome, with a tender of submission to the pope from the king, the queen, and the three states of the realm.

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Gardiner undertakes to extirpate hereticks.

The resolution being taken to prosecute with the utmost rigour the protestants, Gardiner, first author of that advice, very readily undertook to execute it. He it was who in spite of all the difficulties which naturally occurred in the queen's marriage, had at last accomplished it. He it was also, who, by his intrigues, had found a way to dispose parliaments to favour the queen's intentions with regard to religion, and had

* Sir Anthony Brown, created viscount Montague, or Montacute, on September 2, this year; as was also William Howard, baron Howard of Effingham, March 11. Sir John Williams baron of Tame, April 5. Sir

Edward North baron of Chertsey, April 7. Sir John Bruges, baron Chandos of Sudley, April 8; and Gerard Fitzgerald earl of Kildare, and baron of Ophelly, May 14. Stow, p. 623, 624, 625.

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effected the work of restoring the Roman religion and the papal authority. He thought therefore nothing more was wanting to complete his glory, than the forcing the protestants into the pale of the church, or at least to an outward submission to the laws newly enacted, which is the utmost bounds of man's power. For that purpose, he resolved to begin with Hooper and Rogers. The first had been bishop of Gloucester, the other was a clergyman of great repute among the protestants. It was he who with Bradford had rescued Bourn from his danger when he preached at St. Paul's. This action, charitable as it was, had received so ill a construction, that the court took occasion from it to arrest Rogers, in order to remove out of the way a man, who was regarded as one of the chiefs of the protestants, from his great credit and influence with the people. It was an artifice frequently used in the beginning of this reign by the court, to imprison, on frivolous pretences, those whom they designed to sacrifice, with intent to detain them till laws were made to condemn them. Hooper and Rogers were of this number, and the first martyrs of this reign. They were condemned by commissioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at their head, and delivered over to the secular arm. Hooper was burnt at Gloucester, and Rogers at London². Hooper was three quarters of an hour in torment, the fire not being well kindled, so that his legs and thighs were first burnt, and one of his hands dropped off before he expired³. These executions were followed by those of Saunders and Taylor, two other clergymen of the most distinguished zeal for their religion⁴. Taylor's punishment was remarkable for his being put into a pitch-

Burnet,
tom. iii.
Collect.
p. 246, &c.
Martyrdom
of Hooper
and Rogers.
Fox,
tom. iii.

Of Saunders
and Taylor.
Ibid.
Godwin.

¹ See the names of the rest of the commissioners in Strype's Mem. tom. iii. p. 180.

² John Rogers was brought up in the university of Cambridge, and for several years officiated as chaplain to the English merchants adventurers at Antwerp. In king Edward's reign he returned to England, and was made prebend of St. Paul's, and reader of the divinity lecture in the same cathedral. On the 28th of January, he was convened before the commissioners, excommunicated on the 29th, and burnt February 4. He left a wife and eleven children. At the stake he had it in his power to have saved his life by a recantation; but neither hopes nor fears could prevail on him to desert his religion: on the contrary, he said, "He resigned his life

"with joy, in testimony of the doctrine he had preached." Fox, tom. iii. p. 118, 119, &c.

³ John Hooper, brought up at Oxford, was, on account of his religious opinions, forced to fly into Germany, in Henry VIIIth's time; where he remained a considerable time. He had been very diligent in procuring Bonner's deprivation, which undoubtedly was the cause of his ruin. He was burnt February 9. Fox, p. 145. Godwin p. 349.

⁴ Laurence Saunders, brought up at Eaton-school, and King's-college in Cambridge; and afterwards minister of Church-Langton in Leicestershire, and of Aldbarnes, Broad-street, London; was burnt at Coventry, February 8. Fox, p. 132, &c.

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barrel, and for having before the fire was kindled a faggot from an unknown hand thrown at his head, which made it stream with blood. Afterwards, as he was repeating the 51st Psalm in English, one of the guards struck him over the mouth, and bid him pray in Latin. He was therefore obliged to be silent, and continue his ejaculations, till the moment came which was to finish all his sufferings. But while the fire was kindling, one of the guards, either thro' impatience or pity, knockt out his brains with a halbert, and delivered him from more cruel torments.

Gardiner
transfers his
commission
to Bonner.
Burnet.

Gardiner finding himself mistaken in his conjectures, and that the punishment of these four clergymen produced not the effect he expected, transferred to Bonner a commission, which could not but draw upon him the publick hatred. This was no favour to the protestants, for if Gardiner's zeal was cruel, Bonner's was furious.

The king-
dom in an
universal
consterna-
tion.
Burnet.

Mean while, these few executions caused an universal consternation. The bigots only triumphed. The rest who had any sense of humanity, could not without the last concern behold men exposed to such cruel sufferings, who were accused of no crime, and solely for their religious opinions. It could not but be observed how differently the protestants behaved from the Roman catholicks. In Edward's reign, very few had suffered imprisonment for their religion; and in Mary's, no punishment was thought too cruel for those protestants, who dared to persevere in their opinions. The bishops themselves seemed ashamed, for in a solemn ambassy they declared, they had no hand in these barbarities. So all the hatred fell upon the king and queen, and particularly the king, as he was bred in a country where the inquisition prevailed. Philip hearing of it, saw that the affection of the English would be entirely lost, if they were suffered to continue in this sentiment. Besides, he was resolved not to be the dupe of the bishops, who cleared themselves at his expence. He therefore ordered his confessor Alphonso to preach before him, who, before all the court, charged the bishops with the cruelties complained of by the whole kingdom^a. He even challenged them to produce in the whole Scriptures one passage which allowed christians to burn men for matters of conscience. It was not without astonishment that a Spaniard was heard to exclaim against burning hereticks, and condemn cruelties so common in Spain. The bishops were so amazed, that the fires remained extin-

The bishops
throw the
persecution
upon the
court.
Burnet.

The king's
Spanish
confessor
preaches
against the
persecution.
Fox,

^a Doctor Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadley in Suffolk, was burnt February 10, 1555.
^g Fox, p. 166, &c.

[†] He preached on February 10, 1555.
Idem, p. 181.

guished for some weeks, but about the middle of March they were re-kindled, the bishops chusing to incur the publick hatred rather than not prosecute the protestants. The truth is, the court was no less inclined to cruelty than the bishops. But each had a mind to throw the whole blame of the persecution on the other. Bonner, bishop of London, distinguished himself by a fury unbecoming not only a clergyman and a christian, but even a cannibal. From this time the executions of the protestants were continued, with a barbarity which clearly showed, that those by whom they were ordered were not at all forced. The bishops condemned without mercy all who were brought before them, and the civil magistrates executed the sentences, even more rigorously than commanded by the laws *.

Mary.
1555.

Burnet.

Bonner's
fury and
cruelties.

About the end of April, the princess Elizabeth was conducted from Woodstock to Hampton-court, where Gardiner, attended by a great number of privy-counsellors, exhorted her seriously to merit the queen's pardon by an ingenuous confession of her crimes. But she positively denied to have ever justly offended the queen. At last Philip prevailed for an enlargement of her liberty at a seat in the country †, where she was permitted to retire. As she knew all her actions were narrowly observed, she avoided concerning herself in any affair which might give the least suspicion. During the rest of this reign, she applied herself wholly to her studies, and made a considerable progress. But still she led an uncomfortable life, as she was forced to dissemble her religious sentiments, to hear mass, and frequently confess herself, to escape the dangers she was continually exposed to ‡. In this she was a little less scrupulous than her sister Mary had been in Edward's reign. But it may be said for her, that there was a great difference between the characters of Edward and Mary. The fear of death could not oblige Mary to dissemble her re-

Elizabeth
taken out of
prison.
Godwin.
Fox.
Burnet.
Hollingh.

* Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burnt at Caermarthen, March 30.—As was Thomas Tomkins, a weaver, in Smithfield, on March 16. Thomas Gaulton, at Raleigh, and Thomas Higbed, at Horndon on the Hill, in Essex, the 26th; John Laurence, at Colchester, the 29th; George Marsh, at Chester, April 24; John Cardmaker, canon of Wells, and John Warne, upholsterer in London, May 30, in Smithfield; and others in several other places. The earl of Oxford, and the lord Rich, were very busy against these poor people. See Fox, tom iii.

† Probably at Hatfield. But she was obliged to keep in her family Thomas Pope, one of the privy-council, Gage, and some others, who were to be constant spies upon her actions. Godwin, p. 349.

‡ Her answer to the dangerous questions concerning Christ's real presence in the sacrament, has something in it at once artful and solid.

Christ was the word that spake it;
He took the bread and brake it:
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

Mary. ligious, because she was never threatened with it, where^{as}
1555. Elizabeth saw death continually before her eyes upon the least advantage against her.

The queen
restores the
goods of the
church.
Burnet.

For.
Burnet.

March 28.
Fox, tom.
iii. p. 221.
Burnet.
Hollingsh.

Pope Julius
dies, and is
succeeded by
Marcellus,
who dies
shortly after,
and is suc-
ceeded by
Paul IV.
Godwin.
Burnet.

Burnet
Strype.

While the queen was thus expressing her zeal for the Ro-
mish religion, she felt a load upon her conscience, which she
could no longer bear. This was the possession of the abbey-
lands adjudged to Henry VIII. Pope Julius III. pretended to
consent that the possessors of the church-lands should not be
disturbed. But he plainly showed that nothing was farther
from his intentions, for even before the affair of the reconcili-
ation was ended, he published a bull, excommunicating all
who had taken possession of any church or abbey-lands, as
well as the princes who favoured or assisted them. Gardiner
indeed had endeavoured to remove the queen's uneasiness, by
telling her, the bull concerned Germany alone, and had no
authority, unless received in England. But it was easy to see,
that a defect of formality could not excuse a practice in Eng-
land, which was condemned by the pope as a heinous crime
in Germany. Be this as it will, the queen, who believed
herself near the time of her delivery, would not run the risk
of dying excommunicate. She sent for her ministers ^h, and
told them it was her fixed resolution to part with the church-
lands in her possession, to be disposed of as the pope should
judge proper. At the same time she ordered them to acquaint
the legate with her intention, and give him a list of those
lands that still continued in the crown.

Pope Julius died the 23d of March, a few days before this
restitution. Marcellus II. succeeded him the 9th of April.
The new pope was preparing to make a great reformation in
the church, but death surprized him whilst he was meditating
this project, the 22d day after his exaltation.

The news of Marcellus's death being brought to England,
the queen formed the design of raising Pole to the pontificate.
She even made some advances towards it, but on the 23d of
May the cardinals assembled in conclave elected cardinal
Caraffa, who assumed the name of Paul IV. The see had
not of a long time been filled with a pope more haughty, or
more proud with his power. He was no sooner raised to the
papal chair, than he resolved to carry his authority as high or
higher than any of his predecessors. The ambassadors of
England ⁱ arrived in Rome the very day of his election, but

^h William Paulet, marquis of Win-
chester, and lord treasurer, sir Robert
Rocheſter, controller, sir William Petre,
secretary of state, and sir Francis Ingles-
field, master of the wards. Fox, p.

221. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 308.

ⁱ Anthony Brown, viscount Monta-
cute, and Thirlby bishop of Ely. Glyn
bishop of Bangor, sir Henry Hussey, &c.
Strype, tom. iii. p. 210, 227.

were not admitted to audience till a month after. This delay was owing to Mary's assuming the title of queen of Ireland, which the pope would not suffer, pretending that the Roman pontiff only had a right to erect kingdoms. As the ambassadors had no instructions to relax on this article, their audience would have been long deferred, if the pope had not thought of an expedient. He privately erected Ireland into a kingdom^k, and at the same time sent to the ambassadors to acquaint them, that otherwise he would not suffer them to give their queen that title in a publick audience. This difficulty being removed, the ambassadors were admitted to audience, and the pope with great ceremony told them, that in token of his esteem of the king and queen of England, he had erected Ireland into a kingdom, by virtue of his power to create new kingdoms and supplant old ones. Afterwards, in private audiences, he warmly pressed the restitution of the churchlands, and told the ambassadors, that he expected the whole should be restored without any exception. He said also, he intended to have the payment of St. Peter's pence continued; for which purpose, he would shortly send a collector into England; and that the English were not to expect St. Peter would open the gates of heaven to them, so long as they usurped his patrimony on earth. The ambassadors, not to exasperate this haughty pontiff, were contented to answer him with submission, but did nothing, as indeed they had no power to meddle with these points.

The pope erects Ireland into a kingdom.
Burnet.

Demands of the English ambassadors, the restitution of the goods of the church, and the payment of Peter-pence.
Burnet.

While this passed at Rome, the privy council being informed, that the justices of peace, and particularly those of the county of Norfolk, were indulgent to the protestants, sent instructions to them to act more agreeably to the intentions of the court. This shows the bishops were not alone guilty of the cruelties exercised against the protestants, but that the court was equally possessed with this furious zeal. In these instructions was an article enjoining the justices to have spies in every parish, for giving information of all persons who were remiss in their duty in point of religion. This was so like an inquiry, that it was imputed to the counsels of the Spaniards, which rendered them extremely odious, there being nothing more contrary to the English humour and government. Notwithstanding these instructions, and the court's severe orders, the violences already committed occasioned such murmurs, that Bonner himself, whether thro' fear or some other motive, moderated his fury so far, as to send away without trial per-

An order from the court to the justices against the reformed.
Burnet, tom. ii.
Collect. p. 283.
Strype, tom. iii.
p. 214, 217.
The blame of it laid on the Spaniards.
Bonner re-mits of his severity.
Burnet.

^k On the 7th of June. Burnet, p. 310.

Mary. sons brought before him for heresy. This conduct drew from
1555. the king and queen a severe letter to him¹, in which, after
 expressing their surprize, the exhorted him not to be remiss.

He renews it
 upon a letter
 from the king
 and queen.
 Bradford,
 Ridley, and
 Latimer suf-
 fer martyr-
 dom.

Burnet.

Fox, tom. iii.

This was sufficient to renew the persecution with more fury than before. Bradford, who had been some time under sentence of death, was burnt in July^m. Ridley bishop of London, and the venerable old Latimerⁿ, who had been bishop of Worcester in the reign of Henry VIII. suffered martyrdom in November. I omit many other martyrdoms in several

¹ Dated May 24. The queen particularly required of him "to perform
 "the office of a good pastor, and either
 "to reclaim the hereticks, or proceed
 "against them according to law."

Burnet, tom. ii. Coll. p. 285.

^m John Bradford, born at Manchester in Lancashire, was fellow of Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, and made by bishop Ridley, prebend of St. Paul's. He was condemned January 31, and burnt July the first with one John Leafe, a tallow-chandler, in Smithfield. Fox.

ⁿ These two excellent prelates were burnt together at Oxford, October 16. Their behaviour was comparable to any thing left upon record of the primitive martyrs. Ridley was born of a good family in Northumberland, and brought up at Newcastle-school, and Pembroke-hall in Cambridge; of which last he was master. He was chaplain to king Henry VIII. by whom he was promoted to the see of Rochester, and translated by king Edward VI. to that of London. He was one of the ablest champions of the reformation. His piety, learning, and solidity of judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to see him die. And when the good woman melted in tears, he spoke to her with an assurance, which was capable to banish her sorrow, in the thought that so much firmness on so melancholy an occasion, could be the only gift of heaven, inspiring and animating him against his approaching agony. He comforted Latimer at the stake, who was ready to return the kind office. He was so little diverted by the terrors before him, that he even gave a serious attention to the sermon preached by a furious bigot; and was sufficiently

calm to have answered the exceptionable parts of it, which he offered to do; but he was not allowed to display his eloquence and reason, which might have shaken his audience, and made more work for his persecutors. He left the world with an act of justice, by a petition sent to the queen, that either the tenants of the bishoprick of London might be confirmed in their leases, or their fines restored out of his goods, seized when he was imprisoned. His torment was lingering by the ill-placing of the faggots to burn him: and his legs were almost consumed before the fire reached his vitals.---Latimer was born at Thurstaston in Leicestershire, and brought up at Cambridge. He was made by king Henry VIII. bishop of Worcester, which see he resigned, as has been already related. He had a noble simplicity, and in his sermons arraigned the vices of great sinners with plainness, which, unadorned with human eloquence, found a way to their hearts, and made the Felixes of the age tremble before him. One illustrious robber made restitution in his hands of money stole from the publick, or the treasury, moved by one of his discourses on restitution, which pierced his conscience, and obliged him to sacrifice gain to godliness. He comforted Ridley at the stake (who had done as much for him) and, unshaken with all the triumphs of reigning popery, prophesied, that "they two should
 "light such a candle in England, as by
 "God's grace should never be extin-
 "guished." He was soon out of his pain, and fell asleep; and finished a life which, through a course of eighty years, and in the corruption of the last ages, preserved the piety, simplicity, and integrity of the first. Fox, tom. iii.

places

places of the kingdom, because my design is not to write a history of the church. Let it suffice to say, that in the course of this year, sixty-seven persons were burnt, amongst whom were four bishops and thirteen other ecclesiasticks.^a

Mary.
1555.

When the king and queen writ to Bonner to re-kindle his zeal, the queen believed herself upon the point of being delivered. The 29th of May, the courtiers were in a readiness to convey the news to different parts of the kingdom. In the beginning of June, a rumour was every-where spread that she was delivered of a prince. The bishop of Norwich sung Te Deum in his cathedral. One priest, more officious than the rest, described in his sermon the lineaments of the new-born prince. But this pretended pregnancy ended at last in some moles cast forth by the queen at several times. This was a grievous disappointment to the queen and the whole court.^b King Philip was no less dismayed. He had only married in hopes of having children by the queen, and thereby uniting England with the monarchy of Spain. This accident, and perhaps the opinion of the physicians, that there was no likelihood of any children, entirely destroying these hopes, he grew weary of a wife, who had neither youth nor beauty, and resolved to apply more closely to his other affairs. Besides, he was doubtless informed by the emperor his father, of his intention to resign to him his Spanish dominions. He left England therefore the 4th of September^c to go into Flanders, leaving the queen extremely mortified at his coldness, of which she was but too sensible.

The queen
has a false
conception.
Burnet.
Strype.
Hollingh.

Philip grows
weary of
her.

and leaves
England.
Stow.

Before the king's departure, a discovery was pretended of a conspiracy against the queen. Several persons were arrested, and some put to the torture. But as no confession was drawn from them, very likely the conspiracy was only a

A forged
conspiracy,
Burnet.
Stow.
Hollingh.

^a Among the rest, John Philpot arch-deacon of Winchester, son of sir Peter Philpot, knight, was burnt in Smithfield, December 18. As were several others at Canterbury. See Fox.

^b William Howard, the lord admiral was appointed to go to the emperor, Ratcliff lord Fitz-Walter to the French king, sir Henry Sidney to the king of the Romans, and Richard Shelley to the king of Portugal. Strype, tom. iii. p. 219.

^c Fox relates, that a woman told him before witnesses in 1568, that she lived near Aldersgate, and was delivered

of a boy on June 11, 1555, and after she had bore it, the lord North and another lord came to her, and desired to have her child from her, with very advantageous offers, as that the child should be well provided for, &c. But she would in no case part with the child. Fox, tom. iii. p. 271. This, as Burnet observes, being at a time that the queen seemed to be every day looking for her delivery, may give some suspicion. Tom. iii. p. 244.

^d He set out from London for Dover, August 29. Strype, p. 227.

Mary. false surmise, designed to incense the queen against the persons
1555. accused.

An inquiry made after the robbers of churches and monasteries.
Burnet.
An act to confirm the restitution of the first-fruits and tenths.

The commons reject a bill sent by the lords.

The commons out of humour with the court.

The parliament dissolved.

Gardiner dies.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Strype.
Fox.

In the course of this year, a strict inquiry was made after them who had pillaged the churches and monasteries, and particularly after those who were employed in the visitation under Henry VIII. This was a good expedient to draw large sums from those men, who were forced to open their purses to escape a severer punishment.

The parliament met the 21st of October, and did nothing considerable, besides the making an act to approve and confirm the queen's resignation of the first fruits and tenths^{*}. The lords were desirous to make a law to confiscate the estates of those whom the fear of persecution had driven out of the kingdom, but the commons rejected the bill. Most of the members began no longer to pay the same deference to the court as formerly, whether their pensions were withdrawn after a compliance to almost whatever was desired, or they would not be the instruments of restoring to the clergy an authority so odious to the nation. Besides, most people were grown weary of the cruelties exercised against innocent men.

However, the queen met with great mortifications in this session. When she desired a supply of money, the commons with great freedom replied, it was not just to burden the people with expences which she might easily have supplied, if she had kept the church-lands. So, it was with great difficulty that she obtained a moderate subsidy[†]. The parliament, seeming resolved not to be directed any more by the court, was dissolved the 9th of December[‡].

It is not surprizing that the good intelligence between the queen and the commons began to decrease, since the minister, who had hitherto been employed to manage that house, was no longer in the world. I mean Gardiner, who died in

^{*} This bill was read in the house of lords, on the 20th, 21st, 23d, and 26th of November, the viscount Hereford and the lord Cobham dissenting from it. And in the house of commons it was read November 24. 26, and December 3. On which last day it was carried, upon a division of one hundred ninety-six, against one hundred twenty-six. Journ. Parl.

[†] The laity granted her, from every person worth from five pounds to ten pounds, 8 d. in the pound; from ten to twenty pounds, 12 d. in the pound; and from twenty pounds and upwards, 16 d. And all strangers to pay double.

The clergy granted 6 s. in the pound, to be paid in three years. Stevens, p. 238, &c. Stow, p. 627.

[‡] The acts made in this parliament were as follows: 1. That every man, for every hundred and twenty sheep he feeds, shall keep a milch cow, and rear a calf. 2. That two surveyors shall be chosen in Easter week in every parish, who shall take care to have the highways mended. 3. That purveyors shall not take victuals within five miles of Oxford or Cambridge. 4. An act for the regulation of watermen and bargemen upon the river Thames.

the beginning of the session, in which he had been but twice present^a. He was seized with his sickness the very day he received the news of the death of Ridley and Latimer, which he impatiently waited for. He refused to sit down to dinner till he had received it, and was without that satisfaction till four in the afternoon. He then dined with a good appetite, and after dinner was seized with a suppression of urine, which brought him to his grave in a few days. It is said, that during this indisposition he felt some remorse for his past conduct, and sometimes said, he had erred with St. Peter, but not mourned with him. He was a man entirely attached to the world, of great wit, and of equal craft and dissimulation^v. He directed his talents solely to the supporting and augmenting his own authority. Pope Paul IV. promised him a cardinal's hat. It is also pretended, that to procure the archbishoprick of Canterbury, promised to Pole, he had so slandered him to the court of Rome, that the pope had resolved to recall and even punish him as a favourer of heresy, because he did not approve the violent methods practised for the conversion of protestants. Gardiner's hope of succeeding to the archbishoprick was the reason that Cranmer was suffered to live, because Gardiner waited till Pole was recalled; though, in all appearance, his religion was that of the church of Rome, he had conformed to all Henry VIII's changes. But the hope he had groundlessly conceived, that Henry would at last return to his first sentiments in religion, put him upon some practices which rendered him suspected, and robbed him of the fruit of his dissimulation. During the reign of Edward, he dissembled so far as to comply outwardly with the laws concerning religion; but at the same time he sufficiently discovered that it was with regret. To this was owing his deprivation, those who then managed the religious affairs, being persuaded that his dissimulation did more harm than good. In the reign of Mary, he was no longer forced to conceal his sentiments. Nay, perhaps he affected a greater

Mary.
1555.

Fox.
Burnet.
Hollingsh.

Godwin.

^a He died of a dropsy, November the 8th, or according to others the 13th, and was buried in the cathedral of Winchester, where his effigies upon his monument is yet to be seen, though somewhat defaced. Godwin, p. 351. Strype, *ibid.* Com. Hist.

^v He was a man of some learning; for he understood the canon and civil law as well as most of his time: he wrote Latin with ease and purity; and

few of his contemporaries excelled him in the Greek language. Burnet, 321. —As to his person, his successor, bishop Poinet, gives this description of him: he was of a swarthy colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, hooked nose, wide nostrils, a sparrow mouth, great hands, and long talons, rather than nails upon his toes, which made him go uneasily. Strype's notes on Godwin, p. 351.

Mary.
1555.

zeal than he really had for the Romish religion, to recommend himself the more to a bigotted queen, By this he acquired her favour, and became her first minister, having artfully gained the emperor to his interest. When he saw his credit firmly established, he turned his revenge upon his enemies into barbarity. They had been contented to detain him in prison; but he could only be satisfied with burning them alive. Ridley and Latimer, amongst others, felt the terrible effects of his vengeance. He had not so long deferred the satisfaction of causing Cranmer to perish in the flames, if his own interest had not induced him to spare his life for some time. It is pretended he was natural son of Richard Woodvil, brother to queen Elizabeth king Edward IV's wife, and that this was the cause of his so sudden advancement to the bishoprick of Winchester in the reign of Henry VIII. Dr. Burnet has clearly proved, in his History of the Reformation, that Gardiner was one of the principal authors of Henry's divorce with Catherine. This, one would think, should have rendered him equally odious with Cranmer to queen Mary: but his zeal for the Romish religion effaced all. After his death, the chancellorship was executed by commission², from the 13th of November to the first of January following, when Heath archbishop of York had the seals delivered to him.

A.S. Pub.
xv. p. 426.
Burnet.

The pope
sends a bull,
erecting Ire-
land into a
kingdom.
Burnet.

The perfec-
ution re-
newed.
Idem.

Charles V.
resigns his
dominions to
Philip, and
his brother
Ferdinand.
Strada,

The day after dissolving the parliament, the queen received a bull from Paul IV, erecting Ireland into a kingdom, the pope presuming that the erection made in the reign of Henry VIII. was null and invalid. Probably, the queen, who was full of scruples, was not displeased to receive this bull without her desiring it.

The king's absence and Gardiner's death did not hinder the fires from being re-kindled about the end of the year for the burning of protestants. This shows that Philip and Gardiner were not the only authors of these violences, but that the source of them lay in the queen's furious bigotry.

It was likewise about this time that Charles V. resigned all his Spanish dominions to Philip at two different times¹. The following year he resigned likewise the imperial dignity to his brother Ferdinand². Paul IV. long refused to own the new emperor,

² The seal was delivered to sir Nicholas Hare, master of the rolls. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 426.

¹ October 25. Strada, l. i.

² Charles, after his retirement, de-

lighted very much in mechanical curiosities, and particularly had great variety of clocks, which he tried a long time to cause to strike exactly together, but could never bring it about. Whereupon he

emperor, pretending that the resignation of the empire ought to have been made to him ^{Mary.}

1556.

The 21st of March, Cranmer suffered the martyrdom to which he had long been destined. He had been declared heretic in April, 1554. But this declaration was attended with only a bare excommunication, the power of the judges who had condemned him, reaching no farther. At last, in September 1555, he was tried at Oxford before two commissioners ^b, one delegated from the pope and one from the queen. His accusation contained, That he had been twice married: That he had kept a wife secretly in the reign of Henry VIII, and openly in that of Edward: That he had published heretical books, forsaken the communion of the Romish church, and denied the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. He owned all these facts, and upon his confession was cited to appear before the pope within eighty days; a needless citation, since he was detained a prisoner. The 14th of February, Bonner and Thirleby were sent to Oxford to degrade him. Bonner executed his commission with his usual insolence, and with severe raileries and invectives against Cranmer during the ceremony. But Thirleby melted into tears. Cranmer was cloathed in pontifical robes made of canvass to render him ridiculous, and then stript of that ludicrous attire, piece by piece, according to the ceremonies of degradation practised in the church of Rome ^c. But what was ridiculous, was his being condemned for non-appearance at Rome, though he was all the while a close prisoner.

Cranmer degraded.
Godwin.
Strype.
Burnet.

Godwin.
Burnet.

he broke out into this remarkable exclamation: "How vain and foolish is it for princes to endeavour to make all their subjects be of one mind in religion, when no art is able to make a few clocks strike together." Burnet, p. 330.

^a This year, the heralds were incorporated by the queen's letters patents, bearing date July 18. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 405.—This year also, on March 14, died John Russell, the first earl of Bedford, and was buried on the 22d, at Chesham's, in Buckinghamshire. Stow, p. 626.

^b James Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, was commissioner from Pole, and the king and queen delegated two assistants, which were Dr. Martin and Dr. Godwin, p. 352.

^c His behaviour in this ceremony was uniform and becoming. He was not sorry, he said, to be thus cut off, with

all this pageantry, from any relation to the church of Rome, but declared it to be great injustice to condemn him for not going to Rome when he was shut up in prison; and denying the pope had any authority over him, appealed from this sentence to a free general council. Burnet, p. 333. — This spectacle, as Godwin observes, was sufficient, not only to extort compassion from his enemies, but even to melt inanimate things into tears. The primate of England, that lately flourished in the highest honour and authority with princes, most venerable for his sanctity of life, for his age, person, learning, gravity, and innumerable excellencies of mind, now by the malice of the Romanists, dressed in a ridiculous old habit, baited with scurrility and contemptuous revilings, and dragged to a most inhuman and tormenting death. p. 352.

Death

Mary.
1556.

Signs an
abjuration,
Strype.

The queen
signs a war-
rant to have
him burnt.
Aët. Pub.
xv. p. 433.
He repents
and suffers
with resolu-
tion.
Strype.
Burnet.

Pole suc-
ceeds him as
archbishop.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Aët. Pub.
xv. p. 432.
Pole cleared
from the as-
persions cast
upon him
with regard
to Cranmer's
death.

Death should of course have immediately followed the sen-
tence of the commissioners and his degradation. But so many
snakes were laid to overcome the constancy of this prelate,
that by infirmity and the hopes of saving his life, he was pre-
vailed with to sign an abjuration^d. His enemies, it seems,
should have been satisfied with engaging him in this weakness,
but his death was what they wanted, and nothing less would
content them. The queen, who pretended a merit in for-
giving him his private offences, and in being moved only by
a zeal for religion, seeing all her measures broke by his abju-
ration, pulled off the mask and signed a warrant for burning
him, notwithstanding his abjuration. Then it was that
Cranmer came to himself, and, full of shame and confusion,
retracted at the stake, and resolved the hand which had signed
the fatal abjuration should first suffer. He held it extended
in the fire till it dropped off^e, and then was observed to beat
his breast with the other. Thus he expired, testifying a re-
pentance for the fault he had committed. His heart was
found entire in the ashes after his whole body was consumed,
which occasioned divers reflections foreign to my purpose.
The enemies of the reformation triumphed in the fall of this
prelate, and the protestants excused him in the best manner
they could^f. Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury
the day after his death. It seems he had his Congé d'elire
with his election, and his bulls from Rome dispatched before
that, because the order for the restitution of the temporalities
bears date the 21st of March, the day of Cranmer's death^g.
It is therefore without foundation that Pole is accused of haf-
tening his death, to take possession of his archbishoprick, be-
cause there was almost a month between the queen's warrant
for burning Cranmer and the execution. Pole had no need
of Cranmer's death to be possessed of the archbishoprick, va-
cant ever since his predecessor's condemnation. And indeed,
he was now archbishop of Canterbury before Cranmer died,

^d He was prevailed upon to subscribe not only one form of recantation, but six distinct ones, which the reader may see in Strype's Mem. tom. iii. p. 233, &c.

^e While he was burning, he some-
times cried out, That unworthy hand.
Fox.

^f He died in the sixty seventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his primacy, and left a son of his own name, who was rebaptized in blood, § Eliz. Strype's Mem.

^g Rapin by mistake says, he was made archbishop the day Cranmer died. Though he had been elected and approved by the pope, Pole thought it indecent to be consecrated as long as Cranmer lived, yet his choosing the next day for it, brought him under the suspicion of having procured his death; so that the words of Elijah to Ahab concerning Naboth, were applied to him, Thou hast killed and taken possession, Burnet, tom. ii. p. 340.

having been elected in England and approved by the pope, as Mary. is expressed in the order for restoring the temporalities, dated 1556. the 21st of March.

All the rest of the year was a continual and violent persecution of the protestants. The furious Bonner, who had the care of punishing hereticks, not content to burn them one by one, sent them in troops to the flames; so that in the year 1556, eighty five perished by his barbarity. The very women were not spared, and the fury of the persecutors fell upon innocent infants. In the isle of Guernsey, a woman big with child being condemned to be burnt, and the violence of the fire bursting her womb, a boy fell into the flames, which being snatched out by one more merciful than the rest, was after a short consultation thrown in again by command of the magistrates who assisted at the execution.

The persecution continued.

Fox.

Burnet.

Horrible barbarity, Fox.

While by these violent proceedings the utter ruin of the protestant religion was endeavoured, the queen, on the other hand, laboured to support that of the church of Rome, by repairing old monasteries and founding new ones^h. Perhaps she had more advanced her design to restore the religious houses, had not the nobility and gentry taken the alarm. It happened, even in the last session of the parliament, that some of the commons, upon hearing a proposal concerning that affair, laid their hands on their swords, and boldly said, They knew how to defend their own properties. The queen seeing so many obstacles, and not thinking it proper at that time to push the affair, resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity and proceed gradually. Mean while, she gave a commission to Bonner and some others, to raze out of the publick records, whatever had been done by Henry VIII. against the monks and the pope, and particularly the accounts of the visitations of monasteries, and the renunciations of the papal authority by the monks. This has made the ecclesiastical history of that time very defective, and yet, notwithstanding the care of the commissioners, many records of this nature escaped their diligence, and remain to this day.

The queen repairs old monasteries, and erects new ones, Burnet,

Razes several pieces out of the publick records. Burnet, t. ii. p. 341.

The war still continuing between France and Spain, without the intervention of the English, Philip was desirous of either a peace or a truce, to have leisure to fix himself firmly on the throne, lately resigned to him by the emperor his fa-

P. Daniel. Thuanus. Burnet,

^h Last year she founded a new the monastery of the Franciscans at Greenwich; and this year built two houses for the Dominicans in Smithfield; a nunnery at Sion; a Carthusian monastery at Sheen; and turned Westminster again into a monastery. Burnet, p. 340.

Mary. ther. His queen had mediated for this peace or truce, and
 1556. obtained, that the two kings should send their ambassadors
 between Calais and Ardres, where they had indeed met the
 21st of May the last year, but without coming to any con-
 clusion¹. The advancement of Paul IV. to the papal throne
 rendered the peace still more difficult. He was a pope of the
 most extravagant pride, and though fourscore years old, was
 forming vast projects. He cannot be better compared than
 to Julius II. He had two nephews, one a cardinal, and the
 other governor of the ecclesiastical state, and both mortal
 enemies of the family of the Colonna, whose ruin they had
 resolved, and consequently the king of Spain's, who supported
 it. To effect their design, they persuaded the pope their
 uncle, that they had discovered a conspiracy formed against
 him by the Spaniards. In consequence of this pretended
 discovery, they opened the packets of the duke of Alva,
 viceroy of Naples, and therein pretended to find incontestable
 proofs. They committed cardinal Colonna to prison, and
 arrested the envoys of Philip and the queen of England. Then
 they seized Palliano and Nettuno, two towns belonging to
 the Colonna.

Pope Paul
 IV. makes
 a league
 with France
 against
 Spain.
 Thuanus.
 Burnet.

But not satisfied with this, they soon after induced their
 uncle the pope to declare war with Spain, without having
 either money or troops to support it. He was therefore
 obliged to have recourse to the king of France, who was in
 actual war with Philip. For that purpose, he proposed to
 him the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, and offered
 him all his forces to execute the design, provided he would
 assist him in the war he had undertaken. The proposal
 being laid before the council of France, the cardinal of Lor-
 rain supported it with all his interest. The cardinal had then
 such influence over the court, that no person almost durst
 contradict him, though it was easy to see that a league
 with the pope could bring no advantage to the king. The
 cardinal's aim was to procure for his brother the duke of
 Guise the command of the army which should be sent into
 Italy.

This league, offensive and defensive, was therefore begun
 at Paris and signed at Rome, where the cardinals of Lorrain
 and Tournon had repaired the beginning of October, 1555.
 The pope promised the investiture of Naples to a son of

¹ The English ambassadors were, car-
 dinal Pole (accompanied by sir William
 Cecil, for whom he had a particular
 esteem) the chancellor Gardiner, the

earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget.
 They went over to Calais, May 8.
 Strype, tom. iii. p. 228.

France ; and the king, on his part, engaged to send into that country an army of twelve thousand foot, five hundred men at arms, and as many light horse. But shortly after, by the mediation of Mary, Henry II. and Philip concluded a five years truce, signed the 5th of February, 1556. The pope complained loudly, that the king of France had left him to the vengeance of the Spaniards. Indeed, the duke of Alva had now approached Rome, and taken some places, and, amongst the rest, Ostia, which the pope's nephews had neglected to store. In this extremity, the pope and his nephews had no other refuge, than to prevail with the king of France to break the truce with Spain. It was with this view that cardinal Caraffa repaired to Paris, as legate à latere, declaring that he came to effect a peace between the two crowns. At the same time, the pope loaded with praises the queen of England for mediating a truce, and exhorted her not to leave her work unfinished, but endeavour to change the truce into a firm and lasting peace. Mean time, the legate by his intrigues and magnificent promises prevailed at last with the king to break the truce, without alledging other reason than that the pope was oppressed by the Spaniards, though his holiness had first declared war against Spain.

A truce
concluded
between
France and
Spain.
Thuanus,

The pope
prevails with
the king of
France to
break it,

In January 1557, cardinal Pole visited both the universities. Whilst he was at Cambridge, Bucer and Fagius, two German divines, dead some years before, were ridiculously cited before the commissioners to give an account of their faith, and upon their non-appearance, both were condemned to be burnt. The sentence was followed by a warrant from the court to execute it, and the two bodies in their coffins were tied to stakes and consumed to ashes. At Oxford, Peter Martyr's wife was dug out of her grave by order of the legate and buried in a dunghill, because having been a nun she had broke her vow. At first a process was intended against her as a heretick. But as she had never learned to speak English, no witness could be produced to swear he had ever heard her utter any heresy. If all had been thus dug up who might have been presumed to die hereticks since the reformation, there would have been work enough. In all appearance, the suffering Peter Martyr to go out of the kingdom was heartily repented. If the body of his wife was thus

1557.
The bones
of Fagius
and Bucer
burnt at
Cambridge.
Burnet.
Thuanus,

The wife of
Peter Mar-
tyr dug up.

* February 6. Burnet, p. 345.

Mary. treated, what must he have expected, had he been still in the hands of his persecutors ?

1557.

The magistrates grow remiss in the persecution. Are incited by the council to redouble their zeal.

The violences hitherto acted upon both the dead and the living, had a quite contrary effect to what the queen had imagined. The ecclesiastics only continued their rage ; but the magistrates began to relax, and scrupled to be the instruments of these barbarities. The council being informed of it, writ circular letters to all the towns, to inflame their zeal in the persecution of hereticks. But these letters produced no great effect.

The queen grants a commission tending to erect an inquisition in England. Burnet, t. iii. p. 347.

Fox, t. iii.

The duke of Guise marches into Italy.

Philip endeavours to bring Mary to a rupture with France.

Thuanus, Burnet, Stow.

The queen and her ministers, enraged to hear from all parts that the number of the protestants increased rather than lessened, resolved, as some have assured, to erect an inquisition in England, like that in Spain. To that end, a commission was granted the last year, empowering twenty-one commissioners^m to sit upon trials of heresy, with a power so unlimited, that no other rules were prescribed than their discretion, nor any person whatever exempted from their jurisdiction. This was followed by a persecution, in which seventy-nine protestants perished.

While these things passed in England, the duke of Guise arrived in Italy, with the army designed for the conquest of Naples. He stayed some time at Rome, where he found nothing ready of what the pope had promised. Nevertheless he entered the kingdom of Naples in April, where he performed no great exploits. Shortly after, he was recalled by the pope to the relief of Rome, closely blocked up by the duke of Alva.

On the other hand, Philip finding the French had broken the truce, resolved to exert his utmost to establish his reputation in the beginning of his reign. He raised for that pur-

^l About the beginning of this year, came an embassy to England, from Evan Basilowitz, emperor of Russia, to settle a trade between that empire and England. See Stow, p. 629. — Three English ships having first in the year 1553, sailed to Russia, under the conduct of sir Henry Willoughby, in order to settle a trade in that country, in the year 1555, queen Mary incorporated the merchant-adventurers to these parts into a company, consisting of four consuls, and twenty-four assistants ; and Sebastian Cabot, born in Bristol, of Genoese parents, was constituted the first governor, being the chief encour-

rager of this branch of trade. Hackluyt, vol. i.

^m These were, Bonner bishop of London, and Thielby of Ely ; the lords Windsor and North ; secretary Bourne, sir John Mordant, sir Francis Englefield, sir Edward Walgrave, sir Nicholas Hare, sir Thomas Pope, sir Roger Cholmley, sir Richard Read, sir Thomas Stradling, sir Rowland Hill, sergeant Rastill ; Dr. Cole, dean of St. Paul's ; William Roper, and Randolph Cholmley, esquires ; William Cooke, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of law. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 347.

Mary.
1557.

pose an army of fifty thousand men, who were to act in Picardy; and to make himself the more formidable, tried all ways to gain the queen to his interests, notwithstanding the agreement in their marriage-articles, and his oath to give no occasion of rupture between England and France. His creatures about Mary perpetually insinuated to her, that she was ill treated by the king of France, who not content with receiving the English fugitives that retired into his dominions, had even given pensions to several. These insinuations began to operate on the queen. But to put her quite out of humour with Henry, an artifice was used, which succeeded according to the desires of those who contrived it, probably to do Philip service. Dr. Wotton, the English ambassador in France, sent for one of his nephews to Paris, and gave him proper instructions to accomplish the project. This young man applying himself to one of the king's gentlemen, desired a private audience of the king, saying, he had an affair of great consequence to communicate to his majesty. The king refusing to see him, ordered him to apply to the constable of Montmorenci. Wotton, in his conference with the constable, told him, he was sent by the inhabitants of Calais, who were generally protestants, and desirous to put themselves into the hands of the French king, provided they might have liberty to profess the r religion. The constable, listening to this proposition, bid him explain how it might be effected, and liking the project, told Wotton to come to him again and talk of the affair. But Wotton^a, instead of returning to the constable, crossed the seas back into England, and made his report to the queen and her ministers of what passed at Paris. Whereupon the queen thought the king of France was no longer to be regarded, since, in the midst of peace, he was forming projects to surprize Calais. It appears, that in February she had resolved upon a rupture with France^b, since, by an order of the 19th of the same month, commissioners were sent to the sheriffs and justices of peace to levy forces, and have them in readiness to march upon the first notice. Shortly after, another affair happened, which furnished her with the desired pretence to declare war with France.

An artifice
made use of
to effect this.
Melvil.
Burnet.

The queen
is caught by
it.
A. A. Pub.
xv. p. 456.

One Stafford^c, having secretly obtained assistance from the court of France, assembled some English fugitives, and em-

Stafford, at
the head of
some men

^a That is, doctor Wotton's nephew.

^b Thomas Stafford, second son of from France,

^c War was proclaimed in England the lord Stafford. Hollinghead, p. against that kingdom, June 7. Stow, 1133.

raises an in-
surrection.
Godwin.

p. 641.

Burnet.

Mary.
1557.

Stow.
Hollingsh.

Is made pri-
soner.

Philip ar-
rives in
England.
The queen
declares war
against
France.
Godwin.
Thuanus.
Burnet.

St. Quintin
besieged.
Thuanus.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Hollingsh.

The battle
of St. Lau-
rence.
Thuanus.

barking them, landed them in Scotland, towards the end of April, and marched directly to Scarborough, where he seized the castle, and published a manifesto against the queen, pretending she had forfeited all her right to the crown by introducing Spaniards into the kingdom. He had even the boldness to assume the title of protector of England. But the earl of Westmoreland assembling some troops in the north, retook Scarborough, and made Stafford prisoner with three of his accomplices ^a.

King Philip arrived the 20th of March in England, where eight thousand men were ready to pass into the Low Countries. Shortly after his arrival, the queen sent a herald to declare war against France. The 17th of June, the eight thousand English under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke, left England, and joined the Spanish army commanded by the duke of Savoy; after which Philip himself departed in July, to return to Brussels.

The duke of Savoy having made a feint for a month to attack several places in Picardy, fell suddenly upon St. Quintin ^a, which was in ill condition, and had only a garrison of three hundred men. All that the constable, who commanded the French army, could do, was to detach his nephew admiral Chatillon with three thousand men, to throw himself into the town. The admiral succeeded in part, having got in the night through the quarters of the besiegers. But instead of three thousand, only seven hundred followed him, the rest having lost their way. With this reinforcement he made a gallant defence, in hopes that the constable, though much weaker than the enemy, would use all possible endeavours to relieve him; and indeed nothing was neglected by the constable. He was even so successful as to throw Andelot, brother of the admiral, into the place with five hundred men. But in his return after his success, he was attacked by the duke of Savoy, who routed his army, killed two thousand five hundred of his men, and took him prisoner. In this battle, called the battle of St. Laurence (because fought on the

^a He was executed at London, May 28. Godwin, p. 354.

^b Stow says, it was March 18. p. 630

^c Godwin says, there was one thousand horse, four thousand foot, and two thousand pioneers. Godwin, p. 355. So Stow, p. 621. Anthony Browne viscount Montacute was lieutenant-general, the lord Grey of Wilton lord mar-

shal, the earl of Rutland general of the horse, Edward lord Clinton colonel of the foot. The names of the other persons of distinction in this army, see in Hollingsh. p. 1133.

^d July 7. Godwin, p. 355.

^e With an army of thirty-five thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, besides the English troops. Ibid.

roth of August, the day dedicated to that saint)* France lost Mary. a great number of princes and noblemen killed or made prisoners. The consternation was so great, that if the duke of Savoy had marched directly to Paris, it was believed nothing could have prevented his entrance. But instead of that, he drew back to his lines, and eight days after carried the town by storm †, and took the admiral prisoner on the breach. All France exclaimed against the pope, who had occasioned the rupture. But the blow was struck. The king of France's last resource was to call the duke of Guise out of Italy, where he was making no great progress.

Godwin.
Burnet.

1557.

When the pope heard the queen of England had declared war against France, he was so angry with Pole, as if he could have hindered it, that he recalled all his legates †, including Pole in the number; but Karne the English ambassador remonstrated to him by some cardinals, the mischiefs which from thence might ensue to religion. At last, after many solicitations and remonstrances, the pope, without revoking his order, promised only it should not be notified to Pole, and told the ambassador he was inclined to continue the cardinal in his legation, if the queen should desire it. This was before the battle of St. Laurence. But when the news of the loss of that battle, and the recalling of the duke of Guise were brought to him, he was again extremely incensed against Pole, and resolved to sacrifice him to his revenge. For that purpose he sent for Peyto the queen's confessor to Rome, and, creating him cardinal, put into his hands the bull of Pole's revocation, and appointed him for his legate in England. But the queen being informed of it, writ to Peyto, who was on his return, that if he offered to set foot in England, she would bring him within the Præmunire. The letter stopp'd his journey †. Meanwhile, though the pope's brief was not delivered to him, Pole abstained from the functions of his legateship, being unwilling to give the haughty pontiff a plausible pretence of complaint, who had long hated him.

The pope intends to recall Pole.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Strype.

Is dissuaded from it.

He recalls him, and names Peyto to succeed him; who is forbid by the queen to come into England.
Godwin.
Burnet.

When the duke of Guise had quitted Italy, the pope, unable to defend himself against the duke of Alva, who was near Rome, made a peace with Spain, and left France in the lurch †. By a secret article of the treaty, Pole was restored to his office of legate.

The pope makes a peace with Spain, and restores Pole.

* See their names in Thuanus, l. xix.

† On August 27. Hollingsh. p.

3134.

‡ In May. Burnet, p. 352.

§ It seems he was then in England; it was the bulls that were stopp'd at Calais.

See Burnet, tom. iii. p. 471. Collect.

* The duke of Alva was forced to come to Rome, and on his knees to beg pardon for invading the patrimony of the church; which he condescended to do. Burnet, p. 354.

Mary.
1557.

The duke of
Guise re-
turns to
France.
Henry solli-
cits the
queen regent
of Scotland
to a rupture
with Eng-
land.
Buchanan,
Burnet.
Thuanus.

Negotiates a
marriage be-
tween the
queen of
Scots and the
dauphin.
Thuanus.

The queen
in great dif-
ficulties.
Burnet.
Strype.

Philip gives
her notice to
take care of
Calais, but
to no pur-
pose.
Godwin.
Thuanus.
Burnet.
Hollingsh.

Mean time, Henry being recovered from his consternation by Philip's not improving his advantages, the duke of Guise had time to come to his assistance, and was immediately constituted his lieutenant-general. On the other hand, Henry solicited the queen-regent of Scotland to break the peace with England, and that princess was as ready to oblige him. But she had a powerful party against her, which was for preserving the peace. Wherefore, as she could not bring the states to the resolution she desired, she took another course to accomplish her design. She fortified Aymouth, contrary to an express article of the treaty lately concluded with England; and thereby engaged the English to oppose it with force. This produced indeed a breach between the two nations^b; and the Scotch army under the conduct of d'Oysel even entered the frontiers of England. But the states still hoping to repair the breach made in the peace without their consent, required d'Oysel by an express order to return, which he was forced to obey. The regent seeing how low her authority was, pressed the court of France to hasten the marriage of the queen her daughter with the dauphin, to the end that prince being in possession of Scotland, might be more master of its forces and counsels. Henry improving this advice, immediately sent ambassadors into Scotland to settle with the states the marriage-articles^c.

The war which was preparing in Scotland, and that already begun in France, greatly embarrassed the queen, because she wanted money. She tried to raise money by way of loans, but without success. She was therefore obliged to call a parliament for the 20th of January, though with regret, because she feared that to obtain a supply, she should be forced to remit her severities against the protestants.

About the end of the year, Philip gave notice to the queen of a design forming by the court of France upon Calais, and made her an offer of his forces to strengthen the garrison, which he knew to be weak. This advice, being laid before the council, was suspected to be an artifice of Philip, to put

^b But queen Mary endeavoured to adjust all differences, by appointing Henry Nevil earl of Westmoreland, Cuthbert bishop of Durham, and Dr. Hanner, and Martin, to treat with the Scottish commissioners. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 417, 464.

^c This year, on July 15, died at Chelsea, Ann of Cleves, the fourth wife of Henry VIII. and was buried at Westminster, August 5. Stow, p. 631.—

April 30, Thomas Percy was created baron Percy, and May 1, earl of Northumberland. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 461, 462 — This year, there was so great a dearth, that wheat was sold at 2 l. 13 s. 4 d. the quarter; malt 2 l. 4 s. pease 2 l. 6 s. 8 d. But the next harvest proving plentiful, wheat came to be sold at 5 s. malt 6 s. 8 d. and rye 3 s. 4 d. a quarter. Stow, p. 631.

himself

himself in possession of Calais, on pretence of reinforcing the Mary. garrison. This, though a bare suspicion, was not entirely 1557. improbable. Mean while, the counsellors, as if it had been a most evident truth, could not believe that France had any intention to besiege the town, though it was not provided with the fourth part of the necessary troops and ammunition. It seemed, that the sole reputation of the town was to be its security. So, the advice was neglected, and nothing done for its relief, though the governor William lord Wentworth was not wanting in his solicitations ^d.

Nothing less was to be expected from a council composed chiefly of ecclesiasticks, who were only intent upon the ruin of the protestants. After so shameful a neglect of providing for the safety of Calais, the queen and her ministers were in the utmost consternation, upon the news that the town was actually lost ^e. The duke of Guise besieged it the first of January, and carrying the fort called Newnambridge ^f, which commanded the avenues from the land, and also the Risbank, which commanded the harbour ^g, obliged the governor to capitulate the seventh day of the siege. After he was master of the place he ordered all the English to depart, as Edward III. had expelled the French two hundred and ten years before. Then he sat down before Guisnes, commanded by lord Grey ^h with a garrison of eleven hundred men. But the garrison was so discouraged by the loss of Calais, that on the first attack, they quitted the town and retired into the citadel. Mean while, the English governor perceiving the French were fallen to plundering, made a sally and beat them out of the town; but despairing to keep it, set it on fire, and retired. Soon after, the French closely invested the citadel, and in an assault the garrison lost three hundred men. After that, the governor seeing no possibility of a longer resistance, surrendered

^d The council of England had raised numerous forces, to go to the relief of that place; but they were detained at Dover, either for want of transport-ships, or else by a storm, which happened at that time, and was so violent, that the like had not been known many years before. Stow, p. 632. Hollingsh. p. 1136.

^e The English garrison consisted only of five hundred men, and there were not above two hundred of the townsmen, that could be serviceable in a siege. The whole number of the inhabitants amounted to about four thousand two

hundred persons. Stow, p. 632.

^f He divided his army into two bodies, and with one attacked Newnambridge, and with the other the Risbank at the same time. Godwin, p. 356.

^g The town being thus shut up, the French next drew the water out of its current, by which the ditches about the town and castle were drained; and having contrived ways for their soldiers to pass over the mire, without sinking in, they made the assault, after having opened a great breach by their cannon. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 357.

^h Of Wilton. Stow.

Mary.
1558.

himself prisoner of war with his whole garrison. The castle of Hamcs, situated in an almost inaccessible marsh, might have made some resistance; but the garrison fled, and left it to the French. Thus in the middle of winter, and in less than fifteen days, the English lost all the remains of their ancient conquests in France by the incapacity of a queen, whose thoughts were wholly ingrossed by one affair, as if the destruction of the protestants had alone merited her application, and by the negligence, if it deserves no worse name, of her council. Such was the fruit England reaped from her alliance with Spain, notwithstanding all Gardiner's care to prevent a mixture of interests between the two crowns. The non-performance of this article shows, how the rest would have been observed, if Philip, had he had any children by the queen, could have introduced himself, as their guardian, into the government of the kingdom.

The uneasiness of the queen upon this loss, and the murmurings of the people.
Burnet.

The loss of Calais made great noise in England. The protestants took occasion to arraign the government, and the creatures of the court were so confounded, that they durst not open their mouths in justification of the ministry. Some accused them of treason, others of incapacity, and their most zealous adherents could not but own their negligence. The two governors of Calais¹ and Guisnes were the most unhappy. Besides the loss of their reputation, the ministers, to insinuate to the people that these places were lost by their fault, suffered them to remain prisoners, and no care was taken for their release. But no one had a more lively sense of the loss than the queen². She perfectly knew the value of Calais after it was taken, which rendered England always formidable to France, because the English could, in twenty-four hours, land great armies in that kingdom. The greatness of the loss has since been still more sensibly felt. From that time, France, except when distracted with civil wars, no more showed for England that regard, she was before forced to pay.

Burnet.

Philip presses the queen to make a push for the recovery of Calais.

Burnet, tom. ii. p. 259. Collect.

p. 324.

Immediately after the taking of Calais, Philip strongly pressed the queen to make a vigorous effort to recover it, before France had time to repair and fortify it. But it was not possible for the ministers to find means to execute such an undertaking. Upon a computation of the necessary expence

¹ The lord Wentworth was tried by his peers, April 2, 1559, on a suspicion of cowardice or treachery, in the surrender of this town, and was acquitted. Stow, p. 638.

² She was so affected with it, that she abandoned herself to despair; and

told those about her, she should die, though they were yet strangers to the cause of her death; but if they would know it hereafter, they must dissect her, and they should find Calais at her heart. Godwin, p. 358.

for the fleet and army, it was judged dangerous, considering the general discontent, to load the people with so great a burden, even though the parliament could be brought to a compliance¹. This was sent to Philip in a letter of thanks for his advice and offers. But besides that reason, there was another of great weight, namely, the fears of the ministry, the council, and the queen herself, that the siege of Calais would oblige them to interrupt the persecution. So, in the belief that one year more would suffice to destroy the reformation and the reformed, they judged it proper to defer the siege of Calais till a more convenient season.

Mary.
1558.

But without
success.
Burnet.

The parliament², which met the 20th of January, did nothing considerable besides granting a subsidy to the queen, after the clergy had led the way³. The house of commons was filled with perpetual complaints, that by the pernicious counsels of the ministers, the queen had exhausted her treasury by the restitution of the church-lands, and the new foundations of the monasteries.

The parliament grants
a subsidy to
the queen.

This affair being finished, the friends of the court brought in a bill to confirm all the queen's letters patents, without explaining themselves farther. This was strenuously opposed by one of the members, who urged that a power so unlimited would put the kingdom in danger, and the queen in a capacity to dispose of the crown from the right heirs. The commons were offended with these insinuations against the queen, and sent the member to prison⁴. But tho' the queen seemed

A proposal
in the house
of commons
causes great
suspicion.
Statutes.

¹ The computation they made was this: there could not be sent, to any purpose, under twenty thousand men: the pay of them for six months would rise to 170,000 l. Garrisons, and an army against the Scots, and securing the coast against the French, would come to 150,000 l. The setting out of a fleet, and an army by sea, would amount to 200,000 l. There was also great want of ammunition and ordinance. All this would rise to above 520,000 l. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 359.

² In this parliament, the abbot of Westminster, lately re-edified into a monastery, and the prior of St. John of Jerusalem, had their writs and sat in it. Journ. Pad.

³ The clergy (of the province of Canterbury only) gave eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. And the laity granted a subsidy and a fifteenth. The subsidy was four shil-

lings in the pound of lands, (eight shillings of strangers,) and two shillings and eight pence of goods from every person worth five pounds, to be paid before June 24. Journ. Parl. — In this parliament it was enacted, That if any person carries away a young woman, under sixteen years of age, without the consent of her parents or guardians, he shall suffer two years imprisonment; and if any one marries a woman under that age he shall suffer five years imprisonment.

⁴ This member's name was — Copley, representative for. — His words, as set down in the journals of the house of commons, were, "That he feared the queen might thereby give away the crown from the right inheritor." For this he was committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms, but afterwards released at the desire of the house, who pleaded his youth as an excuse.

pleased

Mary.
1558.

Two sons of
the late duke
of Northum-
berland re-
stored to their
honour.
Stow.

The dauphin
married to
the queen of
Scots.
Buchanan.

The princeſs
Elizabeth in
great danger.
Burnet.

Stowe.

Mollingham.

pleased with the zeal of the commons for her reputation, she clearly saw how far they were from any thoughts to deprive the princeſs Elizabeth of the crown. It is not known what was the intent of ſo general a confirmation: but 'tis likely, the authors had ſome view diſadvantageous to Elizabeth.

In this ſeſſion, Ambroſe and Robert Dudley, ſons of the late duke of Northumberland, were reſtored in blood. Henry their brother loſt his life at the ſiege of St. Quintin. After that the parliament was prorogued from the 7th of March to the 7th of November.

In April this year, the dauphin at laſt married Mary the young queen of Scots *. After many difficulties the ſtates of Scotland granted the dauphin the title of king of Scotland, upon a ſolemn promiſe from his father, that he ſhould content himſelf with the bare title, and not concern himſelf in the government of the kingdom.

The princeſs Elizabeth was now in more danger than ever. The queen ſenſibly declined in her health. She had not been well managed during her pretended pregnancy, becauſe having committed herſelf to the care of women who only flattered her, ſhe had neglected to conſult the phyſicians, who might have prevented the conſequences of that accident. From that time ſhe never enjoyed a ſound health. She was naturally melancholy, and this temper was increaſed by her many mortifications in the two former reigns. Afterwards, the diſguſt of the king her huſband, of which ſhe was but too ſenſible, ſtill augmented her melancholy; and the loſs of Calais brought her to ſuch a ſtate, that ſhe could bear the ſight but of very few perſons. The body ſympathized with the mind, and ſhe felt herſelf grow daily weaker. In this condition, ſhe was troubled with the ſame reflexions on her ſiſter Elizabeth's account, that had before diſturbed Edward on her's, namely, that after her death, what ſhe had with ſo much pains eſta bliſhed, would be infallibly overturned. The biſhops were ſtrongly perſuaded of this. They were not ignorant that Elizabeth, whatever pains ſhe took to conceal it, was a proteſtant in her heart, and even induced to be ſo from her temporal intereſt. Hence ſome were perpetually inſinuating to the queen, the neceſſity of putting her out of the way. Gardiner had been of this opinion, and frequently ſaid, it was in vain to lop off the branches while the tree was ſuffered to ſtand. It is aſtoniſhing this advice had never been

* They were married April 22. this marriage, which was one of the Buchanan writ an epithalamium upon perfecteſt pieces of Latin poetry.

followed! The queen was a bigot to the last degree. It gave her no remorse to spill human blood, when religion was the pretence. So, in all appearance, she would not have spared a sister, whom she considered as a bastard, had not God suffered the politicks of Philip to prevail over the zeal of the queen his spouse. For at the very time I am speaking of, when the spirit of persecution rendered men deaf to reason, justice and humanity, to what can be ascribed, but to the particular protection of heaven, the preservation of this princess, whom so many reasons demanded as a sacrifice to the Romish religion? but God, who has set bounds to the sea, refrains also the fury of persecutors, and prevents them from massacring those whom he has reserved for the peace of his church. However, Elizabeth was, contrary to all probability, preserved through Mary's whole reign, and particularly in the latter part of it, when she appeared to be most in danger.

Some time after the prorogation of the parliament, the king of Sweden sent a gentleman to Elizabeth to inform her of his design to demand her in marriage, and to desire her consent⁹. The messenger desiring a private audience, she would not grant it, without first knowing his message. After she was informed, she sent him a positive answer, that she would receive no such proposal, but by the queen's direction. The messenger replied, his master acted like a lover, who would not espouse a princess, without being first sure of her consent, by which he testified his esteem for her; but when she had once allowed his addresses, he would then as a king demand her by his ambassador. But this was not capable to make her alter her resolution. On the contrary, she signified to him, that the king of Sweden would oblige her, in thinking no more of her. This answer, one would think, should have satisfied the Swedish ambassadors, then arrived in London, since the king their master resolved not to marry Elizabeth without her consent, and yet they proposed the marriage to the queen. This gives occasion to suspect, that the Swedish gentleman who desired a private audience of the princess, had not received his commission immediately from the king his master, but from the ambassadors, and that the queen's ministers had induced them to sound the princess, in order to draw her into a snare. However, presently after, the queen

The king of Sweden demands the princess Elizabeth in marriage. Burnet. Scrype. She executes herself.

⁹ King Philip had once designed to marry her to Emanuel Philibert duke of Savoy; but the hopes of having children by the queen vanishing, he intended to reserve her for himself. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 361.

Mary.
1558.

The persecution renewed.
Burnet.
The queen's extreme rage against the protestants.
Fox.
Heylin.
Strype.

Tom. ii.
p. 365.

A strange instance of barbarity.

Fox.

Number of protestants burnt in this reign.
Burnet.
Strype.
Heylin.

ordered her to be told^r, that she was pleased with her answer to the Swedish gentleman: that the ambassadors had in their king's name demanded her in marriage, in which she desired to know her mind. Elizabeth answered, she was content with her condition, and that if the queen would allow her to pursue her own inclination, she protested, a single life was to her preferable to a marriage with the greatest prince in the world. Thus the affair proceeded no farther.

The loss of Calais, and the session of the parliament, had given some respite to the protestants. But in the end of March, the persecution was renewed with greater fury than ever. The queen herself, exceeding her prerogative, published a proclamation, "That whoever had any heretical books, and did not presently burn them without reading, should be esteemed rebels, and executed without delay by the martial law." On the other hand, she expressly forbid to pray for those who were executed, or even to say, God help them. This caused the author of the History of the Reformation judiciously to remark, that "it was not so much the conversion as the destruction of those they called hereticks, that the bishops desired." A convincing proof of this was seen shortly after. One Benbridge being tied to the stake, through the violence of the flames, cried out, "I recant." Whereupon, the sheriff ordered the fire to be extinguished, and the sufferer signed an abjuration dictated to him. But soon after he received an order from court to burn the condemned person, and come himself to London, where he was committed to prison. The fury of the persecutors was so extreme, that though they were going to lose the queen, they ceased not these severities. About a week before her death, five persons were burnt at Canterbury, and in this last year of her reign, thirty-nine protestants suffered martyrdom in several places. Authors are not agreed concerning the number of those who died in the flames during Mary's reign. Those who say the least, reckon two hundred and eighty-four; but others affirm, that in the two first years of the persecution, which began in 1555, eight hundred were put to death^t.

While

^r By sir Thomas Pope, in April, Burnet, tom. ii. p. 361.

^s Sir Richard Pexall, sheriff of Hampshire. Fox, tom. iii.

^t According to Fox's account, and bishop Burnet's calculation, there were two hundred and eighty-four burnt in

ⁿ all. A paper found among the lord Burghley's MSS. makes the number of those that were burnt to be two hundred and ninety. The same lord Burghley, in a treatise writ in the year 1584, reckoneth up the number of those that died in that reign by imprisonment, or

While these tragedies were acting in different places of the kingdom, the queen, who was deeply affected with the loss of Calais, was willing to make one effort to repair it. Philip had advised to try to seize Breff. For that purpose, she put to sea a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships^u, commanded by the lord Clinton^w, who landed at Conquest, and burnt that small town, but the country rising upon the English obliged them to retire to their ships, with the loss of six hundred of their men^x. The whole country being in arms to oppose a second descent, and fresh troops daily arriving in these parts, the English admiral, who had only seven thousand men, thought it not proper to engage in any new action, and returned. Such was the benefit the queen reaped from this expensive armament. She was now sensible, that the continua-

Mary.
1558.
The queen sends a fleet to sea without success.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Act. Pub. xv. p. 448.
Stow.
Thuanus.
Strye.

ments, fire, and famine, to be near four hundred. But the author of the preface to bishop Ridley's book *De Caena Domini*, who, according to Bale, (*de Script.* p. 684, 731,) was William Wittingham, affirms, that in the two first years of the queen's persecution, there were above eight hundred put to the most cruel kinds of death for religion. The reason of this diversity may be, that no exact list was kept, at the time of the persons committed to the flames, but the accounts of them were afterwards gathered by several persons, according to the best intelligence they could receive from their friends, throughout the several parts of the kingdom. However this be, it is generally acknowledged, that there were burnt five bishops, one and twenty divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants. Sixty-four more were persecuted for their religion: whereof seven were whipped, sixteen perished in prison, and twelve were buried in dunghills. It is observable, that the persecution raged most in Bonner's diocese, and in Kent. For, as Heylin reckons it, in all the province of York, there was but one brought to the stake; and but three in the four Welsh diocesses. In that of Exeter, Wells, Peterborough, and Lincoln, there is mention but of one a-piece; of two in that of Ely, and of no more than three a-piece at Bristol and Salisbury: in those of Oxford, Gloucester,

Worcester, and Hereford, none at all. And now, not to let such bellicose and bloody doings pass without some reflection, I shall observe with Mr. Collier, that, "to destroy people for points of mere speculation, and which have no ill effect on practice and civil government, seems very remote from the spirit of Christianity. Supposing truth on the persecuting side, yet to burn a man because he will not believe his conscience, and turn hypocrite, is strangely unaccountable. Men can't believe what they please: their understandings are not; all of a size. Things don't stand in the same light, and strike with the same force on every body. Besides, if the Roman catholics believed the reformed such notorious hereticks, if they believed they would be so ill received in the other world, why did they not use them gentler in this? Why did they hurry them to eternal destruction before their time?" We may justly affirm, that such wisdom as this, did not proceed from above, but was earthly, sensual, and devilish. Collier *Eccles. Hist.* tom. ii. p. 397. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 364. Strye's *Mem.* tom. iii. p. 473, &c. and *Catalog.* p. 291, &c. Speed, p. 826. Heylin, p. 226.
^u Goodwin says, one hundred and forty; and about the end of July, p. 357.

^w Edward Fynes, lord Clinton and Saye. Rymer.

^x Mostly Flemings, who were too greedy of plunder. Stow, p. 634.

Mary.
1558.

A peace negotiated at
Cambray.
Burnet.
Thuanus.
The parliament meets.
The queen demanding
a supply of money is put
off.
Burnet.
Her death.
Godwin.

Pole's death
and character.
Godwin.
Burnet.

Queen Mary's character.

tion of the war would procure her no advantage, and readily consented to a negotiation then proposed for a peace between France, England, and Spain. Cambray was the place appointed for the congress, which was opened in October 7.

The parliament meeting the 5th of November, the queen demanded assistance to continue the war, in case the negotiation should miscarry. The house of commons was so little inclined to grant her request, that she was obliged to send the chancellor and ten other lords to lay the ill state of her affairs before them, and pray them to hasten the necessary supplies. This solicitation producing some effect, the commons debated, that and the two following days, upon a subsidy. But the queen's death put an end to the consultations.

She had been some time afflicted with a dropsy, which being much increased the beginning of November, carried her off the 17th of the same month, in the 43d year of her age, after a reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

Cardinal Pole followed her within sixteen hours. He was a prelate of a sweet and moderate temper, who would have been glad to bring back, by fair and lawful means, the English to their ancient belief, but approved not the methods of fire and sword. This gave his enemies room to represent him as a little inclined to the protestant religion, or at least, as one of too tender a disposition for that time. Neither the queen, nor Philip, nor the pope, nor Gardiner, nor the bishops substituted in the place of the ejected protestant bishops, were persons to be guided by his moderate maxims. Accordingly, Pole was never consulted on religion, though in all other affairs the queen placed a great confidence in him. Pope Paul IV. was his sworn enemy. It was he who by his slanders prevented his ascending the papal throne on the death of Paul III. though he was elected in the conclave. From that time, believing Pole could not forgive him such an injury, he never ceased doing him ill offices. And when he was himself pope, he often gave him marks of his enmity. It is even pretended, that when he recalled him from his legation, to put Peyto in his room, he intended to punish him severely for having been too gentle to the protestants. But Philip and Mary took him into their protection².

The excessive bigotry of queen Mary is evident from the history of her reign. To this she joined a temper cruel and vindictive, which she endeavoured to confound with a zeal for

¹ The English plenipotentiaries were, and dean Wotton, Burnet, c. iii. p. 265.
the earl of Arundel, the bishop of Ely, ² Pole was buried at Canterbury.

religion. But when it was not possible to unite them, she plainly showed, she was inclined to cruelty as well by nature as zeal. She had the misfortune to be encouraged in this disposition by all who approached her. King Philip was naturally morose. Gardiner was one of the most revengeful men living. Bonner was a fury; and the other bishops were chosen from amongst the most cruel and barbarous of the clergy. This was the quality by which alone a man was thought worthy of the episcopal dignity. The persecution therefore against the protestants in this reign has nothing which ought to seem strange. Dr. Burnet says, Mary had a generous disposition of mind. It were to be wished, he had given us some passages of her life, where this generosity appeared. For my part, I find but one action to approve in her whole reign. This was her rejecting the Spanish ambassador's project, to make herself absolute at the expence of the laws and liberties of the nation. She discovered no great capacity in the government of her dominions; and the loss of Calais, though there was not something more odious, would be an everlasting blot upon her reign ^a.

^a Nath. Bacon concludes her character with saying, "The worst that can be said of her, is this, that she was ill-principled: and the best, that she

acted according to her principles, and so lived an uncomfortable life, shaped a bloody reign, and had but a dim conclusion." P. 151.

BY an indenture of the first of queen Mary, a pound weight of gold, of the old standard, was coined into thirty-six pounds; and a pound weight of silver, eleven ounces fine, was coined into three pounds by tale.



The gold coins of this queen, are, Sovereigns at 30s. Half-Sovereigns at 15s. Angels at 10s. and Half-Angels at 5s. apiece.

—The money before her marriage has her Head half-faced, crowned, MARIA D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGI. Reverse, the Arms of France and England quartered, VERITAS. TEMPORIS. FILIA. (Fig. 1.) Those after her marriage have only her Head as before, but her Husband's Name in the legend,

Mary.

PHILIP. Z. MARIA. D. G. REX. Z. REGINA. Reverse, POSVIMUS. DEVM. ADIVTO. NOS.—Her Sovereign, (called by Mr. Evelyn, a Ryal, and which, he says, was scattered at her coronation) has, on one side, the Queen in her Robes, with Crown, Scepter, and Ball, sitting upon her Throne; at her Feet a Portulic, MARIA. D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGINA. MDLIII. Reverse, a large full blown Rose, filling up the Space, with the Arms of France and England, quartered in the Center, A. DNO. FACIV. EST. ISTVD. Z. EST. MIRA. IN. OCVL. NRIS. The Angel is on the Reverse, the Queen's Arms in a Ship, with a Cross for the Mast, and the Star and Letter M. on each side, inscribed, A. DNO. FACTVM. EST. ISTVD. Camden mentions a Crown of Gold of this Queen, whereon was, MVNDI. SALVS. VNICA.—The Silver Moneys of Queen Mary are, Shillings, Six-pences, and Groats; to which bishop Nicholson adds, Half Groats, and Pennies; but Thoresby says, he never saw or heard of any of these last. Upon the Shillings of Philip and Mary are both their Heads facing each other under a Crown, PHILIP. ET. MARIA. D. GR. ANG. FR. NEAP. PR. HISP. 1554. Reverse, the Arms of Spain and the Queen's, impaled, crowned, and XII. POSVIMVS. &c. There is another sort of these Shillings, wanting the Date. (See Fig. 2.) Another, PHILIP. ET. MARIA. D. G. REX. ET. REGINA. ANG. Reverse, as the former. The emperor Charles V. resigning Spain to his son Philip in 1555, occasioned an alteration in Philip's style, his and the queen's title, being now upon the Great Seal, "Rex & Regina, Ang. Hispaniar. Franc. utriusque Sicilie," &c. The Irish Shilling, before the Queen's marriage, gave her Head crowned, MARIA. D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGINA. Reverse, a Harp betwixt M. and R. all crowned, VERITAS. TEMPORIS. FILIA. MDLIII.



T H E H I S T O R Y O F E N G L A N D.

B O O K X V H.

*The Reign of Queen ELIZABETH: containing the
Space of about Forty-four Years and four Months.*

23. ELIZABETH.

THE death of Mary, tho' foreseen, struck the counsellors and ministers with astonishment. They were all of the prevailing religion, and had advised, or at least approved, the persecution which the protestants lately groaned under, and now in all likelihood the protestants were going in their turn to govern. Mary's death was therefore concealed for some hours, to give time to consult what was to be done. But as the parliament was sitting, it was not in their power to decide any thing concerning the succession, especially as it was clearly settled by the will of Henry VIII. authorized by an act of parliament which had never been repealed. Their consultation therefore ended only in a message to inform the parliament of the queen's death. This was all that could be done on the occasion. The news was first communicated to the house of lords, who immediately

Eliz.
 1558,
 Queen Mary's death concealed for some time.
 Camden.
 Burnet.
 The parliament informed of it.
 Camden.
 Burnet.
 N. a. consi-

Eliz. considered the rights of the persons who might pretend to the crown. If the affair had been left to the decision of the civil

1558. or common law, there would have been no small difficulty,

The house of
lords deliberates upon
the succession.

so much had Henry perplexed it by his divorces, and by contradictory acts of parliament. But in England, the parliament, which includes the king, lords, and commons, is the supreme legislator, and, when force does not interpose, the validity of its laws are unquestionable. Henry VIII. obtained an act, empowering him to settle the line of succession as he should think proper. He placed Elizabeth next to her sister Mary, though both had been declared bastards. This sufficed to give Elizabeth a right, which the parliament could not contest, since it was a parliamentary right, as founded in the act to empower Henry to settle the succession. Besides, every one knew the dissolution of that prince's marriage with Ann Boleyn, and the act which, in consequence of the divorce, declared Elizabeth illegitimate, was the pure effect of the king's caprice, and of the compliance rather than justice of the parliament. But though the lords should have thought to exclude Elizabeth from the succession, on what other person could they have fixed, without exposing the kingdom to great danger? It will be proper briefly to explain this, as a thing very requisite to the sequel of this reign.

Two competitors to queen Elizabeth, and the reasons both for and against them.

Upon Mary's death, three princesses could pretend to the crown, namely, Elizabeth sister of the late queen, Mary queen of Scotland, grand-daughter to Margaret eldest sister of Henry VIII. and Frances dutchess of Suffolk, daughter of Mary younger sister of the same prince. Elizabeth supported her right upon the will of the king her father, authorized by act of parliament. Mary could object, that Elizabeth had been declared a bastard by an act still unrepealed: that no bastard had ever ascended the throne of England: that the laws of the country gave bastards no share in the inheritance of their fathers, and consequently the succession was devolved to the posterity of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. It could be alledged for the dutchess of Suffolk, that Elizabeth being a bastard, and the queen of Scotland a foreigner, and not even placed in the order of succession by the will of Henry VIII. the crown ought to fall to the posterity of Mary, second daughter of Henry VII. It is not necessary to examine these several pretensions, because probably the parliament which made the decision, proceeded not so much upon the laws, as upon policy and the interests of the kingdom. The queen of Scotland had married the dauphin, heir apparent to the crown of France. In adjudging the crown to her, Eng-
land

land would have been in danger of subjection to, or dependency on France. This alone was sufficient to exclude her. Eliz. 1558.

The dutchess of Suffolk could not have been placed on the throne with any colour of justice, since she only derived her right from the will of Henry VIII. which was equally favourable to Elizabeth. Besides, such a choice would have infallibly thrown the kingdom into a civil war. It was probably for these reasons that the house of lords declared for Elizabeth. The house of lords declares for Elizabeth. Camden.

It seems, however, that a great difficulty was to occur. All England, and particularly the house of lords, made profession of the Romish religion, and it was scarce to be questioned that Elizabeth was a protestant in her heart. But two things, doubtless, conspired to remove this obstacle. The first was, that the bishops and catholick lords were persuaded, that Elizabeth, should she desire it, would find it difficult to change the established religion. They even believed her of a temper so complying, that she would rather conform to the rites of the Romish religion, as she had done for some years, than hazard the causing of disturbances which might be fatal to her. If Camden's testimony is to be entirely credited, Elizabeth made no scruple to declare herself a catholick, during the reign of her sister. "The lady Elizabeth," (says this historian) "now guiding herself as a ship in tempestuous weather, both heard divine service after the Romish manner, and was frequently confessed, and at the pressing instances and menaces of cardinal Pole, through fear of death, professed herself a Roman catholick."

Camden.
Preface to
his Annals.

The second reason which probably prevented the lords from insisting on her exclusion was, that though they all professed the catholick religion, they were not however all catholicks. Many, and perhaps the greatest number, had only dissembled their sentiments during Mary's reign. But being freed from all danger by her death, they could speak boldly, and oppose those who pretended to exclude Elizabeth on account of her religion, this reason not being of more force against her, than it was against Mary after Edward's death.

However, the house of lords declaring for Elizabeth, the commons were sent for, and acquainted by the chancellor with the queen's death and their resolution, which was readily and unanimously embraced. The same day Elizabeth was proclaimed queen at the usual places, with the acclamations of the people. The protestants thanked God that he had at last delivered them from persecution, in placing on the throne a princess, who very likely would be favourable to them. It is true, that among the papists some looked on the death of Mary,

The commons concur with the lords in owning the right of Elizabeth, who is proclaimed.

It Stow.
Hollingsha.

Eliz. Mary, and the advancement of Elizabeth, as a mortal wound
1558. to their religion; but others were not sorry to see a stop
put to those barbarities which dishonoured it. As for those
who made not religion the chief object of their thoughts,
they were easily comforted for the loss of a queen, under
whom England had not much flourished, and who had lost
the only place which commanded respect from France. They
believed to have reason to expect better things from the new
reign.

She comes to
London.
Stow.
Burnet.

Elizabeth being informed of the resolution of both houses
in her favour, left Hatfield the 19th of November, and
came to London with a numerous train of lords and ladies,
and an infinite croud of people, testifying their joy by the
loudest acclamations. She was twenty-five years old, tole-
rably handsome, of an air great, noble, and majestic. But
she was still more agreeable to the people by a certain natural
affability, which commanded the esteem and affection of all
who approached her. As she had a large share of sense and
judgment, she knew perfectly how necessary the love of
her people was to her, since it was to be the strongest sup-
port of her throne, as will hereafter appear. Wherefore, in-
stead of losing this affability in being raised from a subject
to a queen, she studiously increased it to such a degree, that
some accused her of playing the comedian and over-acting
her part.

Ambassadors
sent to divers
courts,
Camden.
Burnet.

Her first care, after receiving the compliments on her ac-
cession, was to dispatch ambassadors to the principal courts of
Europe, to give notice of the late change in England.
Lord Cobham^a was sent to Philip, whom she esteemed her
friend, and who was moreover her ally in the war against
France, the treaty of Cambray not being yet concluded. Sir
Thomas Chaloner was sent to the imperial court. Lord
Howard of Effingham was joined in commission with Thirlby
bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, plenipotentiaries for nego-
tiating a peace. Sir Henry Killigrew went to Germany, to

^a Bishop's Hatfield, then a royal pa-
lace, and exchanged by king James I.
with Robert earl of Salisbury, for Theo-
bold's.

^b All the bishops went and met her
at Highgate. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 374.

^c And at the same time she took care
of securing all the ports, and the Tower
of London; ordered a new commission
to be sent to Thomas Ratcliff, earl of
Suffex, lord lieutenant of Ireland, who

had kept that mutinous country quiet,
only with three hundred and twenty
horse, and eight hundred and sixty foot;
and also, that the judges patents should
be renewed; new justices and sheriffs
appointed in every county; no bills of
exchange be sent beyond sea; and that
preachers should not meddle with con-
troverted points. Camden, p. 369.
Compl. Hist.

^d William Brooke.

affire the protestant princes of the queen's affection. Karne, Eliz. who was still at Rome, where he had been resident ever since the death of Edward VI. had orders to notify to the pope, Mary's death and Elizabeth's accession to the crown. The kings of Sweden and Denmark had the same notifications. Burnet.

These envoys being dispatched, the queen formed a council, in which she left thirteen of Mary's counsellors, all zealous Roman catholics, to whom she added eight new ones, equally attached to the protestant religion. With some of these she secretly consulted about the means to restore the reformation in England. But before I speak of the result of the consultations, a new project of the king of Spain must briefly be mentioned.

When this prince received the news of the death of his queen, whether on account of Elizabeth's inclination to the protestant religion, or by her marrying some prince of that religion, against which he had himself openly declared, he looked upon England as lost to him. He was not even without fear, that the king of France asserting the queen of Scotland's claim upon England, would seize that kingdom, and unite it as well as Scotland and Ireland to the French monarchy. Wherefore, to free himself from these fears, and preserve the advantages of his alliance with England, he sent instructions to the Condé de Feria (lately arrived at London, to pay his compliments to the deceased queen) to congratulate Elizabeth on her accession, and propose his design of uniting himself with her in marriage. Elizabeth received the offer with marks of a particular esteem for the king of Spain, but

Philip desires to marry Elizabeth, but is rejected. Camden, Burnet.

* The haughty pope told Karne, That England was held in fee of the apostolick see, and Elizabeth could not succeed, being illegitimate. That it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent; for which reason she deserved no favour at his hands; but if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to him, he would shew a fatherly affection to her. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 374.

† The Roman catholick counsellors, continued in the new council, were, Heath archbishop of York, William Paulet marquis of Winchester, lord high treasurer, Henry Fitz Alan earl of Arundel, Francis Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, Edward Stanley earl of Derby, William Herbert earl of Pembroke, Edward Fynes bates of Clinton, lord high

admiral, William lord Howard of Effingham, lord chamberlain, sir Thomas Cheney, sir William Petre, sir John Mason, sir Richard Sackvil, Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. Most of these had complied with all the changes that had been made in religion, backward and forward, since the latter end of king Henry's reign, and were so dextrous at it, that they were still employed in every new revolution. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 375.—To these were added, all protestants, William Parr marquis of Northampton, Francis Russell earl of Bedford, sir Thomas Parry, sir Edward Rogers, sir Ambrose Cave, sir Francis Knolles, sir William Cecil, and a little after, sir Nicholas Bacon, made keeper of the great seal. Camden.

Eliz. objected the affinity as an impediment to their marriage.
 1558. This objection was foreseen, and immediately replied to by the ambassador; That his master would undertake to procure the pope's dispensation. The queen not caring to express her little regard of such a dispensation, civilly dismissed the ambassador to have time seriously to consider of the proposal. Three principal reasons hindered her from accepting Philip's

Her reasons
for the refusal of the
offer.

Her reasons
to keep in
terms of
friendship
with Philip.
Camden.

offer. First, her persuasion that such marriages were contrary to the law of God, and her father's example in a parallel case reminded her of her duty. Secondly, nothing was more contrary to her intention of openly professing and restoring the protestant religion in England, as established in the reign of Edward VI. Lastly, to make use of a dispensation to marry a brother-in-law, would have been an acknowledgment of the invalidity of her father's divorce with Catherine of Arragon, and of her own illegitimacy. If Paul IV. could grant such a dispensation, Julius II. might have granted the same to Henry VIII. to marry Catherine of Arragon; from whence it necessarily followed, that Henry's second marriage with Ann Boleyn was null. But, on the other hand, Elizabeth had strong reasons to preserve the king of Spain's friendship. To him she owed her life, or at least her not being excluded by her sister from the succession. Mary would never have left Elizabeth in a condition of one day mounting the throne, if the interest and solicitations of the king her husband had not strongly resisted her zeal for her religion. In the second place, Elizabeth was informed that the king of France was using all his credit at Rome to have her declared illegitimate, in order to procure the crown of England for his daughter-in-law the queen of Scotland. Lastly, England was in a very ill-state. The loss of Calais, Guisnes, and Hames, the crown debts contracted by Henry VIII. and increased by the guardians of Edward VI. and an exhausted treasury, gave Elizabeth just cause to fear she should be unable to oppose a vigorous attack. To this may be added, she was engaged in a war with France and Scotland, unsupported by any other alliance than that of Spain, so unmindful had Mary been of every thing where religion was not concerned. Her business therefore was to end these two wars with honour; but this was not to be done without Philip's assistance, and consequently it was not proper to give him any just cause of complaint, for fear of his deserting England in the negotiation of peace. These reflections threw the queen into great perplexity. She was fully resolved to refuse the king of Spain's proposal, but was uneasy about the manner.

manner. Though she alledged scruples of conscience, it did not free her from the importunities of the Condé de Feria, who persisted that a dispensation from the pope was more than sufficient to remove them. He told her likewise, that as his master had made this overture purely from his extraordinary esteem for her, he would be the more displeased if it was rejected. At last, the queen being thus pressed, found no surer or readier way to extricate herself out of the difficulty, than by hastening the execution of her design to make a change in religion, not doubting that this once effected, the king of Spain would cease his importunities.

Eliz.

1558.

She determines to restore the reformation. Camden.

This resolution being taken, she caused to be examined before her cabinet council, the proper methods to execute it, the inconveniencies it might be attended with, and the means to prevent them. The greatest obstacles to the affair were to arise either at home or abroad. At home, from the great number of catholicks and the opposition of the bishops and inferior clergy. Abroad, from the pope, who in all likelihood would thunder his censures against the queen, and expose the kingdom a prey to the first invader. Hence it was to be feared, that the kings of France and Spain would use that pretence to make war upon the English as excommunicated hereticks, and to stir up Scotland, which was entirely directed by the king of France. Upon the inconveniencies at home, it was considered that though the kingdom appeared wholly catholick, it was far from being really so. That the fear of punishment ceasing, the greatest part of the people were manifestly inclined to return to the religion which they had been forced to forsake in the last reign; but, however, it would not be very difficult to have a parliament favourable to the queen's intentions, by employing means which rarely fail of success, when used with discretion. That for this purpose, the magistrates of the counties and towns were to be removed, and protestants put in their places, who would use their credit and authority to have such representatives returned, as were proper for the execution of the intended design. Lastly, That it was absolutely necessary not to leave any zealous catholick in the council, or in any other office which influenced the subject: That when the reformation should be once established by publick authority, it would be easy to subdue the clergy, by depriving the bishops and most obstinate ecclesiasticks, and by removing in the universities the masters and professors who were most averse to the new establishment.

A consultation to restore the reformed religion. Camden.

Burnet, t. ii. p. 372. Collect. p. 327.

Eliz.

1558.

As for the obstacles from abroad, it was considered, that the pope was not formidable in himself, and his thunders were thrown away upon those who despised them: That a contempt of him was the ready way to conquer, provided the kingdom was put in a posture of defence: That indeed it was to be feared the king of France would assert the claim of the queen of Scotland, but that the king of Spain was too wise to suffer so great an accession to the monarchy of France, as England and Ireland: That from whatever quarter the mischief came, whether from France or Spain, Henry and Philip would always be jealous of each other, and the assistance of one of them might be safely relied on: That if the king of France offered peace, it ought to be embraced on any terms, as Scotland would be included in the league: but if he was for continuing the war, all the danger would be, his powerfully assisting the Scots to invade England: That therefore the northern frontiers were to be secured, after which a good fleet would so endanger any succours sent to France, that without doubt that kingdom would soon grow weary of so burthenome a war: That besides, it was unlikely that Philip, in the negotiation of peace, would abandon England to the king of France's ambition: That a peace thus concluded with France and Scotland would afford time at least to provide against their attacks ^e.

The queen summons a parliament. Camden.

Puts out a proclamation relating to religion. Camden. Burnet.

Such was the result of this council, after which the queen summoned a parliament to meet the 23d of January, according to the resolution taken therein. At the same time, doctor Parker was intrusted with the care of revising the liturgy of Edward VI, and was ordered to communicate his labours only to some chosen persons ^d. Mean time, the protestants growing impatient, and preaching publicly in several places, the queen took occasion to publish a proclamation, which

^e Beal, clerk of the council, gave this advice to sir William Cecil, whilst the consultation was held about restoring religion: That the parliaments under queen Mary should be declared void, as the first was under a force; and the title of supreme head was left out in the summons to the next, before it was taken away by law; from whence he inferred, that these had been no true parliaments, and consequently the laws of Edward were still in force; but this proposal was rejected. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 376.

^d The persons employed in this re-

vival were, according to Camden, Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely, Dr. May, Dr. Bill, Dr. James Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham, sir Thomas Smith, Mr. David Whitehead, Mr. Edmund Grindal, afterwards bishop of London, and then archbishop of Canterbury. The management of this affair, and the care to have it done, was left to William Parr marquis of Northampton, Francis Russell earl of Bedford, John Grey of Pyrgo, and sir William Cecil. Camden, p. 341.

clearly

clearly showed her intentions. She allowed the gospels and epistles, with the Lord's prayer, creed, litany, and ten commandments, to be read in English, but forbade all preaching on controversial subjects, or any change in the Romish rites, till it should be otherwise appointed by the parliament. In this she followed the steps of the deceased queen.

Queen Mary's funeral, which was solemnized with great pomp, finished this year¹. But before we proceed to the events of the next, it is necessary to describe the affairs of the neighbouring states.

The war between France and Spain was manifestly drawing to a conclusion. The two kings, equally weary of a war from which neither could expect any advantage, had kept their armies all the campaign in a state of inaction, for fear of obstructing a peace. At last the constable of Montmorency, who had been prisoner in the Low Countries ever since the battle of St. Quentin, having made some overtures of peace to Philip, the principal articles were settled; after which, the two kings sent their plenipotentiaries to Crecamp, and then to Cambray. The principal obstacle to a peace was the king of France's resolution to keep Calais, and Philip and Mary's insisting upon its being restored. But Mary dying, Philip no longer supported the interests of England with the same ardour as before, at least when he despaired of marrying Elizabeth. It was that expectation which caused him to stand out some time, and delay the conclusion of the peace till the following year.

The 14th of March, Ferdinand I. was declared emperor by the voluntary resignation of Charles V. his brother, who enjoyed but two years the repose he had chosen in relinquishing the care of his worldly concerns. He died the 17th of September².

As Scotland is to afford materials for great part of Elizabeth's history, a very particular account must be given of the affairs of that kingdom. Without an accurate knowledge of what passed in Scotland, Elizabeth's conduct and policy cannot be understood.

¹ She was buried on December 13, in Henry VII's chapel, on the north side of that king's monument. Stow, p. 635. White bishop of Winchester preached the funeral sermon, in which he applauded the late reign, and lamented the present state of affairs with such freedom, that it was proper to shew some resentment, and accordingly

he was confined to his house till the meeting of the parliament. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 378.

* Rapin by mistake says, he lived but six months after his resignation. He resigned his Spanish dominions, October 25, 1555, and the empire, January 17, 1556, and died September 20, 1558. Strada, l. 1.

Eliz.
1558.

Queen Mary
buried.
Camden.

Affairs of
France and
Spain.
Mzerai.
Thuanus.
Burnet.

Death of
Charles V.
Strada.

Affairs of
Scotland.

The

Eliz.
1558.

Buchanan.

Melvil's
Memoirs.

The queen dowager of Scotland, mother of the queen dauphineis, obtained the regency of that kingdom by the interest of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine her brothers, but was supported only by the protestants. The earl of Arran, chief of the house of Hamilton, had unwillingly resigned the regency, though his resignation procured him the dutchy of Chatelerault in France¹, with twelve thousand livres a year in land. The archbishop of St. Andrew's his natural brother incessantly blamed his imprudence, and by his cabals amongst the clergy gave disturbance to the regent. To break the measures of this prelate, she turned to the protestants, who were now grown considerable. This method succeeded, but withal she was obliged to connive at the meetings of the protestants, and this indulgence greatly increased their number and strength.

Buchanan.

Things remained in this state till the breach between France and Spain. As England espoused the cause of Philip II, and the regent of Scotland could not possibly induce the Scots to declare war with Mary, she advised the king of France to hasten the dauphin's marriage with the young queen, and accordingly it was solemnized in April 1558. This gave a considerable turn to the affairs of Scotland. The clergy, knowing how the court of France stood affected to the followers of the new religion, did not question to be supported in their attempt to reduce the protestants within the pale of the Romish church. On the other hand, the regent no longer wanting the protestants, began to look more coldly on them. To begin the work, the archbishop of St. Andrew's having summoned before him an aged priest^m, who had discontinued the mass, ordered him to be burnt alive in his archiepiscopal city, to the great grief and discontent of the inhabitants. This essay being made, the bishops cited a minister called Paul Messan, with design to make him suffer the same punishment, but as they saw the people began to be moved, the trial was deferred to another opportunity. Some time after, a procession annually made at Edinburghⁿ raised a sort of commotion, which showed that the protestants were not afraid to appear. The regent had a farther conviction, when she was told that Messan, condemned for non-appearance, was openly protected in the county of Fife. These were as preludes to what was to follow. In fine, some gentlemen of Fife

¹ In Poitou.

^m His name was Walter Mills, who was cited before the bishops, abbots, and divines. Buchanan, l. 16.

ⁿ September 1, St. Giles's day, whom the inhabitants of Edinburgh honour as their patron. Buthan. l. 16.

and Angus, dispersing themselves through the counties, encouraged the protestants to stand upon their defence, and not suffer their lives to be taken away on pretence of religion, demonstrating to them that their number was greater in Scotland than that of the catholicks. This occasioned an association under the hands and seals of the associators, and was the first that was formed in Scotland in defence of the new religion. The protestants perceiving themselves stronger since the association, which was called the congregation, sent to the regent a petition, that the worship of God might be in the vulgar tongue, and the communion given in both kinds, which was strongly opposed by the bishops. But the regent being told, that an absolute refusal might throw all Scotland into a flame, she endeavoured to soften the bishops by a promise of her protection at a more seasonable juncture. Mean time, she permitted the protestants to celebrate divine service in their own tongue, provided this was done without tumults or publick assemblies in Edinburgh and Leith*. But the clergy not liking this politick circumspection of the regent, met together to consult upon the affair, and resolved to prosecute the hereticks with the extremest rigour. The protestants deputed John Areskin, afterwards earl of Mar, to the bishops assembled, to demand of them that divine service might be performed in the vulgar tongue; but this was unanimously rejected. Such was the situation of the affairs in Scotland, when Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, and till the end of the year 1558.

Eliz.

1558.

Burnet,
tom. ii.
p. 281-287.
Collect.
p. 278-288.

Buchanan.

In the beginning of the following year, Elizabeth conferred honours on some persons whom she was pleased to distinguish, whether on account of their merit, or because she expected some important services from them. William Parr marquis of Northampton, who had been sentenced to death in the reign of Mary and afterwards pardoned, was restored to his honours. Edward Seymour, eldest son of the late duke of Somerset, was created earl of Hertford, notwithstanding all the precautions of the duke his father, to cause his titles to descend to the children of his second marriage†. Thomas

1559.

Several poems
created.
Camden.
Stow.
A. G. Publ.
xv. p. 495.
496.

* Buchanan and Melvil differ in relation to the time when this toleration was granted to the reformed. Rapin.

† Rapin here is entirely mistaken, for this Edward Seymour was his eldest son by his second wife lady Anna Stanhope, on whose issue he procured an act to settle the titles and estate, and not Ed-

ward Seymour his eldest surviving son by his first wife Catherine Fittol, who was disinherited to gratify the pride and ambition of his last wife, and never enjoyed any title. It is not unworthy notice, that upon the extinction of the youngest line of this family by the second marriage in 1750, the eldest branch seated

Eliz:
1559.

The queen's
coronation.
Camden.
Barnet.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The parliament meets,
and is opened
by a speech
of Bacon,
keeper of the
great seal.
Sir S.
D'Ewe's
Journ. p. 11.

mas Howard, second son of the duke of Norfolk, was created viscount Bindon. Henry Carey, the queen's cousin [†], and Oliver St. John, were raised to the dignity of barons. All these peers were protestants, and consequently very proper to promote the queen's designs in the house of lords.

These promotions being over, the queen was crowned in Westminster abbey [†], with the usual ceremonies. The see of Canterbury being vacant, this office belonged to the archbishop of York, but he, with the other bishops, refused to assist at the solemnity, because Elizabeth by proclamation, and by admitting into her council, men who passed not for good catholics, had sufficiently declared against the church of Rome. Oglethorp of Carlisle was the only bishop that at last was persuaded to do the office, notwithstanding the murmurs of his brethren. It seems that the bishops thought the ministry of a bishop so essential to a coronation, that, in refusing to perform the ceremony, they could deprive the queen of her dignity.

The parliament meeting the 25th of January [‡], sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal [§], opened it with a speech, in which he displayed the merits of the new queen, with severe reflections on the late ministry for the loss of Calais. He told them; that the queen desired an immediate application to the affairs of religion; that a division in that respect was one of the evils which called for the most speedy redress. He exhorted the parliament to proceed between the two extremes of superstition and irreligion, which might reunite the adherents of both religions in the same public worship.

Sent at Maiden-Bradley, Wilts, descended from the last mentioned Edward so distinguished, succeeded to the dukedom of Somerset, after having been excluded full two hundred years.

[‡] Her cousin-german by Mary Bonny.

[†] January 14, Stow, p. 635. The 15th, says Sanford, p. 509; and the 25th, according to Hollingsh. p. 1180. But it appears from Rymer's Foed. that it was on the 15th. A patent was granted to Henry Fitz-Alan earl of Arundel, to perform the office of high constable on the day before the coronation, and the office of high steward on the coronation-day. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 494, 495.

[‡] It met the 23d, and was prorogued

to the 25th.

[§] He was the first that was by patent created lord keeper. Formerly those that were keepers of the seal, had no dignity nor authority annexed to their office; they did not hear causes, nor preside in the house of lords, but were only to put the seals to such writs or patents as went in course; and so the seal was only put in the hands of the keeper, but for some short interval. But now Bacon was the first lord keeper that had all the dignity and authority of lord chancellor conferred on him. He was father to the great sir Francis Bacon, viscount St. Alban's, and was one of the most learned, most pious, and wisest men of the nation. Barnet, tom. ii. p. 380.

Dr.

Dr. Burnet has so largely described in his history the manner of restoring the reformation in England by the parliament, that I believe I may be excused descending to particulars, and the more, as this subject chiefly relates to church history. I shall content myself therefore with only pointing to the acts made in this session, to spare the reader the trouble of turning over his history. I shall however observe, that this author seems to have been mistaken in placing the acts (most of which were made in February and March) after the peace, which was not concluded till April. But this is not very material.

At first, to try how the parliament was inclined, a motion was made in the lower house for restoring to the crown the tithes and first-fruits, first-fruits, and impropriations, surrendered by queen Mary. This motion was immediately approved; and the restored to the crown. Statut. the house of lords consented to it, notwithstanding the opposition of the bishops.

The 4th of February, the house of commons addressed the queen in a very dutiful manner, and represented to her how necessary it was for the happiness of the nation, that she should think of marrying. The queen graciously thanked the commons, and told them how much she was pleased that they had neither limited time nor place. She added, that by the ceremony of her inauguration, she was married to her people, and her subjects were to her instead of children: they would not want a successor when she died; and, for her part, she would be well contented, that the marble should tell posterity, **HERE LIES A QUEEN THAT REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIVED AND DIED A VIRGIN.** The commons address the queen to marry. Her answer.

Some days after, the lords passed a bill to recognize Elizabeth as a lawful queen, in virtue of an act of the 35th of Henry VIII. Some thought it strange that the sentence of her mother's divorce, and the subsequent act declaring Elizabeth illegitimate, were not annulled. Camden says, this distinction was with design, and Burnet reports the reasons which determined the house of lords to be silent on this point. An act to recognise the queen's right to the crown. Burnet, t. ii. p. 385. Camden, Ann. p. 372. The first was, that the possession of the crown purged all defects, according to a received maxim when Henry VII. mounted the throne. But this reason had not appeared sufficient to Mary, who was in the same case with Elizabeth,

* This bill was read in the house of lords, January 30, 31, and February 4; and in the house of commons, February 6, 17, and 21. The bishops that opposed it were, Heath archbishop of York, Bonner bishop of London, Pates of Worcester, Kitching of Landaff, Bayne of Coventry, Turbeville of Exeter, Scot of Chester, Ogtherop of Carlisle. D'Ewes's Journ. p. 19.

Eliz.

1559.

and yet had procured a repeal of that act, which declared her illegitimate. The second reason was, that this act could not be repealed, without casting some dishonour on the memory of Henry VIII, and it was the queen's interest rather to conceal than publicly expose her father's weakness. I own this reason appears to me very unsatisfactory. For why was the reputation of Henry VIII. to be spared, if it could not be done without endangering the safety of the reigning queen? Besides, it was not exposing faults which till then had been concealed, but faults known to all the world. The third reason was, that too scrupulous an inquiry on this head, would render the queen's right more uncertain instead of making it less disputable. This probably was the prevailing reason, though to suffer the sentence and act to subsist seems to have been equally dangerous. It was establishing a precedent in favour of bastards, which might have ill consequences. And who knows but it may still affect future ages? Besides, this regard for the honour of Henry left an eternal blot upon the memory of Elizabeth. At least her enemies, and particularly the queen of Scotland, were thereby furnished with a plausible pretence to wrest the scepter from her, if a favourable opportunity offered. Dr. Burnet thinks the conduct of this parliament equally pious and wise. I allow the first: but the continued endeavours to dethrone Elizabeth, wholly founded on the sentence of her mother's divorce and the subsequent act, will not permit me to believe it wisdom to leave them unrepealed.

The act to recognize the queen's title being passed, the parliament turned to the affairs of religion, and made divers statutes, which I shall but just mention.

The first appointed the publick worship to be performed in the vulgar tongue.

The second restored the queen to her right of supremacy in the church of England.

The third renewed and confirmed all the acts made in the reign of Edward VI. concerning religion. And in this many others were included.

The fourth restored to the queen the nomination of the bishops. By this statute likewise many others were confirmed, made in the reign of Henry VIII. against the pope. The queen was empowered to put the exercise of her supremacy into what hands she should think proper. Moreover,

And accordingly it began to be so on May 8, which was Whitunday. Stow, p. 639.

all persons in publick employments were obliged to swear, Eliz. 1559.
 that 'they acknowledged the queen to be the supreme go-
 vernor in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal'; that
 'they renounced all foreign jurisdiction, and should bear the
 queen true allegiance.' Whosoever refused this oath was
 declared incapable of holding any publick office. Lastly,
 divers penalties were enacted against any, who by word or
 writing tended to set forth or advance any foreign power in
 the kingdom.

The fifth act established uniformity in divine worship *.

By a sixth, the parliament empowered the queen to reserve
 to herself the lands belonging to the bishopricks, as they be-
 came void, giving in lieu of them their full value in improp-
 riated tythes.

By a seventh act, all religious houses were annexed to the
 crown.

By an eighth, the deprivation of popish bishops in king
 Edward's reign was declared valid.

In a word, the parliament in this session restored religion
 to the same state as in Edward VI's reign, and after a grant
 of a subsidy, two tenths, and two fifteenths, with tunnage
 and poundage for the queen's life, it was dissolved the 8th of
 May 7.

Among the bishops then in England, some there were who
 had complied with all the changes in religion since Henry's
 breach with the pope. Of this number were, Heath arch-
 bishop of York, Tonsal bishop of Durham, Thirleby bishop
 of Ely, and some others. These chose to absent themselves
 from the parliament, because, as they saw the queen's inten-
 tion, they durst neither openly oppose it, nor assist in restoring
 the reformation, after so publick a desertion of it in the last
 reign. Both appeared to them equally incommodious. Other
 bishops strongly opposed these acts, but with no success.
 Some of the lay-peers also endeavoured to stem the torrent,
 and even entered their protests, but their number was very
 small. To say all in a word, the same thing happened in
 this as in the parliament under Henry, Edward, and Mary,
 that is, the court caused to be enacted almost whatever they

* The dissentients from it were, the
 archbishop of York, the marquis of
 Winchester, the earl of Shrewsbury, the
 viscount Montague; the bishops of Lon-
 don, Ely, Worcester, Landaff, Coven-
 try, Exeter, and Chester; the lords
 Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton,
 Rich, and North. D'Ewes, p. 28.

† This parliament granted the queen
 a subsidy of 2 s. 8 d. in the pound of
 goods, and 4 s. of lands, to be paid at
 two several payments. They also granted
 her two tenths, and two fifteenths, and
 tunnage and poundage for life, as they
 were granted to Edward VI. and Mary.
 Stevens. Siew, p. 639.

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THE HISTORY

pleased. This is not very strange with regard to the house of commons, where the members may be changed every new parliament; but the readiness wherewith the house of lords consented, one while to acts favouring the reformation, another while to those establishing the Romish religion, is much more surprising.

The high
commission
erected.
Burnet.

The supremacy with which the queen was lately invested, with power to depute any persons to exercise it in her name, gave rise to a new court, called the High Commission Court. It was composed of a certain number of commissioners, who exercised the same power, which had been formerly lodged by Henry VIII. in a single person with the title of Vicegerent.

The queen
forbids to
preach with-
out licence.
Burnet.

While the parliament was taken up with affairs of religion, some preachers having in divers places delivered doctrines from the pulpit, tending to overthrow the reformation, the queen, following the precedent set her by Edward and Mary, forbid all preaching without a special licence under the great seal. This fired the lower house of convocation, and produced a petition to the queen, in which were boldly asserted the doctrines of the church of Rome. This gave occasion to a proposition for a conference between nine doctors on each side to examine the reasons of both. The conference was held the beginning of April. But the Roman catholics reflecting, that they had undertaken more than they could answer, in thus bringing the doctrines of their religion into question without being authorized by the pope, refused to give their reasons in writings, though that had been agreed. At last, they plainly declared, it was not in their power to dispute on points already decided². They had not been so scrupulous in the reign of Mary, because then the success of the conference was known beforehand. This gave the protestants cause to triumph, and pretend that their adversaries durst not enter the lists.

A confer-
ence on re-
ligion comes
to nothing.
Fox, t. iii.
p. 979, &c.
Burnet,
t. ii. p. 388.
Stow.

² The points to be discussed in this conference were, worship in an unknown tongue, the power of particular churches to alter rites and ceremonies, and the propitiatory sacrifice in the mass. The conference was begun the 31st of March in Westminster abbey, before the privy-council, both houses of parliament, and infinite crouds of people. The protestant disputants were, Storie bishop of Chichester, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Horne, Sands, Guest, Ailmer, and Jewel. And the popish were, the bishops of Win-

chester, Lincoln, Carlisle, Chester, Coventry and Litchfield, Cole dean of St. Paul's, Langdal archdeacon of Lewes, Harpsfield archdeacon of Canterbury, and Chedsey archdeacon of Middlesex. The bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, seeing their cause in great danger, said, that the faith of the church ought not to be examined but in a synod of divines. That the queen and council ought to be excommunicated, for suffering the catholick faith to be argued before an unlearned multitude. Fox, t. iii. p. 979, &c.

To

To finish what I have to say at present on religion, I shall Eliz.
only add that the reformation having been established by pub- 1559.
lick authority, of 9400 beneficed clergymen in the king-
dom, only fourteen bishops^a, twelve archdeacons, fifteen
heads of colleges, fifty canons, and about eighty parochial
priests, chose to quit their preferments rather than their reli-
gion. Their places being filled with protestants, England
became entirely reformed, very shortly after having seen the
reformed sent to the flames. It is now time to return to po-
litical affairs.

The number
of clergymen
who refused
to comply
with the re-
formation.
Camden.
Burnet.
Aft. Pub.

While Philip had any hopes of marrying Elizabeth, his ple-
nipotentiaries, assembled with those of England and France
at Cateau in Cambresis, insisted upon the restitution of Calais
to the crown of England. But when his expectations were
disappointed by the change in England, with regard to reli-
gion, he deserted Elizabeth and made a separate peace, or at
least settled with France the principal articles. It is pretended
that in the treaty, by which France resigned 198 places to
Spain or her allies in exchange for three only, there was a se-
cret article of a mutual promise between the two kings to ex-
tirpate hereticks. This done, the Spaniards, from parties, as
they were before, became mediators between France and Eng-
land. But they acted so faintly, that it was plain they did
not much concern themselves in Elizabeth's affairs. Philip's
defection therefore obliged the queen to conclude a peace on
any terms, the continuation of the war being no way favour-
able to her affairs, or to the measures she was now taking to
introduce the reformation in England. By a treaty therefore
signed the 2d of April, it was agreed,

xv. p. 543,
562, 582.
Elizabeth's
reasons for
peace with
France.
Camden.

Mezerai.

That the king of France should have Calais and the other
places in Picardy conquered upon the English, eight years;
after which, he should be obliged to restore them to the queen
of England.

Aft. Pub.
xv. p. 505.
Camden.
Hollingsh.

That within the space of six months, seven foreign mer-
chants, not subjects of the French king, should engage for
the payment of 500,000 crowns of gold to Elizabeth, as a
penal fine, in case the restitution of the places within the
time limited, was either refused or delayed by Henry or his
successors. And that notwithstanding, whether the said sum

^a These bishops were, Heath arch-
bishop of York, Bonner bishop of Lon-
don, Thirleby of Ely, Bourn of Bath
and Wells, Christopher of Chichester,
Bain of Litchfield, White of Winches-
ter, Watson of Lincoln, Oglethorpe of

Carlisle, Turbeville of Exeter, Pole of
Peterborough, Scot of Chester, Pates of
Worcester, and Goldwell of St. Asaph.
Burnet, tom. ii. p. 396. By whom
they were succeeded, see *ibid.* p. 402,
403. and in Camden, p. 377.

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‘ was paid or not paid, the king of France and his successors should remain under the obligation to restore Calais and the other places, as they engaged by this treaty.’ Moreover, that the king of France should deliver to the queen, as hostages till the promised security was given, Ferry de Foix count of Candale, and Captal of Buch, Lewis de St. Maure marquis of Nefle and count of Laval, Gaston de Foix marquis of Trans, Antoine du Prat president of the parliament of Paris, and the lord Nantouillet.

A remark
upon this
article.

These are the express words of the treaty, of which the French historians give us only the pretended meaning, by turning them after their own manner. Mezerai says, ‘ It was covenanted that Henry should either restore Calais and the other conquests, or if he liked it better, the sum of 500,000 crowns, which being referred to his opinion, there was no doubt he would keep this place, which was the key of his kingdom.’

Neither has Father Daniel given us the very terms of the treaty, which perhaps he had never seen. He contents himself with relating the sense, adding an explication which entirely changes the nature of the treaty. ‘ Elizabeth’ (says this historian) ‘ could not without giving offence to the English make an absolute surrender of Calais to France. Besides, she saw the king determined not to part with it; a middle way was therefore taken, which left this prince in possession of Calais for eight years, at the end of which he promised to restore it, on forfeiture of 500,000 crowns to the English. That notwithstanding this payment, which was to be made on a refusal or delay of restitution, the English were allowed to use force for the recovery of Calais.’ By these last words he explains the sense of those in the original treaty—— ‘ That whether the sum was paid or not paid, the king of France and his successors should be bound to the restitution of Calais, as they engaged by the treaty.’ This shows how we ought to be upon our guard against the national partiality of historians. I shall add here upon this article, that Calais never was restored, that the 500,000 crowns were never paid, and when Elizabeth demanded Calais at the expiration of the term, the court of France founded their refusal upon some generalities, and not upon the treaty itself, as they might have done, supposing what these two historians have related.

Continuation
of the
treaty of
Cateau.

Another article of the treaty was, that neither the king of France, nor the king and queen of Scotland, nor the queen of England, should attempt any thing against one another,
directly

directly or indirectly, in prejudice of this treaty. That if the queen of England violated this article, the king of France and the king and queen of Scotland should be freed from their engagements, and their hostages and securities be discharged. In like manner, if the violation came from the king of France, he should be obliged to restore Calais, and the other places, as if the eight years were expired; and if he refused to make the restitution, the securities and hostages should still remain bound.

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That the fortifications of Aymouth, and all others made in Scotland since the treaty of Boulogne, should be demolished.

That all the other pretensions of the king of France, of the king and queen of Scotland, and of the queen of England, with all their exceptions, should remain entire, in the expectation that Providence would produce some good opportunity to terminate them by a peace.

That the forementioned princes or princesses should not afford a retreat or protection to each other's rebels, but reciprocally deliver them to one another.

The same day a treaty was signed between the queen of England and the king and queen of Scotland, of which these are the principal articles.

Treaty with
Scotland.
Act. Pub.
xv. p. 513.

That neither of the parties should attack the dominions now possessed by the other, neither in person or otherwise.

That they should give no aid to attack the dominions of one another to any person, in whatsoever degree of consanguinity or affinity he might be related to them, or whatever might be his quality.

That they should not receive or entertain rebels, fugitives, malefactors, &c.

That in three months, the fortifications of Aymouth, and all others erected in Scotland since the treaty of 1549, should be razed.

That all other mutual claims and pretensions should remain entire.

That in two months, commissioners should be appointed on both sides, to settle certain articles, concerning which the ambassadors of France were not sufficiently instructed.

Francis and Mary ratified the treaty the 18th of April, and the 31st of May the commissioners of the two kingdoms at Upsalinton signed a second treaty upon the articles left undecided in the first.

Ibid. p. 516,
526.

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Elizabeth having concluded a peace with France and Scotland with more ease and honour than she had reason to expect, flattered herself she was going to enjoy a settled tranquillity. But she quickly perceived, she had little cause to triumph. Henry II. had made a peace with her, only because Philip II. who had engaged Mary his queen in the war, was resolved not to sign the peace before Elizabeth had concluded her's. It was of little moment to Philip, that she found great advantages in the peace, or the king of France observed his treaty with her, provided it appeared to the world that Spain had not deserted England. This was all he desired, and probably what facilitated the peace. Henry II. granted no doubt more than he intended to perform, as well to give that satisfaction to the king of Spain, as to disengage him from the interests of England. He soon discovered he had no other intention.

Henry II. orders the dauphin and his spouse to take the arms of England. Melvil, p. 23. Camden. Buchanan. The English ambassador makes complaints to no purpose. Camden. Mezerai. Melvil,

Ambassadors from France being come to Brussels to see the peace sworn, secretary Ardoyn, who was there from the dauphin king and the queen dauphiness, gave them the titles of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland. Shortly after, Elizabeth heard that the king of France had ordered Francis and Mary to assume the same titles, and quarter the arms of England in their seal, their plate, their furniture, that no one might be ignorant of their pretensions. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador in France, complained of this usurpation with great freedom, but the frivolous answer to his complaints let him see the little regard France had for his mistresses. Mezerai says, the ambassador was told, that this was agreeable to the custom of Germany, where the cadets or younger branches bore the title and arms of the chief of their family ^b. Camden adds, that the court of France pretended, that all princes and princesses had a right to bear the arms of their house with a bar. But, besides that Francis and Mary bore them without any such distinction, they moreover assumed the title of king and queen of England ^c. In short, the court of France being pressed upon the affair, answered the ambassador, that the king and queen of Scotland had only taken the arms of England to

^b Melvil says, Throckmorton got but Dutch excuses; for the French court alledged, that in Dutchland all the princes, brothers, cousins, or children, are stiled princes, or dukes of the same house, p. 23.

^c At the late congress, the cardinal of Lorraine told the Spanish commis-

sioners, "That his niece, the queen of Scots, was the true and undoubted queen of England, and that the king of Spain ought to endeavour to have Calais put into the hands of his niece, who was the rightful queen of England." Camden, p. 373.

oblige Elizabeth to quit those of France. To this Throckmorton replied, that twelve kings of England had carried the arms and title of kings of France, without being obliged by any treaty to quit them. But his reasons were not heard, and notwithstanding all his complaints, Francis and Mary still bore the title they had usurped. Camden affirms, the constable of Montmorency by his arguments induced them to relinquish it, but assuredly he is mistaken. Thus, though the court of France would not openly declare their thoughts of Elizabeth, it was manifest she was regarded as a bastard, and the crown of England was pretended to be devolved upon Mary. Accordingly, Elizabeth did not suffer herself to be deceived. From that time she considered Mary as a dangerous rival, and the princes of Lorraine her uncles, the authors of this usurpation, as her most mortal enemies. The death of Henry, a little after, instead of discouraging the design to place Mary on the throne of England, only gave it fresh vigour. The duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine, governing all under Francis II. successor to Henry, never ceased inciting the young king to send forces into Scotland, to render himself absolute master of the kingdom, and then attack Elizabeth from that quarter. But because this project was founded upon the present situation of the Scotch affairs, it is necessary to resume the recital at the place where I left off the last year.

Shortly after the marriage of the young queen with the dauphin, the affairs of Scotland began to be terribly embroiled. The princes of Lorraine having formed the design to attack England by Scotland, believed it impracticable till the king and queen were rendered absolute in their kingdom. They knew it would be difficult to persuade the states of Scotland to be the instruments of their ambition in making war upon Elizabeth, in order to place the crown of England on the head of their queen. The number of protestants was now so considerable in Scotland, that they were almost masters in the assemblies of the states. Consequently, it appeared impossible to draw them into the project of dethroning a protestant queen, (who was establishing their religion in England) in order to place a catholic queen on that throne, who would thereby be enabled to destroy the reformation in both kingdoms. It was therefore necessary to find an excuse for sending an army into Scotland to strengthen the catholic party, which probably would be more ready and zealous to favour the enterprize. It was with this view, that they obtained of Henry II. an order to the queen-regent, and to d'Oysel, com-
Sequel of the
affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.

Melvil,
p. 23.

Eliz. 1559. **mander of the French and Scots forces in the pay of France, to suffer no other religion in Scotland than the Roman catholic^d. • They easily foresaw, this order would produce troubles in Scotland, and furnish them with a pretence to send thither an army.**

Melvil. The regent, upon the receipt of the order, began to execute it with publishing an edict • conformable to the king's will, or rather of the two princes his brothers, who, as will hereafter be seen, had not discovered their whole project to the king. The protestants, in several deputations to the queen-regent, represented to her the unseasonableness of rigour, considering their number, but she would hearken to nothing. At this time, the city of Perth, alias St. John's-town, having publickly embraced the reformed religion, the regent summoned the states to Sterling, and cited thither the reformed ministers, in order to banish them the kingdom by a solemn decree^f. The ministers appeared at Sterling to defend their cause, being attended with infinite crowds of people unarmed, who were come to assist them in their defence, agreeably to the custom of Scotland^e. The regent, astonished at the sight, prayed John Areskin to prevail with the multitudes to retire, promising that nothing should be decreed in the states against the ministers. Areskin succeeded, and the ministers with all their attendants withdrew. But they were no sooner gone than they were condemned for non-appearance, according to the citation. Areskin was so enraged to be made the queen's instrument to deceive the protestants, that he resolved to be revenged. For that purpose, he went to the nobility of Strathern, Angus, and Merns, who were assembled upon the news of what passed at Sterling, and persuaded them to take up arms.

Buchanan.
Burnet.

This news being brought to Perth, Knox the minister, a celebrated preacher, animated the people by a sermon, which, while the principal citizens were at dinner, sent the rabble into the churches, who broke the images and entirely destroyed the monastery of the Carthusians. The inhabitants

^d The pope, emperor, and kings of Spain and France, had then entered into a combination to reduce again the most part of Europe to the Roman catholic religion, and to pursue and punish with fire and sword all hereticks who would not condescend to the same. Melvil, p. 23.

^e A little before Easter. Item,

p. 24.

^f She also ordered Patric Ruthen,

mayer of Perth, to suppress all tumults for innovating of religion, who answered her, That he had power over the bodies and estates of the inhabitants, and those he would take care should do no hurt, but that he had no dominion over their consciences. Buchan. l. 16.

^g Criminals were allowed to come to those trials attended with their relations and friends. Rapin.

of Cuper immediately followed the example of the people of Perth. The regent vexed to see her edict contemned, and willing to prevent the consequences of this disobedience, resolved to chastise the inhabitants of Perth. To that end, she assembled some forces, and attended by the earls of Argyle and Athol marched directly to Perth. But approaching the town, she was informed the earl of Glencarne ^h was incamped in the neighbourhood with seven thousand men. This news determined her to offer the earl and his associates certain conditions, which were accepted. Amongst other articles it was agreed, that the Scotch forces on both sides should be dismissed, and the French removed at a certain distance from Perth ⁱ: that the queen should be respectfully received into the city, and suffered to lodge in it some days, provided she would make no alterations: lastly, that the differences concerning religion should be referred to the decision of the states. The confederates having dismissed their forces, the regent came to Perth, and entered with some Scotch troops in the pay of France, which was considered by the confederates as a violation of the treaty ^k. But this was not all they had cause to complain of. The regent restored the maff in Perth, and resolving to make it a place of arms, left a garrison in the town.

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Hence the earl of Argyle and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, and natural son to James V. took occasion to declare against the regent, and levy forces to support the protestants. They had some time before embraced the reformation, though hitherto they had adhered to the regent. Shortly after, the inhabitants of St. Andrew's and some other towns, declaring themselves protestants, committed several disorders in the catholick churches. Whereupon the regent assembled an army, composed of two thousand French and one thousand Scots, and giving the command to the duke of Chauteleraut sent him to chastise the inhabitants of Cuper, who had declared themselves next after those of Perth. But the duke hearing the confederates were marching with superior forces to give him battle, informed the regent of it, who was then at Falkland. She tried at first to amuse them with new propositions, till she had reinforced her army. But the confederates perceiving her artifice, marched to Perth, and became

Melvil.

Buchanan.

^h Alexander Cunningham.

ⁱ By the Scotch forces were commonly understood the natives which were in the pay of the kingdom; and by the French, not only those forces which were sent

from France, but those Scots likewise which were in the pay of France.

^k By reason of the equivocal meaning of the term Scotch forces. Rapin.

masters

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masters of the town in a few days. Afterwards Scone, Sterling, and Linlithgo, were secured by them, and as their army daily increased, the regent and d'Oyfel were obliged to withdraw to Dunbar.

Melvil,
p. 25.
Thuanus.

Mean time, the regent had writ to the court of France, that James prior of St. Andrew's was the principal author of the troubles of Scotland, and that, being natural son of James V. he designed to seize the crown. The princes of Lorrain, brothers to the regent, embraced this occasion to insinuate to Henry II. that religion was not concerned in the troubles of Scotland, and was only made the pretence to wrest the crown from the dauphin and the queen his spouse. By this insinuation, they had inspired the king with the resolution of sending a good army into Scotland, and he had now begun his levies in Germany. But the constable of Montmorency having discovered the design of these princes to engage him in very difficult projects, prevailed with him to proceed no farther, till he was more particularly informed of the Scotch troubles. The business was only to find a person in whom the king could confide. The constable offered James Melvil, a Scotch gentleman, his domestick, and gave him his instructions in the presence of the king himself. These instructions were, as he says himself in his Memoirs, "That
" the king had been informed by the cardinal of Lorrain,
" that James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, pretended, under
" colour of religion, to usurp the kingdom unto himself;
" and that the king desired to know certainly, if this was the
" source from whence the troubles in that kingdom flowed;
" or whether Stuart was moved to take up arms only for
" conscience sake, in defence of his religion, himself, his
" dependants and associates. In the first case, the king was
" resolved to hazard his crown, and all that he had, rather
" than that the queen his daughter-in-law should be robbed
" of her right; and he resolved to send an army to Scotland
" for that effect, though he would gladly shun the trouble
" thereof, if it were possible. That in the second case, if
" it were only religion that moved the Scots, the king would
" have no concern in their affairs, but committed their souls
" unto God, for he had difficulty enough to rule the con-
" sciences of Frenchmen. And it was the obedience due
" unto their lawful queen, with the body, that the king de-
" sired. That finally, he could not persuade himself, that
" the Scots had made an insurrection against the regent with-
" out cause, and therefore desired to know if the regent had
" broke her word with them; if so, by whom and at whose
" in-

p. 25.

"instance. That if d'Oysel, who was reported to be choleric, hasty, and too passionate, was not acceptable to the Scots, he would send some other in his room, who, he hoped, should please them." This shows, the king had been ill informed by the cardinal of Lorrain, to engage him to send an army into Scotland, and of this probably the constable meant to give him a demonstration, by the report Melvil was to make him. In effect, Melvil having had a conference with the queen regent at Falkland, and afterwards with the prior of St. Andrew's, reported to the king, that the prior was so far from the thoughts of aspiring to the crown, that he was ready to banish himself perpetually out of Scotland on the first orders from his majesty¹.

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Henry II. being dead before Melvil returned to Paris^m, the confederate Scots preposterously imagined, there was no farther danger, and most of them returned to their homes. The regent and d'Oysel being informed of it, resolved to improve this negligence, and marched with some troops to Edinburgh, hoping to surprize those who remained there. But the duke of Chateleraut and the earl of Morton, knowing the confederates were arming again with all possible diligence, waited on the regent, and persuaded her to consent to a truce from the 24th of July to the 10th of January. The truce was equally necessary to both parties. The confederates wanted to put themselves in a posture of defence; and the regent hoped, that in that interval she should receive a powerful aid from her son-in-law the king of France. Accordingly, at the solicitation of the princes of Lorrain, he immediately sent her a thousand foot, with the promise of a more considerable supply.

Buchanan.
Melvil.

During these transactions, the earl of Arran, son to the duke of Chateleraut, being at the court of France, and receiving notice that he was to be arrested on some pretence, made his escape, and came for Scotland. As he was, after the duke his father, next heir to the young queen, he believed, upon some well or ill grounded advices, that the duke of Guise and cardinal of Lorrain designed to secure and perhaps murder him, for fear, if the queen died, he should mount the throne, for he had declared himself a protestant. He was no sooner in Scotland than he gained his father to the confederates, who put him at their head.

Buchanan.
Thuanus.

¹ This is supported by the testimony of Melvil, and destroys what is asserted by Camden, concerning James Stuart, afterwards earl of Murray. Rapin.

^m He died July 10. Rapin.

Eliz.

1559.

Buchanan.

Camden.

Histoire de
France,
tom. viii.

Mean time, the regent and d'Oysel were busy in fortifying Leith, and storing it with all sorts of provisions, designing to make it a place of arms, and to expect there the supplies that were to come from France. The confederates pretended this to be a breach of the truce, whether they proceeded upon some general maxim, or on some particular articles of the late treaty. However, after some fruitless complaints to the regent, they assembled their forces, and marched to besiege Leith. But as they suffered themselves to be amused for some time, they came too late, and finding the place in a state of defence, desisted from the siege. Shortly after, the regent having received a new supply of two thousand men commanded by La Brosse, continued the fortifications of Leith, with greater application than ever. The confederates once more desired her to give over the work: but were not heard. As she saw herself sufficiently strong, she only answered by sending a herald with an order to lay down their arms. Their indignation to be thus deceived by the regent, induced them at last to publish, that they would treat as enemies all that obeyed her orders. But they were little able to make good this bravado. The regent, knowing they were at Edinburgh in small number, marched the beginning of November with all her forces to attack them, and so surprized them by her unexpected arrival, that they deserted Edinburgh, and retired to Sterling. When they were there, they sent William Maitland of Lidington to Elizabeth to desire her assistance, without which they saw they should be infallibly oppressed. The French troops still continuing to pursue them, obliged them also to quit Sterling, and retire to the mountains, where they divided in two bodies to embarrass their enemies, who gave them no rest. Some time after, they received letters from William Maitland, giving them hopes of a good success of his negotiation. Such was the origin of the Scotch troubles, on which I have been forced to enlarge, the better to show the concern Elizabeth was to have in them, since she was their principal object. As this is a material point in her history, and as upon the knowledge of the designs formed against her repose she regulated her conduct, I ought to support this truth by the testimony of a French historian, who cannot be suspected in the affair. Father Daniel thus expresses himself in the reign of Francis II.

“ I observed, that before the conspiracy of Amboise broke
“ out, la Renaudie had been sent by the admiral into Eng-
“ land, to engage Elizabeth to make a diversion in Scotland,
“ while

“ while the Calvinistical party revolted in France, and she
 “ knew her interest too well to neglect so favorable an op-
 “ portunity of kindling or fomenting a civil war in the two
 “ kingdoms. Whatever care she had taken to bridle the
 “ catholics of her kingdom, she was always apprehensive of
 “ a party forming against her in favour of the queen of France,
 “ who carried herself as heirs of the crown of England,
 “ and had quartered the arms with those of Scotland, when
 “ she was only queen dauphine; and if France and Scot-
 “ land had remained in tranquility, England was in danger
 “ of being attacked from two quarters at once, and dis-
 “ turbed at home by the still numerous adherents of the old
 “ religion.”

Hence may be seen what was the design of the princes of Lorraine, in sending a French army into Scotland. It was to preserve the peace of that kingdom, that is, render it entirely subject to France, in order to attack England from that side. This must be ever remembered, if it is desired to understand perfectly Elizabeth's history. Let us now mention the affairs of France.

After Henry II. had concluded a peace with Spain, he resolved to relinquish entirely the affairs of Italy, and apply himself solely to his project of uniting England, Scotland, and Ireland to the monarchy of France. His haste to cause the dauphin his son, and the queen of Scotland his daughter-in-law, to assume the title of king and queen of England immediately after the conclusion of the peace, clearly shows, he had the thing in his thoughts, though he was not yet perhaps resolved how to execute it. Elizabeth, who was on the throne of England, was but a woman, and might be considered as a bastard: she had no ally; had lately made a great many enemies amongst her subjects, by her innovations in religion: the king of Spain no longer concerned himself with her affairs; and the pope desired nothing more passionately than to dethrone her, and place a catholic princess in her room. All these circumstances doubtless gave Henry hopes of success in his design. To effect which, he was to show a great zeal for the catholic religion, to gain the professors of it, princes and subjects, to his interests. The persecution renewed in France immediately after the peace of Cateau, flowed perhaps as much from this as any other cause, though the king's disposition, the pope's solicitations, the suggestions of the duke of Guise and cardinal of Lorraine, and the secret treaty

Affairs of
France.
Mazarin.

Eliz. treaty made with Spain, had but too large a share in that
1559. tragedy.

Death of
Henry II.

Francis II.
his successor,
puts the
government
into the
hands of the
Guises.
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.
Thuanus.

Who pursue
the design of
attacking
Elizabeth by
Scotland.
Camden.

Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.
Grotius.

This prince was taken out of the world the 10th of July, in the midst of his vast projects, by a death sudden and tragical^a, leaving for successor a young prince incapable to govern of himself. The two princes of Lorraine, uncles to the young queen, were intrusted with the administration of the government under the new reign. They removed the constable of Montmorency immediately from the court, and recalled the cardinal of Tournon, sworn enemy of the protestant religion. When the affairs of the court were settled, their next care was to erect courts of justice called Ardentès, for condemning protestants to the flames. This threw the reformed into an inevitable necessity of either suffering themselves to be burnt one by one, or of taking up arms in their own defence, and so furnishing their enemies with the desired pretence to extirpate them all at once. On the other hand, they sent two thousand men into Scotland, under the command of La Brosse, with orders to join the catholicks of England for dethroning Elizabeth. Thus, their boundless ambition engaged a young prince, not yet seventeen years of age, to throw his own kingdom into a flame, and withal to undertake the conquest of England, which of all the countries of the world is the most difficult to be conquered.

At the same time appeared the seeds of troubles in the Low-Countries, which soon ripened, and which it will not be improper to mention, in order to shew their rise.

Charles V. had always a great affection for the Low-Countries where he was born, and had governed them with great lenity. Indeed, after the victory of Pavia, he had formed the project of changing their government, and of making of the seventeen provinces one state, dependant on the crown of Spain. He was incited to this by the Spaniards, who would have found their advantage in seeing him absolute master of these provinces, where his authority was very much limited by their privileges. But after mature deliberation, he relinquished the project, whether to avoid the oppressions with which the execution would have been infallibly attended, or because he believed it impracticable by reason of the different laws and customs of these provinces, each of which had been a separate state.

^a At a great tournament, held on in the eye with the splinter of a lance, account of his daughter's marriage with June 29, and died of the wound. Philip II. king of Spain, he was wounded Thuanus, lib. 22.

Philip II. his son and successor, refused much the same design, and resolved to rule independent of the laws and privileges incessantly alledged by these states. To this he added the project of extirpating the protestants, then very numerous in the provinces. For that purpose, he obtained from the court of Rome the erection of several archbishopricks and bishopricks, to the great detriment of the abbots, part of whose revenues were to be given to the new sees. But besides the interest of the protestants and abbots, there was another thing of universal concern. Philip had put Spanish garrisons into the principal towns, contrary to the privileges of the provinces, and thereby plainly discovered his intention of reducing them to slavery. In fine, when he departed in September 1559 for Spain, he committed the government of the Low-Countries to Margaret dutchess of Parma, his natural sister *, to the great disgust of William of Nassau prince of Orange, and of count Egmont, who had both aspired to that dignity. But what gave them the last provocation was his leaving with the governess the cardinal of Granvelle their enemy, and who was considered as the author of the pernicious counsels, tending to deprive the country of its liberty. Philip was no sooner arrived in Spain than he caused a great number of protestants to be burnt, and by these inhuman executions, showed the subjects of the Low-Countries what they were afterwards to expect.

Pope Paul IV. dying in the course of this year, was succeeded by cardinal Angelo de Medici, a Milanese, by the name of Pius IV. P.

Death of
pope Paul
IV. succeed-
ed by Pius
IV.

To understand the sequel of this reign, it is absolutely necessary to have a distinct idea of the situation of the English affairs, as well with regard to the queen's person, as to the people of England and the foreigners. The wonder of this reign lies not in the memorable events which happened in England, while Elizabeth was on the throne, but in the tranquillity which she caused her subjects to enjoy, amidst the secret and open attacks of her own and their enemies, both at home and abroad. To understand therefore the motives of Elizabeth's conduct, and the maxims by which she established her government, these enemies, their characters, their views, their interests, are to be distinctly shown. Hence also will be seen and admired the address, with which she freed herself

State of
affairs in
England.
1560.

* She was natural daughter of the emperor Charles V. and was first married to the duke of Tuscany, and afterwards to the prince of Parma. Strada, lib. 1.

P This year, on November 18, died the famous Cuthbert Tonstall, late bishop of Durham, and was buried in Lambeth-chapel. Hollingsh. p. 1186.

Eliz.
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from all the embarrassments and snares to which she was continually exposed. For this purpose, it must be observed, that her right to the crown was always contested openly or tacitly; that the papists in general considering her but as a queen de facto, believed they might with a safe conscience assist in dethroning her, whenever an opportunity offered. As the uncertainty of her right was the foundation on which her enemies built, I cannot help enlarging a little on what has been said above on this subject.

The parliament of England, consisting of the king and both houses, which represent the whole nation, there is no Englishman but what is subject to its laws, were it only for this reason, that every man is supposed to give his consent either in person or by his representative. It was upon this foundation that Mary and Elizabeth ascended the throne, I mean, in virtue of an act of parliament, empowering their father to settle the succession. But it may be doubted, whether foreign princes concerned in such acts of parliament, are obliged to the same submission, when they believe them manifestly unjust to themselves. I shall not undertake to decide this question, which is more usually determined by arms than by laws. I shall only remark, that formerly Edward III. did not think himself obliged to abide by the decision of the French nation, which had placed Philip of Valois on the throne. However, Mary queen of France and Scotland believed herself injured, as well by the act empowering Henry VIII. to interrupt the order of succession according to his humour, as by the will of that prince. She alledged, that neither king nor parliament had any right to place on the throne two daughters declared illegitimate by solemn acts, and still less to overlook the posterity of the eldest daughter of Henry VII. even without assigning any reason, and place in the line of the succession bastards and the children of the younger. To these two grievances it was answered, that the English in acknowledging successively Mary and Elizabeth for queens of England, had not followed the caprice of Henry VIII. but the order of nature and the law of succession; that the caprice of this prince lay not in his placing his two daughters next after his son Edward, but in the intention to exclude these two princesses really born in wedlock: that in restoring them to their due place, Henry corrected his error, and left no room for any alteration: that the not revoking the sentence of divorce against Ann Boleyn, and the subsequent act against Elizabeth, was not without good reasons, and at most, was but a defect of formality, which altered not the thing

thing itself. As to Mary's second grievance, that Henry had not mentioned the posterity of his eldest sister, it must be owned, the generality of the English were convinced of the injustice of that proceeding. But as the case which might breed a dispute on this subject did not yet offer, this point was left undetermined, in hopes of the queen's marriage, and her having children to succeed her.

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Let us now proceed to another reflection with respect to the foreign princes. Mary, eldest daughter of Henry VIII. ascended the throne without any disturbance from abroad, whereas after her death the principal sovereigns of Europe endeavoured to wrest the scepter from Elizabeth. It is not difficult to assign many natural causes of the different conduct of the princes with regard to these two queens. The first is, that when Mary mounted the throne, there was not a prince in Europe, who could with any colour dispute her right. It is true, the young queen of Scotland was in France, and destined for the dauphin, but was not yet married. This marriage was only projected, and could not be executed some years, by reason of the tender age of the parties. But supposing Henry II. should have then asserted the claim of this queen, he must have drawn upon himself all the forces of the emperor and England. The second cause is no less natural, namely, that by the principles of the Roman catholicks, they could not contest Mary's right without a renunciation of the papal authority, since the dispensation for the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon was granted by a pope. But Henry II. was very far from any such thought, and as for the emperor Charles V. he was particularly concerned to support Mary's title, who was his cousin-german. As for the pope, he maintained his own rights in supporting those of Mary. Lastly, as Mary was zealous for her religion, the pope, the emperor, the king of France found a great advantage in this zeal. The pope expected to see the catholick religion restored by her means in England. The emperor immediately projected her marriage with his son Philip. Besides, a catholick queen in England removed all apprehensions of the aid the German protestants might receive from the English. In a word, his zeal for his religion gave him the satisfaction of seeing England about to return into the pale of the Roman church. For the same reason, Henry II. who burnt the protestants in France, could not but be pleased to see them deprived of the protection they might have expected from England, if that kingdom had continued protestant. Thus every thing conspired to render Mary's reign

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peace.

Eliz. 1560. peaceable and secure. It was also this doubtless which induced that queen to carry the persecution against the protestants to such a height, well knowing they could have no hopes of assistance from abroad.

But when, after Mary's death, Elizabeth mounted the throne, there was a change in the interests of the princes, as often happens by the death of a sovereign. The empire and Spain were no longer under the dominion of the same prince. The dauphin had married the queen of Scotland, and by that marriage acquired a claim to England, which he had not before. Besides, the duke of Guise and cardinal of Lorraine were become more powerful in the court of France, by the absence of the constable of Montmorency, who was prisoner in the Low-Countries. After the death of Henry II. they became still more powerful, and showed by their conduct they had nothing more at heart than the placing of the queen their niece on the throne of England. Elizabeth could not doubt it, since she saw Francis II. and Mary still usurp the arms of England, which they seemed to have taken at first only in obedience to the orders of Henry II. On the other hand, Philip II. who despaired of marrying Elizabeth, had entirely deserted the interests of England, and appeared by no means disposed to support that kingdom, which was become protestant. Lastly, the pope saw his authority banished England, and no hope of gaining Elizabeth, who was evidently concerned to maintain what she had done. Thus France, Spain, the court of Rome, not only had no reason to incline them to support Elizabeth, but it was even their interest to dethrone her. It is very true, Philip II. would not willingly have seen England and Ireland in the hands of the king of France; but he would not have been sorry that France was to conquer England, because from so difficult an undertaking, he would have received the satisfaction of seeing two powers most formidable to him, weakening each other. Besides, his zeal for the catholic religion, and his projects in relation to the Low-Countries, would have made him with great pleasure behold these two kingdoms incapable to assist those provinces, which already bore their yoke with impatience. As to the new emperor, Elizabeth, if she had nothing to fear, had at least nothing to hope from him. As for the protestants of Germany, they then lived in a tranquillity which they would not willingly have disturbed for the assistance of England. They had found in the reign of Henry VIII. that under the pretence of maintaining their religion, it was designed to engage them in a war by no means agreeable to their interests.

terests. Wherefore, content with their present condition, *Eliz.* they were not willing to be oppressed for supporting the rights *1560.* of Elizabeth, though otherwise they with pleasure saw a protestant queen on the throne of England.

I have already shown the situation of the Scotch affairs. Elizabeth was so far from expecting any assistance from Scotland, that she saw herself under an indispensable necessity to support the protestant party there, well knowing, it was the intention of France to attack her from that quarter. Besides *Camden* the two thousand men already sent to the regent, another more considerable reinforcement was preparing in France, to be conducted into Scotland by the marquis of Elbeuf^a. This sufficiently discovered, that the court of France, sensible of the difficulty of attacking England by sea, was resolved to push the war on the northern frontiers, by a junction of their forces with those of Scotland. Thus the design of the French court to subdue the Scotch rebels, was only the first step by which they hoped to rise to the conquest of England.

On the other side, Ireland gave no less uneasiness to Elizabeth. That island was inhabited by native Irish, and English families transplanted thither since the conquest of it by Henry II. It was governed by a viceroy or lord-lieutenant in the name of the queen; but his authority was very far from being so regarded as to keep the Irish in submission. They had amongst them many great men, who indeed outwardly acknowledged the queen's sovereignty, but believed they had a right to do themselves justice for the wrongs they pretended to have received. They made war upon one another, regardless of the lieutenant's orders, who having but few English forces was unable to make himself feared. As often as there was any pressing occasion to chastise a rebellion, or prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, new forces were to arrive from England. But as this could not be done without expence, very often it was not determined till the last extremity. So, most of the lieutenants finding themselves destitute of the means to force an obedience, wilfully connived at the excesses and violences of the great, for fear of unseasonably exposing the royal authority. They contented themselves with filling their purses while they held their commissions, and left it to their successors to repress the insolence of the Irish. This conduct had rendered the lords of the country so fierce and arrogant, that they acknowledged the royal authority no

^a The queen of Scots uncle: these forces were levied in Germany, by the Rhinegrave's assistance. *Camden*, p. 379.

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farther than it was necessary to protect them against their enemies. Besides the natural aversion of the Irish for the English, who helped not by their conduct to gain their affection, there was, at this time, another reason, which contributed to increase their aversion, namely, the change which the queen had lately made in religion. The Irish had for the pope an attachment equal to their ignorance, which was extreme. This disposed them to listen to the solicitations of the Romish emissaries, who were continually inciting them against the government. Elizabeth was therefore obliged to have a constant eye upon the transactions of that island, knowing what credit the pope her enemy had there.

It remains now to speak of the disposition of the English to Elizabeth. When the queen designed to establish the reformation, her first care was to change the magistrates in the towns and counties, and fill their places with protestants. Then she called a parliament, whose members were chosen according to her desires. This parliament revived the laws made by Edward VI. concerning religion. These laws, by the care of the magistrates, were punctually observed. So, a few months after Mary's death, the publick exercise of the Roman catholick religion was not less criminal than the exercise of the protestant had been in the last reign. The clergy, who refused obedience to the new laws, were deprived of their benefices, and the vacancies supplied by zealous protestants. To say all in a word, the reformation rose under Elizabeth, just as the Romish religion had been established under Mary, with this difference, that no person was put to death by Elizabeth on account of religion. We are not however to imagine that this external change produced a real one in the mind. There are very few, who in point of religion, implicitly obey their sovereigns. Those who were good catholicks under Mary remained such under Elizabeth; as those who really embraced the reformation under Edward VI. continued in Mary's reign reformed in their hearts under an outward compliance. If it is therefore considered, that all the changes in religion under this and the foregoing reigns had been made in the same manner, it will not be difficult to comprehend that the Roman catholicks were still very numerous in the kingdom. Little more than twenty years had passed since the reformation began, and in that interval the publick worship had been changed four times. Now it is improbable, that a whole nation so frequently change their opinion according to the caprice of the governors, though outwardly they submit to the publick authority. It is certain
the

the number of Roman catholicks in the kingdom was very great, even after Elizabeth had established the reformation, though it is likely the reformed were still more numerous. It is therefore very natural to imagine, that those who persisted in their antient sentiments were secret enemies of the queen : that they desired the re-establishment of the old religion, and were disposed to embrace all opportunities to place a catholick queen on the throne. It was not one of the least of Elizabeth's cares to watch her own subjects.

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Let us briefly recapitulate what has been said. Elizabeth had for enemies, France, the queen of Scotland, the pope, and all the catholick powers. For though Philip II. had not yet declared himself, she knew he was not her friend, and the sequel clearly proved it. On the other hand, she had the Irish and a great part of her English subjects to guard against, without having one ally to assist her. She was therefore to seek in herself, in her prudence, in her good conduct, and in her own subjects, the assistance she would have vainly sought elsewhere. To obtain speedily and willingly the aid, she foresaw would be frequently wanted, she had but one way, and that was to make herself beloved by her people. Accordingly, this was the governing maxim of her conduct. Happily for her, the qualities of her heart and mind were so disposed, that she never once deviated from so necessary a rule. Wherefore it may be affirmed, that no king of England was ever more sincerely beloved by his people than Elizabeth. But to demonstrate this elegy not to be groundless, it is necessary to be more particular upon this subject. It is certain, that her truly protestant subjects were much more numerous than the catholicks. What therefore could she do better than to favour the protestant religion, especially, as being herself of that religion, she could without reluctance act so agreeably to her interests? Another thing which greatly contributes to procure a sovereign the affection of his people, is so to manage the treasury, that he be not forced to load them with unnecessary taxes. No prince had ever this quality in greater perfection than Elizabeth. Nay, she carried this oeconomy so far, that she sometimes gave occasion to her own ministers to charge her with avarice. However, her expences were so well regulated, that she was never seen to lavish her treasures upon her favourites, or expend them in things of no use. Nevertheless, this frugal inclination, whether owing to nature or policy, hindered her not from being profuse of her money, when she thought it necessary. France, Spain, and Scotland, experienced, in their turns, how well

Elizabeth's
maxims of
government.

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she knew to be lavish of her treasures. Her people had so good an opinion of her oeconomy, that through the whole course of her reign, she was never once denied by the parliament the supplies she wanted, or complained of by her subjects for the taxes they were charged with. She had also another quality which won her the esteem of the English. She would not be induced by her ministers to bestow offices or honours upon undeserving persons. She was apprehensive of nothing more than to render contemptible, dignities destined for the recompence of merit and virtue. By this wise conduct she avoided the disobliging of men, who might have aspired to honours, had they seen them bestowed on others of no greater merit than themselves. This was a maxim from which she rarely departed, during the whole course of her reign. Lastly, she used her constant endeavours to cause justice to be impartially administered. Her greatest favourites felt her severity, when they abused her kindness and wandered from their duty. There is no doubt, her great interest to be beloved by her people induced her to employ all possible means to that end. But it cannot be, as some have inferred from hence, that her whole conduct was all dissimulation, since it is by no means impossible for the inclinations of men to tally with their interests. Elizabeth had a true esteem for the reformed religion, and her interest required her to support it with all her power. She was naturally an oeconomist, and such was the situation of her affairs, that no prince ever had more occasion to be so. As she had true merit herself, she esteemed it in others; and therefore could never resolve to confer dignities upon men who had not merited them. In fine, had she been never so little remiss with respect to justice, there would have been danger of her sex being despised, and of the great men growing by degrees too licentious.

Such were the principal means used by Elizabeth to gain the affection of her subjects. Their love was so necessary, that she had no other resource. Without it, her reign would probably have been very unhappy, considering the number and quality of her enemies. The reader therefore is to consider most of her actions, as flowing from the maxim she had prescribed to herself, to neglect nothing which might procure the affection of her people.

There was also another maxim which no less influenced her conduct than this I have mentioned. She saw herself threatened on all sides. The pope, France, and afterwards Spain, never ceased their open or secret attacks. It was not without reason that she feared an union of all these powers for her ruin.

ruin. In this belief, she laboured to the utmost to cherish the troubles of the neighbouring states, and particularly of France, Scotland, and the Low Countries; that her enemies being employed at home, might be less able to invade her. I shall not pretend to decide, whether this way of defence against enemies so powerful and dangerous, was agreeable to the rules of justice. It cannot however be denied, that this was excellent policy, and that her own security justified this method, as she had no other to divert their attacks. Accordingly, she made frequent use of this maxim, as will hereafter appear.

I thought it necessary to prepare the reader for the sequel of this reign by these reflections, which are solely designed to suspend in his mind the prejudices inspired by the historians of all nations and religions, for and against this renowned queen. It is no small difficulty to fix the judgment, amidst all the contrarieties which occur in the historians. Some have considered her as the most accomplished queen the world ever saw. They have found no fault in her. All her actions were the results of prudence, justice and equity, and had no other motive than the glory of God, and the happiness of her people. They have pretended that her love for her subjects was so ardent, that she forgot her own interest, and thought only of rendering them happy. Not content to excuse some of her actions which deserve censure, they have even in some measure sanctified them, by insinuating that they were the effects of her zeal for the glory of God and the protestant religion. Others have aspersed her with all the calumnies it is possible to invent. According to these, she exceeded the most famous tyrants in cruelty and barbarity. She was extremely deceitful, and her whole conduct was one continued dissimulation, from the beginning to the end of her reign, notwithstanding her affectation of an outward show of religion and virtue. To these accusations concerning her publick administration, they have added horrid slanders upon her private life. They have represented her as a dissolute woman, who constantly refused to marry, in order more freely to continue her lewd practices. To efface both these impressions, and incline the reader (if religious prejudices will suffer him) to suspend his judgment, I have previously shown the motives of her conduct, and the maxims by which she was, and with respect to policy only ought to have been governed. Her principal aim was to secure a tottering crown, and to succeed, she followed the above-mentioned maxims. Is it to be thought strange, that on certain

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Different
opinions
concerning
Elizabeth.

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occasions she a little over-acted her tenderness for her people, wherein lay her only support? But it would be just cause of wonder, that by an irregular life and other excesses, of which she is accused, she would have acted directly contrary to what could only procure her the love and esteem of her people, of which she had so great occasion. This suffices, as I imagine, to dispel some of those clouds by which her reputation has been darkened. On the other hand, as she saw herself assaulted from all parts by powerful enemies, who were continually infusing a spirit of rebellion into her subjects, when we shall see her fomenting the troubles of Scotland, and assisting the Huguenots of France, and the male-contents of the Low-Countries, it will be easily known to what this conduct is owing, notwithstanding the flatteries of some of her admirers. Apply but the two maxims, I have mentioned, to her actions, and remember the necessity of her always having them in view, nothing almost in her conduct will then appear, the true motive whereof may not easily be discovered. After this long, though, I think, absolutely necessary digression, it is time to proceed to the events of the year 1560.

A treaty
between Eli-
zabeth and
the male-
contents of
Scotland,
Camden,

Maitland, who was sent into England from the confederate Scots, at last concluded the treaty, which was signed at Berwick the 27th of February, 1560¹. Elizabeth seeing the great preparations which were making in France, and not doubting of their being designed against Scotland, thought herself, above all things, obliged to provide for the safety of that nation, and prevent the French from being too powerful there. She had cause to fear, that if queen Mary had children by the king her husband, France and Scotland would be united under one head, which it was her great interest to hinder. She concluded therefore a treaty with Maitland, which shows her fears with regard to Scotland. The treaty ran;

Ast. Pub.
zv. p. 569.

That she took under her protection the duke of Chate-
leraut, and all the nobility and subjects of Scotland, to main-
tain that kingdom in its liberties and privileges, during the
marriage of the queen of Scotland with the king of France,
and one year after.

¹ The English commissioner was, John Maxwell of Teiregles, knight; Thomas duke of Norfolk, lieutenant of William Maitland of Lethington, Joba Wycheart of Pittarrow, and Mr. Henry Balnaves of Halhil. Rymer's Fœd. Steward, Patrick lord Ruthven, fir tem. xv. p. 569.

That she promised to send, with all speed, a convenient aid of men into Scotland, and continue them there till the French were entirely expelled the kingdom.

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That she would come to no agreement with France, but on condition of leaving Scotland in full liberty.

That she would never abandon the confederates, while they acknowledged Mary for their sovereign, and endeavoured to maintain the liberty of their country, and the estate of the crown of Scotland.

That if the English took any places in Scotland, they should be either demolished by the Scots, or delivered to the duke of Chateleraut, at his own option; but that the English should erect no fortification in the kingdom, without the advice of the duke and his party.

That the duke and all his party should join the English forces.

That they should declare themselves enemies of those of their countrymen, who should serve France against England.

That if England was attacked in the south, the confederates should send to the queen's assistance two thousand foot, and two thousand horse at the least; but if in the north, they should join the English army with all their forces.

That if the earl of Argyle, lord chief-justice of Scotland, should join with the confederates, he should be obliged to use his endeavours to reduce the north of Ireland under the dominion of England, agreeably to a treaty to be made betwixt him and the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

That the duke of Chateleraut and his party should give hostages to Elizabeth, to remain in England during the time that the marriage between Mary queen of Scots, and the king of France should subsist.

Lastly, The duke of Chateleraut and his party protested, that their intention was to be faithful to their queen in every thing not contrary to the laws and liberties of Scotland, and not tending to their subversion.

From this treaty, it is plain Elizabeth's sole aim was to keep the king of France from becoming master of Scotland, knowing it was intended to invade her from that quarter.

While the treaty was negotiating, the French forces which were in Scotland continued their pursuit of the confederate Scots into the mountains, contrary to the opinion of Martigues.

Sequel of the
affairs of
Scotland.
Camdeu.

† For six or four months each; and to be then exchanged, and so on.

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of the house of Luxemburg. This lord who had brought the last succours from France[†], was for an immediate invasion of England, imagining, that on his approach, the English catholicks would all rise and join him. But the regent, better informed of the state of England, judged it not proper to enter upon so great a design with so small an army. Some time after, while the French were exulting at the sight of a flying enemy, they discovered from a mountain a fleet at sea, which they at first took to be the marquis of Elbeuf's. But perceiving afterwards it was an English fleet[‡], they were of opinion that the forces sent to the confederates by land were not very distant. This made them retire to Leith, with design to assemble there all their forces, and wait the arrival of the marquis d'Elbeuf. But he was expected in vain, for a violent tempest dispersed his fleet, and forced him to sail back to France to refit his ships. Afterwards the troubles in France calling for the assistance of the forces which were sending into Scotland, and of these already there, the expedition was entirely blasted.

Buchanan.

Camden.

Hollingh.
Stow.
Thuanus.

The regent
retires to
Edinburgh.

The English
army enters
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Camden.
Stow.
Hollingh.

The French forces being retired to Leith, the confederates assembled from all places, where they were dispersed, in order to join the English army marching to their relief under the command of the lord Grey[¶]. At length they came to Haddington the 1st of April, being six thousand strong in foot and two thousand in horse, and there expected the so much desired English succours, which were advancing with all possible speed. The queen-regent fearing to be shut up in Leith, chose rather to retire to the castle of Edinburgh, which was committed by the states to the care of John Areskin, with the express condition not to resign it without their order. Areskin received the regent with honour, but still preserved the command of the castle.

Shortly after, the lord Grey entering Scotland^{*} with an army of six or seven thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, was joined by the confederates, after which they marched together to Leith, where the enemies were retired. It was no inconsiderable work to besiege a place which had an army within its walls; and yet it was undertaken, because there

[†] One thousand foot, and one or two cornets of horse. Camden, p. 380.

[‡] This fleet was commanded by vice-admiral William Winter. Stow.

[¶] William lord Grey of Wilton. His assistant was sir James Croft: and the lord Scrope was earl-marshal. Sir George Howard general of the moun-

at arms; Barnaby Fitz-Paule his lieutenant: for Henry Percy general of the light-horse; Thomas Huggins, Esq; provost-marshal; William Pelham captain of the pioneers, &c. Stow. p. 641.

^{*} March 30. Ibid. p. 641.

was no other way to drive the French out of Scotland. While they were employed in the siege, all possible endeavours were used by the French king to prevail with Elizabeth to recall her forces out of Scotland. But she knew her interest too well to be imposed upon. When de Sevre, the French ambassador, first mentioned it, she answered, Her troops should be readily recalled, provided the French were so too; since France had no more right than England to send forces into Scotland. At last the ambassador finding, after many attempts, he could not prevail, declared in the presence of the Spanish ambassador, that by sending forces into Scotland she had violated the treaty of Cateau: to which she calmly answered, That the king of France had first infringed that treaty, by his endeavours to render himself master of Scotland. Some time before, she had published a manifesto, declaring her reasons for concerning herself in the affairs of Scotland. She charged in plain terms the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, with being the authors of the troubles in that kingdom, in order to effect more easily their designs against England. To them also she wholly ascribed the injury done her by the king and queen of France, in assuming her title and arms.

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Leith besieged.
France presses Elizabeth to call her forces out of Scotland.
Camden.
Protest of the French ambassador.

Elizabeth publishes a manifesto.

Before de Sevre had made his declaration, Monluc, bishop of Valence, was come into England to press the queen to recall her forces from Scotland, and would have even persuaded her that Francis II. and Mary had assumed her title on purpose to do her honour. This excuse was more provoking than the injury. At last Monluc seeing he could not divert her from her resolution to support the Scots, told her, the king of France would restore Calais, if she would draw her forces out of Scotland. But she answered, that she did not value that Fish-town so much as the quiet of Britain. Mean time she dispatched Montague to Philip II. to inform him of her reasons to assist Scotland. That ambassador was to represent to him, that the Guises had projected an union of the crowns of France and Scotland, and not to be disappointed had concerted the murder of the earl of Arran, who had happily escaped out of their snares, and that she therefore desired him to consider if such an union would be advantageous to Spain.

Camden.
Thuanus.

France offers to restore Calais.
An embassy sent to Philip.
Camden.

During these negotiations, the siege of Leith was continued, but with no great success, because of the numerous

Camden.
Stow.

† Anthony Browne.

of the design laid to arrest and detain

‡ This justifies Buchanan's account

the earl of Arran in France. Rapin.

garrison.

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France de-
sires peace.
Camden.
Act. Pub.
xv. p. 581.
Stow.
Buchanan.

Truce in
Scotland.
Stow.
Buchanan.
Burnet.

A peace
negotiated,

garrison. The 15th of April, the French made a sally, and nailed three great pieces of cannon^a. The 30th, the English were fiercely repulsed at an assault. The 1st of May they stormed again, but with no better success. The length and difficulties of the siege began now to discourage them, when the duke of Norfolk, warden of the northern marches of England, sent a powerful reinforcement, and came to the English camp himself, to encourage the continuation of the siege. They would however have hardly taken the place, had not the conspiracy of Amboise, which was then discovered in France, convinced the princes of Lorraine, that the season was not proper for the execution of their designs against England. So, instead of sending new forces into Scotland they thought of recalling those already there, imagining they might want them in France. It was to this end that Monluc bishop of Valence and the comte de Randan were sent into Scotland, with full powers from the king to conclude a peace. Elizabeth hearing of it, sent likewise secretary Cecil and Dr. Wotton, with the same powers^b. The plenipotentiaries immediately agreed to meet at Edinburgh in July, and in the mean time concluded a truce, which was to last till the end of their conferences. During the truce, the queen-regent died in the castle of Edinburgh, the 10th of June.

When the peace came to be negotiated, the French plenipotentiaries absolutely refused to treat with the Scottish confederates, saying, it would be an injury to the royal authority, because they were rebels. This refusal might have put an end to the congress; but, as both sides were desirous of peace, an expedient at last was contrived, namely, Francis and Mary should grant certain conditions to the confederates, not by way of treaty, but as of pure grace; and that nevertheless they should promise to observe them in their treaty with the queen of England. This was in effect the same thing, but the ambassadors probably with a view to some advantage, preferred that expedient. Most historians confound, in the treaty shortly after concluded at Edinburgh, two things, which however ought to be distinguished, namely, the concessions of Francis and Mary to their Scottish subjects, and the treaty between France and England. As of these two things, one was observed and the other not, it is necessary

^a And at the same time took sir Maurice Berkley prisoner. Camden. p. 381. Stow. p. 645.

^b They came to Berwick. June 13.

to have a distinct idea of them. The promises made to the Scots were :

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That the French forces should leave Scotland in twenty-four days, and return to France in ships to be furnished by Elizabeth. and finished at Edinburgh. Buchanan.

That the city of Leith should be restored to Scotland, and the fortifications demolished.

That the works made by the French at Dunbar should be razed.

That the king and queen of France and Scotland should grant an act of oblivion to the confederates, for every thing done from the 10th of March 1559 to the 1st of August 1560, and that this act should be approved and confirmed by the states of Scotland, to be assembled the following August, with the consent of the king and queen.

That the French should have liberty to leave sixty men in the isle of Keith^d.

But, with regard to the interests of Elizabeth, a real treaty was concluded, which will be often mentioned hereafter by the name of the treaty of Edinburgh, containing,

That for the future the king and queen of Scotland should not assume the title of king and queen of England and Ireland, nor bear the arms of these kingdoms. Act. Pub. xv. p. 593. Stow. p. 646.

That the patents and other acts which had been dispatched with that title, should be altered or remain of no force.

That the farther satisfaction required by the queen of England for the injury done her, should be referred to a conference at London, between the commissioners of the two crowns.

That if the commissioners could not agree, the decision should be left to the king of Spain.

That the king and queen of France and Scotland should perform the promises made to the Scots at Edinburgh by the plenipotentiaries of France.

It must be observed, that Buchanan in his history has only mentioned the articles granted to the confederate Scots; and Camden, in his annals of Elizabeth, takes notice only

^d The reader will naturally ask of what service it would be to Francis and Mary to have sixty men of their French subjects left in Scotland.---And Buchanan gives this reason, that the queen might not seem to be thrown out of the entire possession of Scotland.

Elis. of the treaty between the two crowns. This causes some obscurity in their respective accounts of the following events.

1560.

The treaty, as it related to Scotland, is confirmed, Buchanan. A&C. Pub. xv. p. 591. Spotswood.

After the conclusion of the treaty, the French and English quitted Scotland; the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar were demolished; and the act of oblivion sent over in Scotland, and confirmed by the states. These states, assembled in August, made laws favourable to the reformation, and sent them to the king and queen for their approbation, rather to discover their sentiments, than with any hopes of obtaining their desires, and yet they caused these new laws to be punctually observed.

refused, as it related to Elizabeth. Camden.

But as to the treaty concluded between the crowns, Francis and Mary refused to ratify it, for a reason, the force of which is not easily conceived. It was, they said, because the Scots falsely stiling themselves faithful subjects, had made a treaty with Elizabeth in their own private names, without any warrant from the royal authority. If this refusal had only concerned the articles granted to the Scots, Elizabeth might have believed that the court of France repented of their concessions, and then the reason alledged might have had some colour. But whatever related to the Scots being already performed, their pretended incroachment could not render invalid a treaty about a difference between Elizabeth and Mary, in which the conduct of the Scots was entirely unconcerned. It was therefore easy to infer, that this weak reason was but a pretence used by Francis and Mary, to elude what they had promised in the treaty with respect to Elizabeth. Accordingly, Elizabeth was convinced that the princes of Lorraine still persisted in the design to wrest the crown from her; and this belief was ever rooted in her mind. Mary's uncles did not then foresee how dear this proceeding would one day cost their niece, whose grandeur they so passionately desired.

The queen sought in marriage by several princes and noblemen. Camden. Burnet.

While Elizabeth was employed in these affairs, her court was attentive to watch her motions, her conduct, and inclinations with regard to marriage. Though she told her parliament, she was resolved to remain single, such resolutions were known to be liable to change, and the more, as there were many princes, and some lords, who despaired not to make her alter her mind. Charles archduke of Austria third son of the emperor Ferdinand, the king of Sweden, the duke of Holstein, had already made their addresses. The earl of Arran son of the duke of Chateleraut, relying on the barrenness of queen Mary and his succession to the crown of Scotland, flattered himself that Elizabeth would prefer him to any

any other, in order to unite the two kingdoms *. To these were added others, who being her subjects, and not daring to declare their minds so openly, were contented to leave her to guess their inclinations, or to disclose them by means of some of her ladies. One proceeded upon his birth, another upon his merit, a third upon his mein and outward accomplishments, apt to kindle the flames of love in the fair sex. In short, she was indirectly assaulted on all the sides which are generally thought weakest in a woman. The earl of Arundel †, of a noble and antient race, though a little advanced in years, imagined the queen would marry a subject rather than a sovereign, and if so, that no man deserved that honour better than he. Sir William Pickering ‡, having received some particular mark of the queen's esteem, despaired not that these first favours would be extended much farther. But no man believed he had better grounds to flatter his hopes, than Robert Dudley, son of the late duke of Northumberland. The queen visibly preferred him to all who had the honour to approach her, and gave him so many proofs of the inclination she had for him, that for some time it was believed she intended to marry him. At her accession to the crown, she made him master of the horse, and knight of the garter. From thenceforward, she took a pleasure to distribute her favours through him: so that by this distinction, she discovered that she had more than a bare esteem for him. He was at court called only My Lord, without any other addition, which demonstrated her preference of him to all the nobility. And yet, when his pretensions to such distinguishing favours were examined, no qualities were found in him capable to make an impression upon so discerning a queen. His vices far surpassing his virtues, recourse was had to the planets which ruled his birth and occasioned this sympathy of thoughts. However this be, he was a favourite at court. All affairs were imparted to him: ambassadors gave account to him of their negotiations: every one applied to him for his affairs at court, and woe to those who addressed to any other; that was an unpardonable fault.

The queen had two favourites more; but of a different kind from Dudley, as they were only for the affairs of the go-

Elin.

1560.

Robert Dudley in great favour. Camden. Naunton.

Bacon and Cecil first ministers. Naunton.

Statut. 5 Elin. c. 18.

* Camden says, he was recommended to her by the protestants of Scotland, with the view and hopes of uniting the two kingdoms, p. 382.

† Henry Fitz-Alan,

‡ Sir William Pickering (whom Ra-

pin by mistake calls sir George) was of a descent inferior to few of the nobility; he was honoured with the garter, and had by his embassies in France and Germany displayed his great abilities for publick affairs. Camden, p. 333.

Eliz.
1560.

vernment. These were Nicholas Bacon and William Cecil. The first was made keeper of the great seal, with all the privileges of lord chancellor. William Cecil had been secretary of state to Edward VI, and discharged the office so well, that if his religion had not stood in the way, he had been continued under Mary. He was not however exposed to persecution, whether he so artfully managed as to give no advantages against him, or his particular merit procured him a distinction above all other protestants. He had an uncommon genius, a sound judgment, a capacity for great affairs, an unwearied application, and an impenetrable secrecy, with a constant tendency to his sole view, the welfare and advantage of the queen. It is not therefore strange if he preserved all his life the favour of a queen who so perfectly knew her own interest. When able princes are blest with such ministers, they do not easily part with them.

Philip receives the embassy from Elizabeth with great coldness.
Camden.

In the situation of Elizabeth's affairs, she wanted able and disinterested ministers to guide her. Wherever she turned her eyes out of her kingdom, she saw not one friend who was really concerned for her welfare: she had at first relied on the king of Spain; but Montague's report of his embassy to that prince, disappointed all her expectations from him. When this ambassador, after discoursing with Philip about the Scottish affairs, demanded, agreeably to his instructions, the renewing of the antient alliance between England and the house of Burgundy, he found him very cold. Philip, in his answer lamented the changes made in England with regard to religion, and signified his concern for them. He complained he had received no intelligence of the sending an English army into Scotland till it was too late, and yet he advised the queen to have it inserted in the future treaty between her and Mary, that if France sent forces into Scotland, she should also have the same liberty, and to stipulate positively the restitution of Calais. He added, he had till then prevented Elizabeth's excommunication, and obtained from the pope a promise, that nothing should be done in that affair without his knowledge. As to the renewing of the treaty, he coldly answered, it was needless. In fine, he returned by the ambassador the collar of the order of the garter. This convinced Elizabeth, that Philip was no longer her friend, and that his advice, which came too late, was more the effect of his jealousy of the growing greatness of France than of his affection for her. Some time after, she gave him a small mortification, in refusing her permission to certain English catholicks

Returns the garter.

She refuses a request from him.
Camden,

tholicks^a to reside in the Low-Countries, and preserve their effects in England. Amongst these was Jane Dormer, grandmother of the Condé de Feria's lady, whom he married in England, during his embassy¹. This so provoked the Condé, that he used all his credit with Philip to exasperate him against Elizabeth. He even found an opportunity to force into the inquisition a servant of Chamberlain the English ambassador in ordinary for Spain. He also strongly solicited the pope to excommunicate her, but without success. Pius IV. was for trying other means, which appeared to him more proper to gain the queen, and were not prejudicial to his censures, which he could thunder against her whenever he pleased.

It was with this view that he sent Vincenzo Parpaglia, The pope abbot of St. Saviour, into England, with certain instructions, endeavours and a letter to the queen, exhorting her to return into the pale to gain Elizabeth, of the church, and promising to continue the general council² as soon as possible. It is pretended, the nuntio had likewise a power to offer the queen, that the pope would annul the sentence of Henry's divorce with Ann Boleyn, and the subsequent act of parliament, confirm the English liturgy, and permit the English to communicate in both kinds. But these offers were not capable of moving Elizabeth: and the but without rather, as probably they were not sincere, at least, in what success, concerned religion. Hence it may be observed, what opinion the court of Rome and all catholicks had of Elizabeth's birth, since it was offered as a great favour to own her for legitimate daughter of Henry VIII.

Mean time, Elizabeth very closely applied herself to the Camden, affairs of the government, in order to render her subjects as happy as possible, well knowing, her greatest assistance was to flow from them in case of an invasion, which she had reason to expect. This year, she was obliged to restore the coin to Stow. its ancient standard, which had been extremely debased in the reign of Henry VIII. though no king had ever drawn so much money from his subjects³. If cardinal Pole may be

^a Richard Shelly, late prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, Thomas Harvey, &c. Camden, p. 383.

¹ It was a proviso in the ancient laws of England, that under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, none but peers of the first rank, and merchants, should (without the king's special licence) leave the kingdom and reside in foreign countries, beyond such a fixed time. The Condé de Feria married the daughter of William Dormer by Mary Sidney.

Camden, p. 213.

² This was the famous council of Trent, which had been opened many years before, but interrupted in its sessions by continual wars, or the intrigues of the popes.

³ The greatest alloy was in the 5th of Edw. VI. See the Coin-note of Edward VI. Queen Elizabeth reduced the silver coin to eleven ounces, two pennyweight fine, and eighteen pennyweight alloy, the present standard. See Coin-note at the end of this reign.

Eliz. credited, this prince alone drew more money from the people
 1560. than all the kings together since the conquest. The monastery of Westminster was this year turned into a collegiate church^m. These were the most remarkable events in England in 1560. But before we proceed to the following year, it is necessary briefly to mention the affairs of the neighbouring states.

Affairs of
 France.
 Mezerai.
 Thuanus.
 P. Daniel.

The affairs of France tended to confusion the beginning of the year. The protestants seeing themselves persecuted, and condemned to the flames without mercy, thought it time to provide for their common defence. To this end, some of them, after a private conference, formed a conspiracy against the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, the king's ministers, and their declared enemies. They had no leader who openly appeared, but very likely the prince of Condé, jealous of these two foreign princes, had among the reformed emissaries, who intimated to them, that when things were ripe, they should not want a support. However this be, a gentleman, named La Renaudie, projected to carry off the Lorraine princes, then with the king at Amboise. This attempt miscarrying, was interpreted as a conspiracy against the king himself, and twelve hundred persons, either guilty or only suspected to be concerned in it, were put to death. The two Lorraine princes would have been glad, on this pretence, to have dispatched the prince of Condé; but their measures not being yet well taken, they waited a more favourable opportunity. Some time after, the states being assembled at Orleans, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé indiscreetly came thither, though they had intimation of the court's ill designs against them. The king of Navarre indeed was not arrested, but was so carefully watched, that an escape was impossible. The prince of Condé was imprisoned, and shortly after condemned to die. But the death of Francisⁿ about the same time, prevented the execution of the sentence, and the prince was released.

Death of
 Francis II.
 Buchanan.

Affairs of
 the Low-
 Countries.
 Grotius.

This same year, Philip II. having carried war into Africa against the corsair Dragut, who had made himself king of Tripoli, his arms were so unsuccessful, that he was forced to recall the Spanish troops left in the Netherlands. The inhabitants of those provinces saw the departure of the Spaniards with great satisfaction, which would have been much increased, had cardinal Granvelle been also recalled, for the

^m For a dean, twelve prebends, a pensioner, &c. Camden, p. 385.
ⁿ The 5th of December. Rapin.
 besides chaplains, singing-men, twelve

mortally hated him, and were encouraged in their hate by Eliz. the prince of Orange and the counts of Egmont and Horn, 1560. his sworn enemies.

The death of Francis II. caused great alterations in the court of France. Charles IX. his brother and successor, being yet a minor, Catherine de Medici, his mother, had the address and influence to prevail with the king of Navarre, first prince of the blood, to yield the regency to her, and content himself with the title of lieutenant-general. Mean while, as she was not entirely without fear that he might one day think of resuming the rank due to his birth, she fomented with all her art the dissensions which had begun to appear in the late reign. By this means, she at last formed two parties in the court and kingdom, which proved her security, as she was necessary to both. The first was headed by the duke of Guise, the constable of Montmorency, and the marshal of St. André. These three lords were called the Triumvirs. On their side were all the catholics of the kingdom, into whom a belief was infused, that the chiefs had only in view the maintenance of the catholick religion. At the head of the other party, wholly consisting of Huguenots, (so the French protestants were called) were the prince of Condé, the admiral of Coligny or Chatillon, and his brother d'Andelot. The king of Navarre fluctuated between the two parties, without being able to resolve, and the queen-regent reaped great advantages from the division among the great men.

The affairs of France being in this situation, Elizabeth seemed to be out of danger from them. Francis's successor had no pretence to concern himself with the affairs of Scotland any farther than as a common ally, and he had no manner of demand upon England. On the other hand, the queen-regent, who had no great affection for her daughter-in-law, was far from engaging in a war for her sake. Tho' she could have hoped to place her on the throne of England, it was not her interest to render the house of Guise more powerful than it was. In fine, the princes of Lorraine, employed in struggling with their enemies at court, were not in condition to prosecute the rights of the queen their niece. Wherefore, immediately after the death of Francis II. Mary, by the advice of her uncles, quitted the title of queen of Eng-

Sequel of the affairs of France. Charles IX. succeeds his brother. Thuanus. Mezerai.

Mary quits the title of queen of England.

* They were so called, either from Hugo's gate, in the city of Tours, where they used to meet first; or from King Hugo's ghost, which was the scare-crow used in that town to frighten children,

and which was said to walk in the suburbs in the night, it being the usual time and place where the protestants were wont to meet. Charles IX. forbid this name by an edict. Thuanus, lib. 24.

Eliz.
1560.

Prefixed by
Elizabeth to
ratify the
treaty of
Edinburgh.

Returns an
evasive
answer.

Walsing-
ham's nego-
tiations,
p. 12.

Camden.
The posture
of her
affairs.

Melvil's
Memoirs,
p. 30, 31.
Lesley.

p. 26.

Lesley.
Buchanan.

land, which she had bore ever since the treaty of Cateau. But this was not sufficient to satisfy Elizabeth. Mary being still very young, might marry some powerful prince, and transfer to him her pretensions. Therefore to make Elizabeth easy, the young queen was solemnly to declare she had no right to that title, otherwise she might have resumed it when she pleased, a bare interruption being not sufficient to invalidate her claim. By the way, Elizabeth, like her grandfather Henry VII. was all her life so jealous of her crown, that she was for ever uneasy on that account. When she heard of Francis's death, she sent the earl of Bedford into France, with her compliments of condolance and congratulation to the new king, and ordered him to press Mary to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. The ambassador discharged his commission, and was answered by Mary, that the affair not concerning her as queen of France, but as queen of Scotland, she would not confirm it without the advice of the Scottish nobility. Mean time, as she knew her mother-in-law the queen-regent loved her not, she left the court of France, and retired to Rheims, where her uncle the cardinal was archbishop, to spend part of the winter there, and afterwards she went to reside at Nancy. While she was at Rheims, she received a visit from Martigues, la Brosse, d'Oysel, and the bishop of Amiens, who being acquainted with the affairs of Scotland, and knowing her intention to return thither, believed it incumbent on them to give her some instructions. She came from thence so young, that she was utterly ignorant of the kingdom she was going to govern. Melvil says, they advised her to gain by her favours, James Stuart prior of St. Andrew's, her natural brother, the earl of Argyle, who had married Jane Stuart her natural sister, sir William Maitland of Lethington, and sir William Kirkaldy laird of Grange, and to rely on the protestants rather than the catholicks, as the reformed were in all respects superior. Some time after, on her way to Nancy, she gave audience to John Lesley, sent to her from her catholick subjects. Lesley says himself in his History of Scotland, that he advised her, agreeably to his instructions, not to confide in the prior of St. Andrew's, and to repair to Aberdeen, where she might be at the head of a good body of catholick troops, to restore reli-

P This affair being thus put off from time to time, queen Elizabeth began to suspect some plot was hatching against England, and therefore resolved to prevent it. Accordingly, she dispatched

sir Thomas Randolph into Scotland, to cultivate a good understanding between the English and Scottish nations. Camden, p. 385.

gion to the state it was in before the late changes. But she was too wise to follow such dangerous counsel. The next day the prior of St. Andrew's, who was also come to France to pay her his respects, met her at Joinville, and gave her counsels more suitable to the situation of her affairs. He confirmed her resolution to return into Scotland, and advised her to reign like her predecessors with the concurrence of the states, assuring her, it was the only way to live happy and peaceable. The queen, agreeably to this advice, ordered him to return to Scotland, and prepare all things for her reception. Moreover, she put into his hands a patent, empowering the states to meet and ordain whatever they should judge convenient for the good of the kingdom. Thus, Lesley's pains to prejudice her against Stuart, were for once ineffectual. This Lesley, afterwards bishop of Ross, greatly contributed, by his intrigues and violent counsels, to the misfortunes which at last fell on the head of the queen his mistress. Stuart arriving in Scotland, notwithstanding Lesley's endeavours to have him arrested in France, delivered to the states the patent which the queen had sent by him. As almost all Scotland was then protestant, the states employed the general power granted them by the queen, to establish the reformation by publick authority. This was followed with an order to demolish all the monasteries, which was immediately put in execution.

Eliz.

1560.

Buchanan.
Melvil.

Mean time, Mary preparing to sail for Scotland, sent d'Oysel to Elizabeth for a safe conduct. Elizabeth answered, she hoped the queen would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, after which she should not only have a safe-conduct, but also, without being exposed to the dangers and fatigues of the sea, might pass through England, where she should be received with all the marks of affection she could expect from a good sister. Mary complained of this answer to Throckmorton the English ambassador, so as to show him, she was extremely offended at it. She told him, "As she came into France in spite of Edward, she could return into Scotland notwithstanding Elizabeth's opposition: she was heartily vexed, for asking a favour, she could so well be without: that the refusal, and the assistance given by Elizabeth to the Scotch

The states
of Scotland
establish the
reformation.
July.
Buchanan.Elizabeth
refuses a
safe-conduct
to Mary, de-
sires to re-
turn into her
kingdom;
Camden.which gave
great offence
to Mary.

* Camden speaks quite otherwise of James Stuart. Rapin. Camden says, he advised queen Elizabeth to intercept Mary in her passage, and that Lidington was also of the same mind, lest at her return she should treat the protestants of Scotland with extreme rigour, not as

traitors, but hereticks, as queen Mary of England had done before her. Camden, p. 387.

* Buchanan is in the wrong to omit the conditions on which Elizabeth was willing to grant a safe-conduct. Rapin.

Eliz.

1560.

“ rebels, was a clear evidence, how little she desired to pre-
 “ serve a good understanding between the two kingdoms :
 “ that it was matter of astonishment to her, that the queen
 “ of England should obstruct the return of her near relation,
 “ and most certainly presumptive heir, into her own country :
 “ that she could have no pretence for this, since she could
 “ not accuse her of meddling with the affairs of England,
 “ tho’ the discontent of the English gave her an opportunity.”
 She added, “ she was a queen as well as Elizabeth, and not
 “ destitute of friends when they should be wanted : that the
 “ treaty of Edinburgh was made in the life-time of her hus-
 “ band, and if he delayed to sign it, he alone ought to bear
 “ the blame : that since she was a widow, neither the council
 “ of France, nor her uncles, had concerned themselves with
 “ the affairs of Scotland : that the Scots about her were pri-
 “ vate persons, whom she neither could nor ought to consult
 “ in so important an affair ; but as soon as she had advised
 “ with the states of Scotland, she would return a suitable
 “ answer : that therefore she was hastening her return into
 “ Scotland, but Elizabeth intended to stop her journey, and
 “ so alone was the cause of the delay she complained of.”
 She concluded with saying, “ she had never offended Eliza-
 “ beth, and prayed the ambassador to tell her the reason of
 “ her anger.”

Throckmorton replied, his order was only to receive her
 answer concerning the treaty of Edinburgh : but since she de-
 sired it, he would for a moment lay aside the ambassador, and
 give her his sentiments as a private man. Then he told her,
 the queen his mistress was very much offended at her assuming
 the title and arms of England, which she had not done in
 queen Mary’s reign, and left her to judge, whether a greater
 indignity could be offered to a crowned head. Mary an-
 swered, she did it by the express command of Henry II. her
 father-in-law, and of Francis her husband, whom she was
 obliged to obey ; but upon the death of her husband, she had,
 when mistress of herself, quitted both the title and arms :
 that however, she being a queen, and grand-daughter to
 Henry VIII’s eldest sister, did not believe it injurious to any
 person to bear the arms of England, which had been done by
 others more remotely allied, without any noise. Camden,
 from whom this is taken, does not mention Throckmorton’s
 reply. It would however be strange, that he should be satis-
 fied with such weak reasons. Elizabeth did not only demand
 that Mary should quit the title and arms of England, but also
 should declare in the most express manner, that she never
 had

had any right to assume them. Nay, she expected a solemn reparation for the incroachment, as appears by the treaty of Edinburgh. Now Mary's quitting the title and arms of England, without owning she had no right to assume them, was very far from contenting Elizabeth, who would not have had any other person but herself pretend to the title of queen of England. Mary's alledging that others had borne the same arms, without any offence, pointed to the marquis of Exeter and the duchess of Suffolk. But there were three remarkable differences between them and Mary. The first was, they bore the arms by the king's special grant. The second, that they did it with a limb or border for distinction. The third, that they never assumed the title of king and queen of England.

Eliz.
1560.

All this made Elizabeth suspect the queen of Scotland was forming some dangerous design, and in quitting the title and arms of England intended only to amuse her, since she refused to own the injustice of assuming them. In short, Mary, being determined to return into Scotland without Elizabeth's safe-conduct, sent for Throckmorton to Abbeville, and demanded of him what was to be done to satisfy Elizabeth. Throckmorton answered, she had only to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, as he had often told her before. She replied, she could not conceive why she was thus urged to ratify a treaty already executed: that the articles concerning the Scots had been really performed: that as she had quitted the title and arms of England, she could not be accused of seeking evasions not to ratify the treaty, since a treaty already executed did not want a ratification: that the Scots could not complain of being treated with too much rigour, but that she perceived the person who would prevent her return into Scotland, would prevent their enjoying the effects of her clemency. She added, she would write to the queen of England with her own hand, and desired the ambassador rather to compose than aggravate matters. But the letter she writ on this occasion, did not give Elizabeth the satisfaction she believed to have reason to expect. As the usurpation of the arms and title of Elizabeth, and the refusal to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, were the basis and foundation of the differences between these two queens, and had a constant influence upon this reign, it will not be unnecessary to add some observations to what has been said, in order to set in a clearer light the reasons and interests of both.

Elizabeth
suspicious of
Mary.
Camden.

Eliz.

1560.

The interests
and political
views of the
two queens
with regard
to the treaty
of Edin-
burgh.

1561.

Elizabeth, in France and all the catholick countries, was deemed illegitimate. It was upon this foundation, that Henry II. obliged the dauphin his son, and the queen of Scotland, the dauphin's wife, to assume the title of king and queen of England, and that after his death they continued to bear the same. Elizabeth was not so void of understanding, as not to perceive that this pretence would be more than sufficient to deprive her of the crown, should it ever come to be supported by force. On the other hand, she could not doubt that such a design was formed by Mary and her friends. Of this, her having assumed the title of queen of England was a clear indication. It was therefore necessary to provide for her safety. The civil war in Scotland naturally presenting itself, she assisted the malecontents, and whereas France was resolved to invade her from that quarter, gave Francis and Mary cause to apprehend she would deprive them of Scotland. This produced the treaty of Edinburgh, which was never ratified by Francis; and after his death Mary persisted in her refusal, contenting herself with only quitting the title of queen of England. But this was not a sufficient security for Elizabeth. As Mary had quitted the title without giving any reason, she could resume it the first opportunity; and this was what Elizabeth desired to prevent, and the more, as Mary's obstinate refusal gave her cause to believe it was really intended.

Mary on her side had strong reasons to elude this ratification. She was persuaded Elizabeth was not the legitimate daughter of Henry VIII. and that neither his will nor an act of parliament could give her a right which nature denied. Upon this supposition, Mary believed the crown of England was fallen to her, as next heir to the deceased queen; and though Elizabeth had possession, she did not despair of wresting it from her, with the assistance of France, Spain, the pope, and the English catholicks. But if, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she owned herself in the wrong to assume the title of queen of England, and promised with an oath never to bear it more, she had cause to fear her friends would grow very cool. To what purpose then did Francis order his plenipotentiaries to sign a treaty, which he did not intend to ratify? To this the answer is easy. He could not otherwise draw his forces out of Scotland, where they were besieged, nor oblige Elizabeth to recall her's. As to the breach of his word, it did not then much trouble the French court. Now as Mary was at that time in subjection to a husband, she threw upon him whatever was amiss in that conduct.

The

The second reason Mary had to refuse the ratification was still of more force. The plenipotentiaries of France, in signing the treaty, made a wrong step, for want of sufficient knowledge of the English affairs. They suffered to be inserted in the treaty, without any restriction, this general clause, "That for the future Francis and Mary should not assume the title of king and queen of England." Now Mary had reason to fear, that these words, 'for the future,' might be a snare to make her renounce for ever the crown of England, on account of her religion. This fear seemed the more just, as the English had sufficiently discovered their intention, to regulate the succession by Henry the Eighth's will, where the posterity of Margaret queen of Scotland was omitted, and the dukes of Suffolk placed next to Elizabeth. It seemed therefore to her, that a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh would give occasion to say, she complied with the will of Henry VIII. which could not but be to her extremely prejudicial. It is scarce to be doubted, that Elizabeth thought the same thing, since afterwards, when Mary, pressed by the necessity of her affairs, offered to ratify the treaty with this alteration of the clause in dispute, "That during the life of Elizabeth she would not take the title of queen of England," Elizabeth was not satisfied. This is an evident sign, that her intention was to make use of the ratification to deprive Mary of her birth-right, or at least, to hold her in subjection, by keeping her in a perpetual uneasiness concerning her succession. There was then insincerity in both their proceedings. Mary, in evading the ratification of the treaty, on pretence of the prejudice it might do her, refused in effect to acknowledge she had done amiss in assuming the title of queen of England during the life of Elizabeth, and thereby preserved all her claim to be asserted on occasion; for it was not till some years after, that she offered the forementioned restriction. On the other hand, Elizabeth, under colour of desiring Mary only to renounce a right which she had assumed to her prejudice, meant to engage her to sign an equivocal clause, which might have deprived her of all her rights. These remarks will hereafter appear not to be entirely useless.

Mary, though she had no safe-conduct from Elizabeth, Mary arrives in Scotland, put to sea, and happily arrived in Scotland. Some say, she escaped the English fleet in a fog, which waited to intercept August 21. her. But this is only a bare conjecture, without any proof. Buchanan, Blackwood.

* That queen Elizabeth intended to intercept the queen of Scots, is not positively asserted by the Scottish historians. Buchanan says, that queen Elizabeth had prepared

Eliz.
1561.

The Roman
catholics
project to
restore their
religion in
Scotland.
Buchanan.

Endeavours
to supplant
James
Stuart.

proof^u. It is however very likely, that as affairs stood between her and Elizabeth, if she had been taken she would have been detained in England, at least till she had ratified the treaty of Edinburgh. She was received in her kingdom with great demonstrations of joy, both by the nobles and people^w. But she had the mortification to see the reformation established by laws so severe, that only herself was allowed the liberty to have mass in her own chapel, but without any pomp or ostentation. Nevertheless, some lords still persisted in the old religion, and hoping to restore it by her authority, made their court to her with great application. Of this number were George Gordon earl of Huntley, the earls of Athol, Crawford, Sutherland, with some bishops. It was not possible to determine, what was the religion of the duke of Chateleraut, his conduct had been hitherto so ambiguous. The lords I have named were very considerable by their birth, their riches, and their vassals. And yet they would never perhaps have thought of restoring the ancient religion, had they not depended upon the queen's favour, who could alone counter-balance the power of the protestants. Their first project was to try to alienate her from those of the protestants, who had the most credit with her and in the kingdom. James Stuart her natural brother was the principal object of their hatred, on account of his adherence to the protestant religion. Besides, the queen having at her arrival committed to him the administration of affairs, it would be very difficult for them to undertake any thing without opposition from him, while he continued in that post. For this reason, they omitted nothing that could serve to ruin him with the queen. But it is not necessary to be more circumstantial in these intrigues; it suffices to show the situation of the court of Scotland, because this is absolutely necessary for the sequel.

prepared a great fleet on pretence to scour the sea of pyrates; but some thought, that it was to intercept the queen of Scots, if she adventured to pass against her will. So that it was only a suspicion, lib. 17. Thuanus affirms, that James prior of St. Andrew's, in his return from France through England, advised queen Elizabeth to detain the queen of Scots, thinking she would come through England, lib. 29.

^u It is true, there arose a great fog in her passage. (See Brantôme, *Dam. il-*

lust. p. 130.) But that does not prove she was pursued by the English fleet. Rapin.

^w And at first, following the counsel of her friends, she behaved herself humanely to them all, committing her affairs to her brother the prior of St. Andrew's, and to the secretary Lethington, or Lidingtoun, as meetest both to hold the country at her devotion, and also to beget a strict friendship between her and the queen of England. Melvil. p. 32.

Eliz.

1561.

The haughtiness with which Mary talked to the English ambassador before she left France, was not only unsuitable to her present circumstances, but even contrary to her measures and the projects she had formed with her uncles. Whilst Francis II. was alive, these princes believed that the forces of France would be sufficient to subdue Scotland, under colour of extirpating heresy, and afterwards in conjunction with the Scotch troops, it would be easy to enter England, and with the assistance of the English catholicks dethrone Elizabeth. But the war they had excited in Scotland taking a very different turn from what they expected, and the death of Francis following immediately upon it, they found that other measures were to be taken, and the execution of their project deferred for some time. They therefore advised the queen their niece voluntarily to quit the title of queen of England, to return into Scotland, to enter if possible into a strict friendship with Elizabeth, to endeavour to be declared her presumptive heir, and under colour of that correspondence to form a party in England, where was no want of malecontents, to be serviceable on occasion. The whole course of the history shows this to have been Mary's plan, and I shall hereafter give convincing proofs of it. Nothing therefore was more contrary to these measures than a quarrel with Elizabeth, whose friendship she ought to have courted, in order to obtain the declaration she desired, by means of which she was to strengthen her party in England. When she arrived in Scotland, she endeavoured to correct this error by sending Maitland to Elizabeth, to notify her safe arrival at Edinburgh, and to desire her friendship. The ambassador carried likewise a letter from the principal noblemen to Elizabeth, which, after many compliments, signified to her, that the best way to preserve a good understanding between the two kingdoms, was for her to declare their queen her presumptive heir. Elizabeth was so much upon her guard against whatever came from Mary, that it was not easy to surprize her. She answered the ambassador, that the queen of Scotland, while in France, promised to give her satisfaction concerning the treaty of Edinburgh, as soon as she should arrive in that kingdom; it could not therefore but surprize her to find no notice taken of that article. The ambassador excused the queen his mistress, that the short time since her arrival had not allowed her to think of any important affair. Elizabeth seemed satisfied with the excuse; but to the letter from the lords, answered plainly, that she would not run the hazard of seeing her subjects adore the rising sun. And raising her voice, added,

Mary's error in falling out with Elizabeth.

She sends an ambassador to Elizabeth, and desires to be declared her heir.
Buchanan.
Melvil.
Camden.
Thuanus.
Elizabeth demands the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; Walsingham's negotiations.
Norris's instructions.
p. 12.
and refuses the request of Mary.
Buchanan.
Camden.

Eliz.
1561.

Camden,
p. 23.

Stewart and
Areskin
made earls.
Buchanan.

The pope
desirous to
send a nun-
tio to Eliza-
beth, is re-
fused.
Camden.
Collier,

Philip sepa-
rates him-
self at a still
greater dis-
tance from
Elizabeth.
Camden.

added, She would not suffer the queen of Scotland to rob her of the crown during her life; neither did she intend to do any thing that might prejudice that queen after her death, though she had usurped the arms of England, for which she ought in justice to make reparation. This was the substance of what passed in relation to this embassy, from which Mary drew the advantage she desired, as it gave her an opportunity to renew a correspondence with Elizabeth. I am persuaded Melvil is mistaken, when he says in his Memoirs, that after Mary's return to Scotland, there was so close a friendship between the two queens, that they writ to one another every week, and testified an extreme desire to deliver by word of mouth what they committed to writing. Nothing till then had passed between them that could serve to form or cement this pretended reciprocal friendship. On the contrary, many things contributed to alienate their hearts from each other. But if Melvil, who was then in Germany, was rightly informed, one cannot help thinking they were both very great dissemblers. About the end of the year, Mary gave the prior of St. Andrew's the title of earl of Murray, and created John Areskin earl of Marr.

Though the answer, given last year to the abbot of Pargl'ia, was by no means proper to inspire the pope with any great hopes of the restoration of the antient religion in England, he sent a nuntio this year to Elizabeth, to notify that the council of Trent, which had been interrupted, would be continued in the same place, and to desire her to send thither some English bishops. The abbot Martinengo, who was charged with this commission, arriving in Flanders, and sending for leave to pursue his journey into England^w, could never obtain it. Whereupon the nuntio at Paris prayed Throckmorton to write to the queen, who coldly answered, she heartily desired a general council, but a popish one she would never honour with an ambassador; that she had no business with the bishop of Rome, who had no more power than other bishops.

After such an answer, Elizabeth might depend upon continual disturbance from the court of Rome, and the more, as since the death of Francis II. the king of Spain was entirely

^w For it was provided by an antient act, That the pope's nuncios should not set foot in England without leave; and, before making oath, that they would attempt nothing prejudicial to the king, or liberties of the people. The coun-
cil did not think proper to admit the present nuncio, when there were so many papists in all parts of the kingdom, who were endeavouring to involve the nation in troubles. Camden, p. 387.

estranged

estranged from her, because he no longer dreaded the union of Great Britain with the monarchy of France. This fear was the only band that had till then attached him to England.

Mean time, Elizabeth seeing herself without any ally, and in danger from all sides, took care in time of her defence. She employed this whole year in preparations, which convinced her enemies she would not be easily surprized. Her great care was to have always a good fleet in readiness, knowing that her navy was the best bulwark of England. At the same time she ordered all the forts and castles of the northern borders to be well fortified, and particularly Berwick, as the place from whence she might be attacked with most ease. As the English had till this time been obliged to have all their gunpowder from abroad, she was afraid of wanting it, and, to prevent that inconvenience, ordered it to be made in her own kingdom^x. Moreover, she increased the pay of the soldiers, to encourage them to serve her faithfully and be ready upon occasion. This same year was happily discovered in Cumberland a mine of pure copper^y, which had been neglected many ages, and at the same time was found in great abundance the stone called Lapis Calaminaris, so necessary for brass-works.

The cares of war did not divert Elizabeth from the affairs of justice and the civil administration. She had her eye every-where, and laboured effectually for the reformation of abuses and the bringing things into good order. Information being made, that the officers of the exchequer reserved the pensions assigned to those ecclesiasticks who had been turned out of their abbies, she ordered that all who were living and unprovided with benefices, should be paid to a farthing^z.

Thus every man relying on the queen's justice and equity, England saw the revival of a happiness she had long wanted. The people had the more reason to be pleased with the government, as the queen, without demanding any subsidies, discharged all the extraordinary expences out of the crown revenues^a; for she did not lavish her money upon the court-

^x She bought up abundance of arms in Germany, and caused a great number of iron and brass cannon to be cast. Camden, p. 388.

^y Near Reswick, lying at the foot of the tall mountain Skiddaw.

^z The queen also increased the salary of the judges, and first allowed them provision for their respective circuits.

Camden, p. 388.

^a Camden observes, that she gave very little out of her own demesnes, or indeed any thing else, but on condition it should, in default of issue male, return to the crown. It is to be wished this rule had always been observed! p. 388.

Eliz.
1561.

leeches, like her predecessors. Her maxim was, to injure none, but to be extremely sparing of her favours and treasures, remembering in what want, by excessive profusion, many of her predecessors had lived, with great revenues. This was what forced them to have frequent recourse to their parliaments, not to have the publick occasions, but their own extravagances supplied ^b.

1562.

Elizabeth is suspicious of the countess of Lennox, and imprisons her.
Camden.

It was not without reason that Elizabeth took so much pains to gain the love of her subjects by the good order she introduced into the kingdom, since at the same time endeavours were used to corrupt and draw them into rebellion. The catholicks began to meet and plot to restore their religion by arms. Elizabeth having some intimation of these cabals, was desirous to know whence they sprung, and at last found it was the queen of Scotland that was to serve for pretence to the revolt, on account of her title to the crown of England. The countess of Lennox, born from a second marriage of Margaret queen of Scotland with the earl of Angus, held a secret correspondence with Mary. Here the first discovery was made. As this countess had the same interest with Mary, since they both descended from the eldest daughter of Henry VII, the queen imagined this correspondence was not without mystery, and therefore sent the earl and countess of Lennox to the Tower ^c.

A conspiracy against the queen discovered.
Camden.

Soon after she discovered that Arthur Pole and his brother, descended from a princess of the house of York ^d, and sir Anthony Fortescue who had married their sister, began to form a party in the kingdom. Upon this intelligence, they were sent to prison and afterwards tried. They confessed a design of withdrawing into France to the duke of Guise, of returning from thence into Wales with a French army, to proclaim Mary queen of Scots queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence. They protested however that they meant not to execute their project during the queen's life, who, they believed, would die before the end of the year, having been told so by some pretenders to astrology. Their own confession

^b This year, on June 15, the spire of St. Paul's cathedral in London, the timber part of which was two hundred and sixty feet high, and the roof seven hundred and twenty feet long, and one hundred and thirty broad, were burnt down by lightning, as it was then thought; but a plumber confessed on his death-bed, that it was set on fire by his carelessness, in leaving a pan of

coals in the steeple, when he went to dinner. Stow, p. 647. Heylin's Hist. Ref. p. 312.

^c The earl was committed to the custody of the master of the rolls, and the countess to the custody of sir Richard Sackville. Camden, p. 389.

^d Great-grand-children to George duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

condemned

condemned them; but the queen, in consideration of their illustrious descent, forgave their offence.*

Catherine Grey, daughter to the duke and duchess of Suffolk, and sister of Jane Grey beheaded in the last reign, was not used with the same lenity, though she was less criminal, and the queen's near relation. She was called to account for a crime, in the punishment of which Elizabeth less showed her zeal for justice than her jealousy and desire to find a pretence to secure herself from this sort of rival, who gave her some uneasiness. Catherine had been married to Henry, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke^e, who had procured a divorce, because he could not live with her. Afterwards the earl of Hertford privately married her, and then went into France. In his absence the queen being informed of this clandestine marriage, sent Catherine to the Tower, though she was very big with child. The earl returning, and owning his marriage, was committed to the same place. After this, the archbishop of Canterbury annulled their pretended marriage, because it was not sufficiently proved, and they both remained prisoners in the Tower. While they were there, the earl found means to come to her, and she again proved with child. Whereupon he was accused of three capital crimes: Of breaking prison: Of debauching a virgin of the blood royal: And of abusing her a second time: and for each offence was fined five thousand pounds^f. At last, after a long imprisonment, and several fruitless attempts to have his sentence reversed, he was forced to forsake her by an authentick act. But the queen remaining implacable to the lady, she died in prison. Before she expired, she prayed the lieutenant of the Tower to tell the queen, that she begged her pardon for contracting marriage without her permission, thereby showing, she had ever considered the earl of Hertford as her lawful husband^g. This excessive rigour does Elizabeth no credit, since it is plain, Catherine Grey's right to the crown, whether well or ill grounded, was her greatest offence.

* Rapin says, to the earl of Pembroke, but the lord Henry Herbert was divorced before his father died. Camden says, when she was divorced, she had suffered a long flight and contempt, and was so far gone with child as to be near her time, p. 389.

^f And nine years imprisonment. Camden, 389.

^g The validity of their marriage was

"Bello campus eram, Graia genetrix, Semerus;

"Tres habui Natos, est quibus una soror."

afterwards brought to a trial at the common law; where the minister who married them being present, and other circumstances agreeing, the jury found it a good marriage. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii, p. 369. --- They were married in the church of Great Bodmin in Wiltshire. Lord Beauchamp, a son of this unfortunate pair, lies buried there, with this inscription on his tombstone:

But

Eliz. But it was not from the house of Suffolk that Elizabeth
 1562. had most to fear. The queen of Scotland was a rival much
 more dangerous, as being powerfully supported. Her friends
 still thought of placing her on the throne of England, and only
 waited a favourable opportunity to execute their design. Elizabeth
 had occasion to be convinced of this by her intelligence, that the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine,
 to engage the king of Navarre ^b in their party, offered him
 the marriage of their niece, and promised him possession of
 the throne of England, by the assistance of the pope and king
 of Spain. Though this prince had a wife, they minded not
 the difficulty of annulling his marriage, because his queen
 Jane was a heretick ⁱ. This satisfied Elizabeth that the
 princes of Lorraine had not laid aside their first design; and
 that Philip II. was coming into the plot. Whereupon she
 dispatched Sidney ^k into France on some pretence, to inform
 himself exactly of the affairs of that kingdom, and of what
 was contriving against her, that she might take her measures
 accordingly.

The queen
 distrusts the
 courts of
 France and
 Spain.
 Camden.

Affairs of
 France.
 Mezerai.
 Thuanus.

Catherine de Medici still continued to foment the dissen-
 tion between the two factions, and seemed to incline to the
 side of the Huguenots, who were the weakest. As the
 Guises had artfully persuaded the catholicks, that their differ-
 ences with the prince of Condé concerned only religion, she
 feared to see herself once more at their discretion, as she had
 been in the last reign, if the Huguenots were oppressed. For
 this reason she supported them, and procured them a very fa-
 vourable edict, called the Edict of January. The duke of
 Guise, penetrating her design, believed it time to break her
 measures, by engaging on a sudden both parties in a war.
 He accomplished his design by the massacre of Vassy, com-
 mitted under his eyes, upon a very slight occasion. Then the
 Huguenots, unable to contain any longer, began the war by
 surprizing Orleans, with the more reason, as the queen re-
 gent had applied to the prince of Condé for his assistance, to
 free her and the king from the captivity in which they were held
 by the Guises.

The Hugue-
 nots desire
 succours of
 Elizabeth;
 who con-
 cludes a
 treaty with
 them.

Camden.
 P. Daniel.

I shall not descend to the particulars of this war, which
 may be seen in all the histories of France. I shall only say,
 that the Huguenots, unsuccessful in the first campaign, sent
 the Vidame of Chartres to Elizabeth, to desire her assistance.
 Shortly after his arrival at London, he concluded a treaty

^b Anthony of Bourbon.

den, p. 389.

ⁱ And for the very same reason queen
 Elizabeth was to be deposed. Cam-

^k Sir Henry Sidney.

with Elizabeth, by which she promised to furnish the Huguenot leaders with a hundred thousand crowns, and an aid of six thousand foot, half to be employed in the defence of Dieppe and Roan, and half to be put into garrison at Havre de Grace. The Huguenots, on their side, engaged to put the queen in possession of this last place, to be kept till the restitution of Calais. The same day the treaty was signed, Elizabeth published a manifesto, declaring the reasons which obliged her to assist the Huguenots. She said, "her intention in sending troops into Normandy was not to recover that province, the antient patrimony of her ancestors, and unjustly wrested from them; but to preserve it for the king of France during his minority, and rescue it from the ambition and tyranny of the princes of Lorraine. That she was the more concerned to endeavour to prevent that province falling into their hands, as it was manifest their design was to seize the ports of Normandy, and from thence invade her dominions, after the extirpation of the reformed in France. That for these reasons she thought herself obliged to assist the young king, hinder his subjects from being oppressed by the Guises, protect the professors of the reformed religion, and provide for her own safety." This last article concerning her security was the chief, or rather the only one, which justified her assisting the Huguenots. In all appearance, she would not have liked that a foreign prince should have used the other pretences, alledged in her manifesto, to aid the English catholicks, had they taken up arms against her. But she looked upon the duke of Guise as her most mortal enemy, and the principal protector of the queen of Scotland, for whom, it manifestly appeared, he would have procured the crown of England. The duke was at the head of the catholick party, which was infinitely more powerful than that of the Huguenots. It might therefore very easily happen, that these would be extirpated, or at least entirely disabled, and the duke of Guise become absolute master of the court and kingdom, and employ all the forces of France to execute his project in favour of the queen of Scotland his niece. It is therefore easy to conceive the necessity Elizabeth was under to oppose the advancement of so formidable an enemy, which was not to be done more successfully than by assisting the Huguenots. In maintaining the war in France, she held the duke of Guise employed, and rendered him incapable to attempt any thing against England. Paul de Foix, the French ambassador, having notice of the treaty, required her in virtue of the treaty of Cateau to deliver

Eliz.

1562.

Publishes a
manifesto on
that occa-
sion.

Mezerai.

Stow,

p. 643.

Camden.

The queen's
true motive.

The French
ambassador
complains,
but receives
no satisfac-
tion.

to Camden.

Eliz. to him the Vidame and all his attendants: but she excused herself, and told him, she would write to the king of France about it. She did so indeed, but not obtaining any thing for that lord, she did not think herself obliged to deliver him to the king.

The English put in possession of Havre de Grace. Camden. Mezerai. Thuanus. Stow. Hollingsh. A&S. Pub. xv. p. 675. Roan taken. The battle of Dreux. Thuanus. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

The six thousand English not embarking till September, found the king of Navarre on their arrival before Roan. This was the reason of their dividing themselves in two bodies only, of which one entered Dieppe¹, and the other took possession of Havre de Grace, according to the treaty of London. The earl of Warwick², general of these forces, had been made governor of this last place by the queen. Mean time, the city of Roan was taken by assault, and the king of Navarre, who was wounded at the siege, died on his return to Paris. In the close of this year, the battle of Dreux was fought between the catholicks and Huguenots with almost equal loss. The prince of Condé and the constable de Montmorency, who commanded the two armies, were both taken prisoners, but the king's forces kept the field of battle. The prince of Condé not being able to head his party, admiral de Chatillon took upon him the command of the army. I must now speak of the transactions of Scotland this year.

Affairs of Scotland.

Buchanan.

James Stuart, created earl of Murray, held still the first rank in the management of affairs, not so much from any affection the queen had for him, as from her being advised to keep him always attached to her interest. It was indeed almost impossible for Mary, who had been educated in a court so averse to the reformation, to have any great friendship for the earl her brother, whom she considered as the head of the reformed. Besides, his severe temper did not agree with the luxury which was introducing into the court by the young queen. The preachers exclaimed from the pulpit against these worldly vanities, as very repugnant to true religion. On the other hand, the earl of Murray, as well to support his interest amongst the reformed as to follow his own inclination, signified often to the queen, that this way of life would at last forfeit her the esteem and affection of her subjects. This furnished his enemies with a pretence to insinuate to the queen, that Murray meant to keep her in servitude, and it would be impossible to restore the old religion while he had

¹ This was commanded by sir Adrian Poyninge. Camden, p. 390.

² Ambrose Dudley, created December 26, 1561, baron Lisle, and earl of Warwick. Stow, p. 648.

the direction of affairs. But if Buchanan is worthy of belief, Eliz. they were not content with using secret artifices to ruin him 1562. in the queen's favour. This historian pretends the duke of Chatelerauld and the earls of Huntley and Bothwell conspired to assassinate him, but their plot was discovered by the earl of Arran. He adds, that the duke was punished with the loss of his government of Dunbarton, and Bothwell imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, from whence he found means to escape.

But these were not Murray's most dangerous enemies. Buchanan says, the cardinal of Lorraine writ to the queen his niece, to incite her to dispatch the earl and some other zealous protestants out of the way, for which she might depend upon a powerful aid from the pope to restore the catholic religion in Scotland. According to this historian, the queen resolved to comply with the desires of the pope and the cardinal, and communicated her intentions to the earl of Huntley, who approved of them, and promised his assistance. It was for this purpose, that the queen took a progress into the north, where lay the earl of Huntley's estate ^a, and where the catholics were numerous. But at the same time Huntley finding the queen, in order to execute her project, was going to a country which almost wholly depended on him, formed himself the design to carry her away and force her to marry George Gordon his second son ^b. Murray accompanying the queen in her progress, several obstacles occurred, which caused the execution of the plot against him to be delayed from day to day. Mean while, the earl of Huntley and his son improved the occasion to execute their project. One day, when the court was in a small and ill-fortified town, George Gordon appeared near it with some forces, in order to surprize the queen's person. But the earl of Murray by unexpected good fortune found means to save her. This important service effected for some time the disadvantageous impressions she had received of him.

A design discovered against the earl of Murray. Buchanan.

The earl of Huntley forms a design to carry off the queen. Buchanan.

Murray prevails over her.

Huntley persists in his design; Buchanan.

The discovery of the plot was not capable to make the earl of Huntley desist from his enterprize. He still kept in arms with intent to surprize the court, where the earl of Sutherland was his spy, and informed him of what passed there. But an intercepted letter discovering all, Sutherland fled into Flanders, and the earl of Murray, at the head of some forces, marched

^a Inverness.

^b Rapia, by mistake, says eldest son, but Alexander was the eldest, who dying without issue, George succeeded to

the title (which his father had forfeited) but not till June 1566, at which time he was restored by parliament. Crawford's Peerage.

Eliz.

1562.

Is defeated
and taken.
Dies.

George his
son con-
demned to
die.

Project of
a marriage
betwixt
Mary and
the arch-
duke.

Melvil,
p. 33, &c.

against the earl of Huntley, who bravely expected him. In a battle fought on this occasion, Huntley was defeated and taken prisoner, but died within a few days ^p. George his son escaping, the duke of Chatelerault his father-in-law very earnestly sued for his pardon, and upon some good hope given him by the queen, put him into her hands. He was however conducted to Dunbar, tried and sentenced to die : but the sentence was not executed ^q.

While these things were transacting in Scotland, James Melvil, author of the Memoirs under his name, was employed at Inspruck to sound the inclinations of the imperial court concerning the marriage of queen Mary with the archduke Charles, third son of the emperor Ferdinand. The first overture of this design had been made by the cardinal of Lorrain in his way through Inspruck to the council of Trent, with the offer of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for a portion. This occasioned Maximilian, eldest brother of Charles, to ask Melvil, speaking of this marriage, whether the Scots would be willing to assist their queen in obtaining the crown of England. Hence it is plain, that the Guises had still this design in view, and were incessantly labouring to execute it. We must not therefore wonder that Elizabeth had always an eye upon the queen of Scots as upon a very dangerous rival ^r.

1563.
Affairs of
France.
Mezerai.
Thuanus.
P. Daniel.
Melvil.

In the beginning of the year 1563, the duke of Guise laid siege to Orleans, which was the magazine of the Huguenots, and where D'Andelot brother of the admiral was shut up with a numerous garrison. The place was now reduced to the last extremity, when the duke of Guise was killed with a pistol-ball by a gentleman named Poltrot. The duke perceiving his end approaching, testified an extreme concern for having kindled the civil war, and sent his serious advice to the queen-regent to make a peace on any terms. The admiral being accused of this murder, endeavoured to clear himself, but the

^p John, one of his sons, was executed a few days after. Buchanan, l. 17.— This battle was not fought till October 28, 1563, according to Crawford.

^q Melvil, who was then in Germany, says nothing of this conspiracy of the earl of Huntley. Camden, whose aim was only to blacken the reputation of the earl of Murray, contents himself with saying (in his annals of the year 1566) that Murray had ruined

the illustrious house of the Gordons, without saying one word of this conspiracy. Rapin.

^r This year, Shan O Neal, earl of Tirroen, who had in 1560, broke out into a rebellion, came and made his submission to queen Elizabeth, and received her pardon. Camden, p. 385, 391.— This year also, on December 25, died William lord Grey of Wilton. Stow, p. 652.

relations of the deceased persisted in their belief of his guilt. Eliz. Mean while, the peace between the king and the Huguenots closely followed the death of the duke of Guise, without any care taken by the prince of Condé^{*} to have his generous friend the queen of England included. Nor was this all: for Charles IX. besieging Havre de Grace, the Huguenots distinguished themselves in driving the English out of a place which they themselves had put into their hands. If their conduct, on this occasion, showed them good Frenchmen, it was also a demonstration of their being very ill politicians. Indeed they could not have done any thing more prejudicial to their own interest, or more agreeable to their enemies than thus to quarrel with England. The earl of Warwick defended the place some time with great bravery and intrepidity[†]; but the plague, which raged in the town, daily swept away fifty of his men[‡], and reduced him to the necessity of a capitulation, by which the town was restored to the king of France. After Havre was taken, a peace was concluded between the two crowns. The English forces which had served in France bringing the plague with them into England[¶], it made terrible ravages, above twenty thousand dying in London only[‡].

The death of the duke of Guise made some alteration in the affairs of the queen of Scotland. Charles IX. declaring himself of age to govern, was under the influence of the queen his mother, who not loving her daughter-in-law gave her some mortifications. The payment of her dowry was discontinued, the Scotch guard dismissed, and the duke of Chateleraut denied his revenues. The duke of Guise left a son, who was too young to have any share in the government, and the cardinal of Lorraine had no longer the same credit as during the life of his brother. Mary complaining of her ill treatment from the court of France, the cardinal her uncle fearing she might be provoked to turn to Elizabeth, was more pressing than ever for her marriage with the archduke, and did his utmost to accomplish it. Melvil says however in his

^{*} He pleased himself with the hopes of being lieutenant-general of France, and husband to the queen of Scots. Camden, p. 392.

[†] There were some recruits sent thither, two hundred whereof perished by shipwreck, with their commander sir Thomas Finch, knt. and two brothers of the lord Wentworth. *ibid.* Hollingsh. p. 1202.

[‡] The plague swept away all these fa-

mous officers. Francis Somerset, John Melvil, Zouch, Alberic Darcy, Thomas Drury, p. 35. Wilfrid Antwiffel, Edward Ormesby, Cuthbert Vaughan, Richard Croker, John Cockson, John Prowd, William Saule, Thomas Kemeys, &c. Stow, p. 656.

[¶] Most of them embarked July 31. Stow, p. 656.

[‡] Twenty thousand, one hundred thirty-six. *Ibid.*

The Huguenots make a peace without any notice taken of Elizabeth. Havre besieged. Camden.

Hollingsh. p. 1195—1205.

Surrenders. Stow. A truce between France and England. Camden, Meserai.

Plague at London. The court of France cold to the interests of Mary. Camden.

The cardinal of Lorraine presses her marriage with the archduke Charles. Camden.

Eliz.

1563.

She asks advice of Elizabeth relating to this marriage; who tries to dissuade her, and prevails with her to marry an Englishman. Camden. Melvil, p. 40.

Memoirs, that he perceived at the imperial court it was not relished by Maximilian, eldest son of the emperor. Be this as it will, Mary readily received the proposition. But as the death of the duke of Guise had removed at a great distance the near prospect she had of mounting the throne of England, she believed it necessary to manage Elizabeth, and desired her advice concerning the proposed marriage. Elizabeth was alarmed at the design of allying the queen of Scotland with the house of Austria, not being ignorant with what view the cardinal of Lorraine offered such a marriage to his niece. She therefore told Mary, by Randolph her ambassador, that having for her the tenderness of a sister, and regarding her interests as her own, she desired her to consider that such an alliance would remove her for ever from the throne of England, since the English would never run the hazard of falling under the dominion of the house of Austria: that England was not without persons who had their pretensions to the crown as well as herself, and might greatly embarrass her: it was therefore her interest to gain the affection of the English, by a marriage which would not be uneasy to them: that if any English nobleman was so happy as to please her, such a marriage would doubtless remove the difficulties which lay in the way of her desire to be declared her presumptive heir. This was the substance of what Randolph was ordered to represent to the queen of Scotland, without naming however the lord Elizabeth wished to give her for husband. But he had a secret commission to intimate to the earl of Murray, and secretary Lidington, that he believed she had cast her eyes on the lord Dudley *.

Mary's difficulty. Camden.

Elizabeth's answer threw Mary into great perplexity. She believed herself at least the lawful heir of Elizabeth by her birth-right; but Henry VIII. having not placed her in the line of the succession, an act of parliament was necessary to restore her to her right. Without this, she was in danger that, if Elizabeth died without heirs, the will of Henry would be punctually complied with. On the other hand, her uncertainty whether Elizabeth would cause such an act to be passed in her favour, and get her declared her heir, made her unwilling to relinquish the hope given her by her uncle the cardinal, of being placed on the throne of England by the assistance of the pope, France, Spain, and the English catholics. In this perplexity, she chose to inform the cardinal of

* His lady, daughter of sir John Robb, was lately dead of a fall from a pair of stairs, at Cumnore in Oxfordshire, and lies buried in St. Mary's in Oxford. Camden, p. 393. Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 223.

the representation made to her by Elizabeth, and of that queen's design to marry her to Dudley. The cardinal answered, that Dudley was not a fit match for her, and that Elizabeth only amused her, in pretending to marry her to a man whom she intended for her own bed. That as to the hope she was flattered with, of being declared her presumptive heir, it was not much to be relied on, since, though she kept her word, she might have children, which would render the act of no use, or might, on the least pretence, cause it to be repealed. That it was therefore more agreeable to her interest, to depend upon the assistance of her real friends, than on such uncertain hopes.

This did not prevent Mary, after a mature examination of what had been offered on both sides, from resolving to desist from the design of marrying the archduke, for fear of doing herself a prejudice in England. But withal, she determined to evade the proposal Elizabeth intended to make her, concerning Dudley, without breaking however with her. It was absolutely necessary to show a regard for Elizabeth, in order to continue with more ease her intrigues in England, and increase there the number of her friends, which was already considerable. Besides that the catholics were all for her, many protestants were persuaded, that the crown, if Elizabeth died without children, could not be refused her without injustice, and the least discontent was capable to create a belief, that Mary had even a better title than Elizabeth herself. This gave great uneasiness to Elizabeth, who feared that Mary, by a marriage with a catholic prince, would be enabled to support her pretensions. Therefore she did all that lay in her power to divert her from any such design. To this end, she told Melvil, in his return through England, how much it would offend her, if Mary married without her advice. She added, as it was their common interest to live in a good understanding, she designed to make her two offers, that, by embracing either, she might avoid the jealousy, which her marriage with a foreign prince would raise in the English. The treaty of Edinburgh was all this while unmentioned, the conjuncture not being proper to press that affair.

Frances Brandon dutchess of Suffolk, so often mentioned, died this year⁷. She had accepted for her third husband Adrian Stokes, a private gentleman, by whom she had no children. Of her three daughters by her former marriage

Eliz.
1563.

She desists
from the
archduke's
marriage.

Politics of
the two
queens.
Camden.

Melvil,
p. 40.

The dutchess
of Suffolk
dies.
Camden.

⁷ She lies buried in Westminster-
Manours earl of Rutland. Camden,
abbey. Sandford, p. 537. — This year
p. 394.
also died William lord Paget, and Henry

Eliz.
1563.

with Grey marquiss of Dorset, afterwards duke of Suffolk. Jane the eldest had been proclaimed queen after the death of Edward, and lost her life on a scaffold. Catherine was in the Tower, or perhaps dead. Mary the third had been given in marriage to a man so little distinguished, that there was no likelihood of her being put in competition with the queen of Scotland. Thus by the death of the dutchess of Suffolk, Mary saw herself delivered from a rival, who was granddaughter of Henry VII. ^a

1564.

Peace made
between
France and
England.
Camden.
Aq. Pub.
xv. p. 640.
Stow.

The truce between France and England ended at last in a peace, signed at Troye in Champagne the 11th of April, 1564. By the treaty, the king of France and queen of England preserved entire all their pretensions, without mentioning any in particular, not even the restitution of Calais. There were only some separate articles, which were left unsigned till the next day, concerning the hostages delivered to Elizabeth after the treaty of Cateau, which she was willing to restore for a very small sum ^a. Throckmorton, who had been arrested in France on some pretence ^b, was set at liberty. After this, Elizabeth sent to king Charles the order of the garter by the lord Hunidon ^c, who was sent into France to see the peace sworn to.

Disturbances
between
England and
the Low-
Countries.
Camden.
Strada.

At this time, the commerce between England and the Netherlands was entirely broke, by the artifices of cardinal Granvelle. As he foresaw a war was going to be kindled in the Low Countries, he was willing to remove the English, and for that purpose had prevailed with the governess to for-

^a This year a parliament met at Westminster, January 12, and was prorogued on April 10. They granted the queen a subsidy, and two fifteenths and tenths; and the clergy gave a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. Dews. — The most remarkable acts during this session, were these: 1. An act against holding or maintaining the authority of the bishop of Rome. 2. That no one shall procure a false witness, upon the penalty of forty pounds; nor any one be a false witness, upon the penalty of twenty pounds, and six months imprisonment. 3. An act making the clipping and washing of coin, treason. 4. That any person which shall be seen or found, for one month, in a company of Egyptians, shall be deemed a felon. 5. An act for the due execution of the writ de Excommunicato Capiendo. 6. An act for

translating the Bible and Common-prayer into Welsh. Lastly, An act passed to establish and confirm the queen's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. The work of the reformation, which, with several interruptions, had been carrying on above thirty years, was in great measure completed, and the articles of the church of England, settled by the convocation, and reduced to the number of thirty-nine, as they stand to this day.

^a One hundred and twenty thousand crowns of gold, de soleil, each worth fifty-one pence Tournois. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 644, 645.

^b On pretence of coming to France without a pass. He and sir Thomas Smith were the commissioners employed in negotiating this peace. Camden, p. 392, 394.

^c Henry Carey.

bid the importation of English cloths.* This prohibition obliged the English to set up a staple for their cloths at Embden, a town of East Friesland. But a new ambassador^d sent into England by Philip, in the room of the bishop of Aquila, who was dead, considering that his master's subjects would, from this interruption of commerce, receive no less damage than the English, brought the affair to a negotiation. As there occurred great difficulties, it was mutually agreed that the treaty of commerce, called the Great Intercourse, made in the time of Maximilian, should subsist till one of the parties notified the contrary to the other, with the allowances of forty days to the merchants to withdraw their effects. This affair was very important to both nations. Camden says, that in his time the commerce between England and the Netherlands, rose yearly to above twelve millions of gold, and that the woollen trade alone amounted to above five millions^e.

Elitz.
1564.

This affair being finished, Elizabeth visited the university of Cambridge, where she was received with great pomp and magnificence. She testified her satisfaction in an elegant Latin oration, wherein she assured the university of her protection, and intention to encourage learning to the utmost of her power.

The queen visits the university of Cambridge. Hollingh. p. 1206. Camden.

The tranquillity which the queen then enjoyed would have been compleat, if her suspicions of the queen of Scotland had not given her perpetual uneasiness. It was on her she was always reflecting, as on her most dangerous enemy. She considered that the marriage of this queen might prove to her a fountain of troubles and cares, and draw upon her the greatest misfortunes. So, her whole policy tended either to obstruct all marriages offered to Mary, or at least, to effect that she should espouse a man, from whom England should have nothing to fear. With this view she writ her a letter, wherein, after many demonstrations of friendship, she gave her advice concerning her marriage, telling her, the marrying without her consent would ruin her affairs. Notwithstanding Mary's resolution to live in friendship with Elizabeth, she was provoked at her thus taking upon her to advise her, and even with an air of superiority, which was but too manifest^f. Forgetting therefore her resolution, and thinking only

A difference between the two queens. Melvil.

Melvil, p. 42.

^d Don Diego Gusman de Sylva, canon of Toledo.

^e Camden observes here, that the English wool proved to the Netherlands more than an imaginary Golden Fleece,

and from thence was derived that famous order of the Golden Fleece, instituted in 1429. p. 395.

^f She desired Mary to take heed, that in shewing pleasure to the earl of Lenox, she

Eliz.

1564.

They are
reconciled.
Melvil,
p. 42, 47.

Elizabeth's
politics
with regard
to Mary.
Melvil.

Mary re-
solves to
marry the
lord Darnly.
Camden.
Melvil.

only of making herself satisfaction; she returned such an answer to the letter as greatly offended Elizabeth. But some time after, reflecting that she herself broke her own measures in quarrelling with Elizabeth, she dispatched sir James Melvil to pay her compliments, and to endeavour to mend what had been spoiled by her impatience. Elizabeth received her compliments with equal dissimulation. After telling Melvil how much cause she had to be offended with the letter, she tore it^b in his presence, testifying her readiness to be reconciled, and expressing an affection for her good sister, which assuredly she had not. It was not her interest to quarrel, for fear of inducing Mary to marry some prince, who would not have patience to wait the time of enjoying her succession. She therefore embraced this occasion to renew her instances to Mary for her choice of a husband, proper to preserve their friendship, and a good intelligence between the two kingdoms. All this tended only to a setting forth of several reasons to persuade Mary to accept the lord Dudley, tho' she did not directly name him. It is however very uncertain, whether this marriage was sincerely intended by Elizabeth, or only designed to amuse Mary, and prevent her thinking on others. Nay, it is very likely Dudley, who depended upon Elizabeth, was only proposed to prolong the affair. This seems to be confirmed by the permission afterwards granted by Elizabeth to the lord Darnly, son of the countess of Lenox, to go into Scotland, though she was not ignorant that Mary had some thought of marrying that lord, as she intimated to Melvil. Indeed, Mary had now resolved it, not in compliance with the counsels of Elizabeth to espouse a lord little capable to give her uneasiness, but in hopes of receiving a considerable advantage from the marriage. It had been frequently hinted to her, that there was room to doubt, whether her title to the crown of England was as good as the dutchess of Suffolk's, which was supported by the will of Henry VIII. and that this was a point to be decided by English lawyers. This was to keep her in submission, and prevent her disobliging Elizabeth. When this uneasiness was removed by the death of the

she did not displease the house of Hamilton, seeing thereby trouble and strife might arise in her country. Melvil, p. 42.

^a At any other time this advice would not have been ill taken; but now all advices given by Elizabeth were misconstrued, partly on account of her having hindered the marriage with the

archduke, and partly because Rizzo, the queen of Scots secretary for the French tongue, was not very skilful in inditing French letters. Melvil.

^b Not queen Mary's letter; but an angry answer to it, which she had writ, and intended to send. See Melvil, p. 46, 47.

dutchess

dutchess of Suffolk and Catherine her daughter, the rights of the countess of Lenox, daughter of Margaret queen of Scotland by her second husband Archibald earl of Angus, began to be whispered. Henry VIII. her uncle, had given her in marriage to Matthew Stuart earl of Lenox, who had withdrawn into England, as was said in the reign of that prince. The countess of Lenox could not indeed, with any seeming justice, enter into competition with Mary, since she was born only of Margaret's second marriage, whereas Mary came from the first. But it could be alledged in her favour, that she was one degree nearer, and it was to be feared for Mary, that this reason would prevail, if supported by Elizabeth. So, to avoid this competition, Mary had resolved to unite the titles of the two families by her marriage with the lord Darnly, son to the countess of Lenox, and thereby disable Elizabeth to give her any disturbance. Elizabeth had for the same reason resolved to obstruct the marriage, not from any fear of the lord Darnly, but with intent to keep Mary always in awe and submission.

Elliz.
1564.

The reconciliation between the two queens being made, as I before said, Mary seriously thought of executing her design. But as she was prepossessed with a belief, that Elizabeth only sought to amuse her, and prevent her from marrying, she saw it necessary to use some art, to draw the earl of Lenox and his son into Scotland. She began with the father, and pretended to recall him in order to restore him to his estate, forfeited during the regency of the duke of Chateleraut. Elizabeth did not think it right to oppose the earl of Lenox's return into his own country, upon a motive so just and reasonable. In this whole affair the two queens behaved with equal dissimulation. At the very time Mary was taking measures to marry the lord Darnly unknown to Elizabeth, she pretended a readiness to be directed by her counsels. She even consented to a congress of commissioners of both the kingdoms, concerning her marriage, though she was not ignorant of Elizabeth's intentions to propose to her Dudley, lately created earl of Leicester¹. On the other hand, Elizabeth, not unacquainted with Mary's design to marry the lord Darnly, seemed not to perceive it, being well pleased to have her fix her thoughts upon a subject, whom she believed to be at her disposal, because the earl his father had great possessions in England. She hoped therefore to have it always in her power to break off or delay the marriage, as she should judge pro-

She draws the earl of Lenox into Scotland. Camden. Melvil, p. 42. Buchanan.

Dissimulation of the two queens. Melvil.

Dudley made earl of Leicester. Camden. Stow, p. 657. Hollingh.

¹ On September 30. Stow, p. 657.

Eliz.
1564.

per, her sole aim being to gain time, and amuse the queen of Scotland.

Conference at Berwick on the subject of Mary's marriage. Camden. Melvil, p. 53. Camden, p. 356. Mary distrusts Elizabeth. Melvil, p. 53.

Some time after, the earl of Bedford ^k for England, and the Earl of Murray with Lidington for Scotland, had a conference at Berwick ^l, where the earl of Bedford, according to his instructions, proposed the marriage of the queen of Scotland to the earl of Leicester. But the two Scotch commissioners, who had likewise their orders, received the proposal with such coldness, that the earl of Bedford thought it not proper to insist much on it. Nay, it is pretended that the earl of Leicester, who had some hope to marry Elizabeth ^m, had desired him not to press it.

Mean time, Melvil being returned, freely told Mary, in laying his negotiation before her, that the queen of England's friendship was far from being sincere. This caused Mary, who had already no very good opinion of Elizabeth, to regard her as a secret enemy, who, though she always called her good sister, did not mean her well. Sometimes she thought Elizabeth only proposed the earl of Leicester to her, that she herself might marry him with the less dishonour, after his having been encouraged by a queen: and sometimes, that this proposal was only an artifice, to waste time in fruitless negotiations.

Death of the emperor Ferdinand, who is succeeded by Maximilian II.

1565.

Rise and fortune of David Rizzo. Melvil, p. 54. Buchanan. Thuanus.

Thus was spent the year 1564, in which Ferdinand died, leaving the imperial dignity and his hereditary dominions to his son Maximilian.

The queen of Scotland had for some time time entertained David Rizzo, an Italian, who governed her absolutely. As the queen entirely changed both her conduct and character, after this stranger was received into her confidence, and as he was the first cause of the troubles of Scotland, and the misfortunes of his mistress, it is necessary to say something of him.

David Rizzo, son of a musician of Turin, being servant to the count de Muretto, ambassador to Scotland, attended his master into that country. As he perfectly understood music ⁿ, and sung a good bass, he got acquainted with the court-musicians, and was introduced to the queen, who wanting a bass to her concert, desired the ambassador to leave him with

^k With sir Thomas Randolph. Camden, p. 396.

^l In November.

^m Queen Elizabeth herself told Melvil, that she esteemed Dudley as her brother, and best friend, whom she

would have herself married, had she ever minded to have taken a husband. Melvil, p. 47.

ⁿ He was the author of the old Scotch tunes.

her. His fine voice often procuring him the honour of seeing Eliz. and talking with the queen, he so artfully insinuated himself 1565. into her good graces, that he daily increased in favour and credit. At last the secretary of the French dispatches being gone into France, Rizzo was chosen for that office during his absence. From this time he pushed his fortune so successfully, that he became in a manner first minister, nothing of moment being transacted at court but by him. Buchanan, the queen's great enemy, often insinuates, that David's influence over her was not confined to publick affairs. He says, she admitted him to her table, and frequently dined at his, and by such uncommon familiarities gave occasion to scandalous suspicions. In a word, he says enough to incline those who pay entire credit to him, to believe that the queen's conduct was not free from crime. But as Buchanan may justly be suspected of aggravation, it is better to adhere to Melvil's account. He can be accused of no design to asperse the queen's reputation, since he rather, on all occasions, shews a great zeal for her, without however concealing her faults. At the time when Rizzo was most in favour with the queen, she had so entire a confidence in Melvil, as even to allow or rather command him to admonish her of her faults. See what this author in his Memoirs says of Rizzo. "As he entered in greater credit, so he had not the prudence how to manage the same P. 54. 55. "rightly. For frequently, in presence of the nobility, he "would be publicly speaking to the queen, even when "there was greatest conventions of the states. Which made "him to be much envied and hated, especially when he became so great, that he presented all signatours to be subscribed by her majesty. So that some of the nobility "would frown upon him, others would shoulder and shut "him by, when they entered the queen's chamber, and "found him always speaking with her. All who had any "business at court, addressing themselves to him, and depending upon him, in short time he became very rich.— "As he was a known minion, and suspected to be a pensioner "of the pope, it gave ground of suspicion, that some design "would be by him contrived against the reformed religion." The same author adds, that having himself represented to the queen the injury which her favours upon this stranger now did and might afterwards do her, his remonstrance was very ill received, the queen telling him, she would not be so far restrained, but that she might dispense her favours to such as she pleased. He says farther, that having remonstrated to Rizzo how much he offended the nobility by his affectation to

He becomes
the queen's
favourite.

P. 56.

Eliz.
1565.

Lord Darnly
obtains leave
to go into
Scotland.
Camden.
Melvil,
p. 53.
Buchanan.

February 22.
Melvil.
Buchanan.

He contracts
friendship
with Rizzo.
The earl of
Murray de-
clines in his
credit, and
sees his ene-
mies in fa-
vour.
Buchanan.
Thuanus.

to appear so great with the queen, he seemed to pay some regard to his advice; but within a few days told him, he had the queen's orders to behave as he was wont, without minding any thing. This testimony, added to Camden's silence, who, having undertaken in his *Annals of Elizabeth* to justify the queen of Scots, says nothing of Rizzo, shows that this minister or favourite entirely governed the queen. So, the lord Darnly being a catholic, and Rizzo the pope's pensioner, as Melvil affirms, it is not to be doubted that the queen was determined to the marriage by her favourite's advice. It was therefore to have an opportunity of drawing that young lord into Scotland, that she restored his father to the possession of his estate. As this was to be done in the assembly of the states, summoned to meet in January, Darnly demanded leave to be absent three months, in order to be at the Scotch parliament, and obtained it by the intercession of Cecil, who never imagined he would venture to espouse Mary without the queen's permission. Probably he was permitted to go into Scotland only with intent to amuse the queen, and perhaps to give her an opportunity to entertain for that handsome young lord a passion, which would hinder her from thinking of any other. However this be, he was well received by the queen, who immediately gave him great marks of her esteem, and shortly after it was perceived she designed him for her husband. Rizzo instantly contracted so close a friendship with him, that they both lay in the same bed.

After Rizzo had ingrossed the queen's favour, the earl of Murray saw his credit daily decline. This, added to the intended marriage, and the great union between Darnly and Rizzo, convinced him it was time to retire, and to hasten him, the queen recalled all his enemies to court. The earl of Bothwell returned from France, the earl of Sutherland from Flanders, and George Gordon, who was imprisoned at Dunbar, and under sentence of death, was released, and after obtaining his pardon, took the title of earl of Huntley. Murray could not see Bothwell (who would have murdered him) without resentment. He impeached him in a legal manner, and prevailed to have a day assigned for his trial. The queen, according to Buchanan, used her utmost endeavours to oblige Murray to desist from his prosecution, and not succeeding, tried to corrupt his judges. Notwithstanding so powerful a protection, Bothwell thought it not proper to appear, but withdrew. Afterwards the queen obtained from the earl of Murray a sort of reconciliation with Bothwell. The same historian pretends, that the queen had conceived so vio-
lent

lent hatred against Murray, that, jointly with Darnly and Rizzo, she formed a design to have him murdered in a journey she made on purpose to Perth; but that Murray having some notice of it, retired to his mother's at Lochleven. He says further, that the queen being at Perth, a report was industriously raised, that Murray intended to surprise her, and the lord Darnly, in their return to Edinburgh. To make the report the more credible, scouts were sent out on the road, and the queen came to Edinburgh with a precipitation apt to create a belief of the greatness of her danger. It must however be owned, that Melvil speaks of a conspiracy to seize the lord Darnly as something real, though Buchanan will have it to be all imaginary; but Melvil does not ascribe it to Murray alone, since the duke of Chateleraut, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes were likewise concerned.

He is reported to design to seize the queen.

p. 56.

The earl of Murray had a double interest to obstruct the projected marriage, the one private, the other publick. I have already taken notice of the first, which engaged him to alter the state of the court, where he could no longer support himself. The latter flowed first from the danger into which the queen's marriage with a catholick lord might throw the reformed religion. In the next place, it was to be feared, that this marriage, being made without the queen of England's participation, or any care for the support of the reformed religion, would lay a foundation for troubles, in which it was almost impossible for England and France not to be concerned, to the great prejudice of the kingdom. The earl of Murray was not the only person who disliked the marriage. The duke of Chateleraut, sworn enemy to the house of Lenox, the earls of Argyle, Rothes, Marr, Glencairn, and many others, some from private views, others from more honest motives, believed it time to apply effectual remedies to the impending mischiefs, by making a league to oppose the designs of the court. It is not easy to decide whether these lords took up arms before or after the queen's marriage. Buchanan intimates this was not till after, upon the court's intending to oppress them. Melvil speaks of an insurrection of these lords after failing to seize the lord Darnly, and then proceeds to the recital of the queen's marriage. Camden positively asserts that the queen, to celebrate the marriage with more safety, was obliged to march with some forces against the confederate lords, and forced them to fly into England. If this be true, she doubtless surprized them before they were prepared. This is not the only disagreement between Camden and Buchanan.

Murray is averse to the queen's marriage with Darnley. Buchanan. Thuanus.

Joins with some others to prevent it.

p. 56.

but without success.

How-

Eliz.

1565.

Mary has her
marriage ap-
proved by the
lords of the
court.
Camden.
Spotiswood.

However, Mary having resolved on her marriage, had now applied to the pope for a dispensation*. When she knew it was granted, she assembled the great men of her court, who were all devoted to her, and asked their advice concerning her marriage, which was unanimously approved. Only it was added, not to exasperate the people, that care was to be taken of the protestant religion. The first part of this approbation was gladly accepted, but as for the restriction, it was no more heard of. Buchanan says, the earl of Murray undertook to procure Elizabeth's consent, provided the protestant religion was secured. But this was not the intention of the court, who perceived this security would be the guaranty of Elizabeth. which agreed neither with the interests of the queen, nor those of Rizzo and the lords newly taken into favour.

The people
murmur.
Buchanan.

Mean time, the people began to murmur by the secret intrigations of the confederate lords. It was debated in private conversations, whether the queen could marry without the consent of the states. Some said, she could not be denied a natural right enjoyed by all her subjects. Others maintained, that the condition of the queen and her subjects were not the same, because the queen by her marriage gave a sovereign to her subjects, which she could not do without their consent. These freedoms convinced the queen that she must hasten her marriage, not to be any longer exposed to the difficulties which might be started, whilst there was hope to obstruct it. She believed, however, that she could not avoid asking, not the advice, but the approbation of Elizabeth, whom it was, as I said, her interest to manage. She writ to her therefore†, to communicate her design as a thing already resolved. Elizabeth, on sight of the letter, assembled her council, who examined the affair with great attention. The result was, that the marriage of the queen of Scotland with Darnly was dangerous to religion and the kingdom. To religion, because that queen, in chusing a catholick lord, intended, it was to be feared, to restore her religion in Scotland, which would be very prejudicial to that of the protestants. To the kingdom, as Mary uniting by this marriage the interests of the two houses, who could pretend to the crown of England, seemed to have a design of forming a powerful party in the kingdom, and preventing the interruption of her cabals, by opposing against her the

Mary asks
the approba-
tion of Eli-
zabeth.
Camden.
Thuanus.
Strype.

* And about this time, she created the lord Darnly, baron of Ardamanack, earl of Rosse, and duke of Rothsay, which are the usual titles of the eldest

and second sons of Scotland, Heylin's Hist. Ref. p. 343.

† By Liddington. Camden, p. 396.

house of Lenox. For these reasons, some of the counsellors were for sending immediately an army into Scotland to support the malecontents. But Elizabeth thought it not proper to be so hasty, and the more, as the alledging that her marriage might be dangerous to England, was but a weak pretence to make war upon the queen of Scots¹. She contented herself therefore with sending sir Nicholas Throckmorton, to make her sensible of the hazard she ran of losing her expectation of mounting the throne of England, by a marriage so disagreeable to the English. Mary's answer was, that the affair was too far advanced to be recalled, nor had Elizabeth any reason to disapprove the marriage, since by her advice she had now chose an Englishman, descended from the royal blood of both kingdoms, and the first nobleman of all Britain. Throckmorton, unable to prevail with Mary, signified to the earl of Lenox, and the lord Darnley, that their licence being expired, they were to return to England, or their estates would be forfeited². This menace was incapable to command their obedience in such a conjuncture. However, they both writ very submissively to the queen, and Darnly in particular protested, that he only accepted the honour done him by the queen of Scotland, with intent to preserve a perfect harmony between the two kingdoms.

Eliz.
1565.

who endeavours to divert her, but in vain. Camden. Melvil.

She recalls the earl of Lenox and his son, who excuse themselves. Buchanan. Camden. Melvil.

But this was not the only commission the ambassador of England was charged with. He had also instructions to encourage the discontented lords, and give them hopes of the queen's protection. It was probably from this encouragement that they took up arms to oppose the marriage. But the queen prevented them, by having it solemnized the 29th of July in her own chapel, after the manner of the church of Rome. Buchanan says, she had two other reasons to hasten her marriage. The first was, her fear of the cardinal of Lorraine's opposition, who wished her to make a more considerable alliance. The other was, that Rizzo was willing to recommend himself to the pope, by giving the queen a catholic husband, without any security for the protestant religion.

Throckmorton encourages the Scotch malecontents. Camden. Strype.

Marriage of Mary. Buchanan. Camden. Melvil. Thuanus.

Mean time, the confederate lords being cited, and not appearing, the queen, whether before or after her marriage, put herself at the head of four thousand men, and pursuing them from place to place, forced them at last to retire into

Some lords take up arms and are forced to fly into England.

Camden. Melvil. Strype. Buchanan.

¹ The two queens had an interview this year, in May or June; but what the effect of it was, does not appear. Strype's Ann. tom. i. p. 310.

² Queen Elizabeth, on June 22, ordered the counts of Lenox, and her son Charles, to be put in custody. Camden, p. 397. Melvil, p. 58.

Eliz.
1565.

P. 57.

Camden.

The people
of Scotland
discontented.
Buchanan.

The court
drives the
fugitive
lords to ex-
tremities.
Melvil,
P. 55, 64.

Motives of
this conduct.

England. There they found a safe retreat *, notwithstanding the treaty of the year 1560, by which the two queens mutually promised to deliver the fugitive rebels. But such articles are usually very ill observed. Melvil relates a particular which deserves notice. The Scotch fugitive lords having deputed to Elizabeth the earl of Murray to desire her protection, she politically induced him to own, before the ambassadors of France and Spain, that she was not concerned in their rebellion. But the words were no sooner out of Murray's mouth, than she called them rebels and traitors, and forbid them her presence. This was to clear herself to the ambassadors: but was all a farce, since she still granted the fugitives a safe retreat in her kingdom. Nay, privately supplied them with money by the duke of Bedford †.

Mary's marriage with a catholic, the great credit of Rizzo, and the concern of many for the fate of the fugitive lords, produced a discontent among the Scots, which daily increased by the secret intrigues of the relations and friends of the fugitives. The preachers still greatly inflamed it, by insinuating to the people, that religion was in extreme danger. Notwithstanding all this, the court, now prosperous and elate, resolved, contrary to the rules of policy, and at a time when the kingdom was dissatisfied, to degrade and banish the fugitive lords by a decree of the states. To this end, the states were summoned to meet in February the next year. Melvil says, in his Memoirs, that having represented to the queen the mischiefs this rigour might produce, she at first seemed to mind him, but however, persisted in her resolution for two reasons. The first was, the avarice of Rizzo, who had an eye to the confiscation of the exiles estates. The second was, the powerful solicitation of the cardinal of Lorraine against them. He still thought of placing the queen his niece on the throne of England, and therefore judged, if the fugitives of Scotland, as they were the heads of the protestants, were once ruined, it would be easy to restore the Romish religion in Scotland, and afterwards invade Elizabeth from thence. Rizzo, the pope's creature, acted doublets

* Melvil says, that queen Elizabeth had, by her ambassadors, promised to hazard her crown in their defence, in case they were driven to any strait for appearing against the marriage, p. 57.

† Melvil says, that had not some of the protestants in England, who favoured the Scots exiles upon account of their religion, interposed with queen

Elizabeth, they would not have been permitted to have remained within her dominions; though she had promised a little before to give them assistance. And as for secret help, she gave them none, only they obtained a small contribution among some of their own religion, p. 57.

from the same motive; and in all appearance the new king was no enemy to the design. If Elizabeth is to be credited, in what she writ to her ambassador in France some years after, Mary and the lord Darnley from the moment of their marriage never ceased to cabal against England. On this supposition, it will not appear strange, that Elizabeth fomented the troubles in Scotland to put it out of the power of her enemies to invade her.

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Walsingham's negotiations.
Norris's instructions,
p. 22.

In the mean time, Elizabeth sent into Scotland Tamworth, a gentleman of her privy-chamber, with a letter written with her own hand, wherein she demanded of Mary, that the lord Darnley, to whom she vouchsafed not to give the title of king, should be delivered up to her, according to the tenor of their treaty. Mary refused to give the ambassador audience, but was willing to receive the letter. Whilst she was reading it in the presence of some lords, Rizzo came in, and snatching it out of her hands, hindered her from proceeding *. He judged that Elizabeth demanded the king, only to oblige the queen to pardon the exiles, to which he could not agree, being determined to ruin them, though the earl of Murray had sent him a very submissive letter, with a fine diamond inclosed. Mary answered Elizabeth, That she would not attempt any thing against England so long as she lived, 'provided she was declared her presumptive heir by act of parliament.' As to the fugitive lords, she desired her to leave her at liberty to dispose of them as she pleased, since she did not meddle with what passed in England.

Mary gives an ill reception to Elizabeth's ambassador.
Camden.
Strype.

Buchanan.

Mary's letter to Elizabeth.

Whilst Rizzo was employed in taking measures to execute his projects, the queen conceived an extreme aversion to her new spouse, which soon became publick, because she took no care to conceal it. She was not contented with grievously mortifying him in private, but was pleased all the world should know how little she valued him. When they were first married, she had caused the king's name to be set with her own in all publick acts and on the coin †, but presently after she ordered her own to be placed before the king's, and even caused his to be left out in the money-stamp. Mean while, she continued without any reserve her scandalous familiarities with Rizzo, if we may believe Buchanan. Melvil says not

Queen Mary conceives an aversion to the king.
Buchanan.
Melvil.

Her behaviour to Rizzo is scandalous.
Buchanan.

* Buchanan says, when she had read about half of the letter, Rizzo stood up and bid her read no more, she had read enough, she should stop.

† And on the 28th and 30th of July

1565, issued out two proclamations, whereby she ordered he should be stiled king of Scotland. See them in Anderson's Collect, tom. i. p. 33, &c.

Eliz.

1565.

so much on this subject, but, besides his plain intimations, he manifestly supposes it, otherwise there would be no coherence in what he relates. As for Camden, who makes it his business to vindicate queen Mary upon all occasions, he scarce mentions Rizzo; and for the queen's aversion to the king, he accuses the earl of Murray, then a fugitive in England, of having caused it by his letters and friends. He pretends Murray took occasion from the alteration enjoined by the queen with respect to the acts and the coin, to sow discord between them; so assigning for cause, what was only the effect of the queen's aversion.

The king
receives
many mor-
tifications.
Buchanan.
Caussin.

Buchanan must be copied to represent fully all the mortifications the queen made the king undergo, the affronts she put upon him, and the little discretion she observed in her familiarities with Rizzo*. Perhaps this historian is guilty of great aggravation. But however, it cannot be denied, that the king was jealous. The question was to know, whether the queen gave occasion for this jealousy, as Buchanan pretends; or whether, as Camden affirms, the earl of Murray, though absent, instilled it into the king without any foundation by his letters and friends†. Melvil, who may be considered as an unsuspected evidence, plainly supposes the king's jealousy without any mention of the cause, and it may be almost affirmed, that if he had thought the queen entirely innocent, he would not have failed to clear her. He adds, that the friends of the fugitive lords improving the visible discord between the king and queen, and the disposition of the king with regard to Rizzo, induced him to resolve to take away the life of that favourite, in order by his death to put a stop to the prosecution of the fugitives, who properly had no other adversary but him. This seems to confirm what Buchanan says, since Melvil supposes the king's jealousy, and since the friends of the fugitives only made use of the king's disposition. On the other hand, Camden seems to have said justly, that the earl

Melvil,
p. 64.

* We find (in the lord Ruthven's relation of the death of David Rizzo) the king thus complaining to the queen. "Since yon fellow Davie fell in credit and familiarity with your majesty, ye regarded me not, neither treated me nor entertained me after your wonted fashion; for every day before dinner and after dinner, ye would come to my chamber and pass time with me, and this long time ye have not done so; and when I come to your majesty's chamber, ye bear me

"little company, except Davie had been the third marrow; and after supper your majesty hath a use to set at the cards with the said Davie till one or two of the clock after midnight: and this is the entertainment that I have had of you this long time," p. 30.
† Blackwood says, it was the earl of Morton that put it into the king's head. Martyre de Marie, p. 203, &c. Coll. Jebb. So also says Castelnau, Mem. c. 13.

of Murray's friends inspired the king with the design to dispatch Rizzo out of the way. But we shall see presently, that by the friends of the fugitive lords, Melvil did not mean the earl of Murray's particular friends, but rather those of the other lords, who like him had taken refuge in England. Eliz. 1565.

The king having taken this resolution, and consulted some of his domesticks how to execute it, the queen, who was informed of it, was so enraged with him, as made him still more sensible how much she was concerned for that unworthy favourite. As the design was discovered, the king was afraid of his own life, and not knowing what course to take, asked advice of his father the earl of Lenox, who was of opinion, privately to recall the fugitive lords, and strengthen himself by their aid against Rizzo's attempts. Probably it was then the king sent to these lords, that they might return to Scotland, whether he only gave them some general hopes of a revolution to their advantage, or informed them of his most secret designs. The king privately recalls the exiles. Buchanan.

In July, this year, was the famous interview of Bayonne, where the two courts of France and Spain resolved to use their utmost endeavours to extirpate the hereticks, as it afterwards appeared. Very likely queen Elizabeth was not forgot on this occasion. Interview of France and Spain at Bayonne. Thuanus.

Pope Pius IV. dying in September, his successor took the name of Pius V. I return to the affairs of Scotland, which are very material to clear the history of Elizabeth.² Pius V. pope. Thuanus.

The members of the parliament of Scotland daily repaired to Edinburgh in the beginning of the year 1566. As they arrived, Rizzo openly solicited them to obtain the condemnation of the fugitive lords, notwithstanding the warm instances of the English ambassador, who conjured the queen to pardon them, or at least delay their trial. These instances were so far from moving her, that they rather helped to confirm her resolution, because she considered Elizabeth as an enemy, against whom she was to guard. These lords being the heads of the protestants, it was probable the queen of England demanded their pardon, only to have so many powerful friends when they should return to their country. But The states of Scotland assembled. Buchanan. Melvil. Rizzo solicites against the fugitives.

² This year, on July 16, there was such a terrible storm of thunder, with violent showers of hail, that at Chelmsford in Essex, there were five hundred acres of corn destroyed. Stow, 659. — This year also, Armigill Wade, Esq; and William Herlle, gentleman, having found out the way of making brimstone, and of extracting out of certain roots and herbs, an oil proper for the dressing of cloths, obtained a patent for the same. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 650.

Eliz. 1566. this was what the queen and Rizzo were resolved to prevent at any rate, knowing their projects would be very difficult to be accomplished, when these lords were in Scotland. And therefore they were to be deprived of all hopes to return.

The king refuses Rizzo to be murdered in the queen's chamber. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 64. Mean while, the king consulted with the earl of Morton and some other friends, how to dispatch Rizzo. In short, his death was determined, the king having first signed a writing, declaring himself to be the author ^a. His instruments were, the lord Ruthven, and George Douglass, natural son to the earl of Angus ^b; Morton only advising the thing, without lending his assistance, and it was executed in this manner. The queen being at table, and Rizzo in her chamber, the king came up by a private pair of stairs, and stood some time leaning upon her chair. Presently after, the lord Ruthven and George Douglass entered all armed, and attended with some of their complices, the rest having posted themselves in several parts of the palace to prevent assistance. These men entered so abruptly, that the table was overturned. The queen asking Ruthven what his design was, he made her no answer, but speaking to Rizzo, boldly commanded him to go out of the room, saying the place he sat in was not fit for him. It seems by that, Rizzo was at table with the queen. Be that as it will, Rizzo perceiving he was the mark they aimed at, trembled for fear, and took hold of the queen's robe, to put himself, as it were, under her protection, who did all she could to interpose herself between him and the conspirators. But the king taking her in his arms, and telling her she had nothing to fear, hindered her from exposing herself to the danger, and withal from screening Rizzo. Mean time, George Douglass taking the king's dagger from his side, drew it and stabbed Rizzo, who was immediately dragged into another room ^c and there slain ^d. The queen was

^a The reader may see this writing in a curious relation of the death of Rizzo, written by the lord Ruthven, and published at London 1699.

^b Who was father to Margaret Douglass countess of Lenox, the king's mother. Melvil, p. 64.

^c The outer hall. Melvil, p. 65. This was contrary to the design of those who conspired his death; for they had resolved to hang him publicly. Buchanan.

^d The account of this matter is thus given by the lord Ruthven, the principal actor in this business. "Upon Sa-

turday the ninth day of March, the earl of Morton, lord Ruthven, and lord Lindsay, with their complices, passed up to the queen's utter chamber; and the said lord Ruthven passed in through the king's chamber, and up through the privy way to the queen's chamber, as the king had learned him, and through the chamber to the cabinet, where he found the queen's majesty sitting at her supper, at the middles of a little table, the lady Argyle sitting at one end, and Davie Rizzo at the head of the table, with his cap on his head, the king

was then above five months gone with child, and it may be easily judged that the committing such a deed in her presence must have made her like to miscarry.^c Eliz. 1566.

Rizzo being dead, a guard was set upon the queen, who found means however to tell Melvil to go instantly to the provost of Edinburgh, and bid him draw the people together and come to her relief. Melvil having discharged his commission, the provost answered, he would do his endeavour to

The queen is put under a guard. Melvil, p. 65.

"king speaking with the queen's majesty, and his hand about her waist. The lord Ruthen at his coming in, said to the queen's majesty, It would please your majesty to let yonder man Davie come forth of your presence, for he hath been over-long here. Her majesty answered, What offence hath he made? The said lord replied again, That he had made great offence to her majesty's honour, the king her husband, the nobility and commonweal of the realm. And how? saith she. It will please your majesty, said the said lord, he hath offended your majesty's honour, which I dare not be so bold to speak of. As to the king your husband's honour, he hath hindered him of the crown matrimonial, which your grace promised him, besides many other things which are not necessary to be expressed: and as to the nobility, he hath caused your majesty to banish a great part, and most chief thereof, in so far as he suffered not your majesty to grant or give any thing but that which passed thro' his hands, by taking of bribes and goods for the same;—besides many other inconveniencies that he solicited your majesty to do. Then the said lord Ruthen said to the king, Sir, take the queen's majesty your sovereign and wife to you, who stood all amazed, and wist not what to do. Then her majesty rose on her feet, and stood before Davie, he holding her majesty by the plats of her gown, leaning back over in the window, his whyniard drawn in his hand. Arthur Erskin, and the abbot of Holyrood-house, and others, began to lay hands on the said lord Ruthen, none of the king's party being present. Then the said lord pulled out his whyniard, and freed himself while more came in, and said to them, Lay not hands on

me, for I will not be handled; and at the incoming of others into the cabinet, the said lord Ruthen put up his whyniard; and with the rushing in of men, the board fell to the walls, with meat and candles being thereon; and the lady of Argyle took up one of the candles in her hand; and in the same instant, the said lord Ruthen took the queen in his arms, and put her into the king's arms, beseeching her majesty not to be afraid; for there was no man there that would do her majesty's body more harm, than their own hearts; and assured her majesty, all that was done was the king's own deed and action. Then the remanent gentlemen being in the cabinet, took Davie out of the window; and after that they had him out in the queen's chamber, the said lord Ruthen followed, and bad take him down the privy way to the king's chamber; and the said lord returned to the cabinet again, believing that the said Davie had been had down to the king's chamber, as said is: but the press of the people hurried him forth to the utter chamber, where there was a great number standing, who were so vehemently moved against the said Davie, that they could not abide any longer, but slew him at the queen's far door in the utter chamber." Relation of the Death of David Rizzo, by the lord Ruthen, p. 27—29.

^c Melvil says, it appeared to be done to destroy both her and her child. For they might have killed Rizzo in any other part, and at any other time, p. 66. The lords concerned in this murder, were for dispatching Rizzo in his own chamber in a morning, or elsewhere. But the king insisted it should be done as it was. Relation of his death, p. 22, 23.

Eliz.
1566.

serve the queen, but there was not much to be expected from the people, who were extremely displeased with the government. Some however appearing in arms before the palace, the king showed himself out of a window, and assuring them that Rizzo was slain by his command, ordered them to retire, which they did immediately ^f.

Vindication
of the earl
of Murray
against Cam-
den's accu-
sations.
Melvil,
p. 65.

p. 327.

p. 65.

Ibid.

Mean while, the queen not doubting Rizzo's murder was committed in favour of the fugitive lords, and that they would soon return into Scotland, sent to Melvil by one of her ladies, that he would endeavour to prepossess the earl of Murray, and intreat him from her not to join with her enemies, for which he might depend upon her love and favour for ever. Murray and the other fugitive lords arrived indeed two days after Rizzo's death, having had notice of the change which was to happen at court. Camden draws this conjecture from the sudden arrival of the fugitives, that Rizzo's murder must have been committed for the sake of the earl of Murray, who was to be condemned two days after by the parliament. But it appears on the contrary, in Melvil's Memoirs, that the earl of Murray's particular friends had no hand in the deed, since he did not think himself at all obliged to the actors. What Melvil says upon this occasion, shows that the consequence drawn by Camden against the earl of Murray from the sudden arrival of the fugitives, is not just. His words are these: 'Which commission [to persuade Murray not to join with her enemies] I did not fail to execute at his coming upon Monday, but he was more moved at his meeting with her majesty, who embraced and kissed him, alledging that if he had been at home, he would not have suffered her to have been so uncourteously handled. Which so much moved him, that the tears ran from his eyes. He knew sufficiently well that it was not for his cause, but their own particular ends, that the greatest part who had made that enterprize had therein engaged, which made him the less concerned in them.' Can any thing be more opposite to Camden's inference? This historian will have Rizzo to be slain on the earl of Murray's account, and in order to prevent his condemnation, without mentioning the other fugitive lords, as if their friends had not been concerned in the deed. And yet Melvil, who was then present in the court and writ long before him, says positively that the friends of the other fugitive lords were the sole authors of the murder, and that the

^f Buchanan says, there was a great tumult in the city, and that the citizens took up arms; but according to Melvil,

the tumult was not very considerable. Rapin.

earl of Murray's were not engaged in it. By such strokes as this, and by perpetual invectives against Murray, Camden has disfigured the Scotch history of those days, and withal that of England, in what it has in common with this neighbouring kingdom.

While the queen was kept in confinement, Scotland was in a real anarchy, which however did not last. The king quickly began to repent of following such violent counsels, and the queen, who perceived it, managed him so artfully, that she persuaded him to abandon Rizzo's murderers &c. This unexpected turn astonished them, especially as they saw, contrary to their expectation, that the earl of Murray would not join with them. The queen embracing so far an opportunity, proposed an agreement, to which they readily consented, unable as they were to support themselves. But she had the address to cause the writing to be so penned, that there was occasion to make several alterations before it could be settled. This was done to gain time, and give the queen leisure to take necessary measures to free herself from captivity. When the writing was drawn to the satisfaction of the parties, she represented to the king, that if she signed it whilst a prisoner, it would be of no force, and by that means she got her guard to be dismissed. But instead of signing the writing, she found means to escape^h, and retire to Dunbar, where she brought the king along with herⁱ. When she was going away, she ordered Melvil by one of her ladies to use his utmost endeavours to keep the earl of Murray in his good resolution; and Melvil says, Murray and his friends assured him of their constant fidelity to the queen.

The king forsakes the murderers, Melvil, p. 65. who are obliged to treat with the queen. Relation of the Death of Rizzo, Buchanan, Thuanus.

The queen deceives them, and escapes to Dunbar, Melvil, p. 65. Buchanan, p. 66.

She re-assumes her authority, and pardons the fugitives, Rizzo's murderers fly into England. Relation of Rizzo, Melvil, p. 66, 67. Buchanan.

^g Buchanan does not fully explain this, and thereby makes his account very obscure. Rapin.

^h At midnight, March 12. Melvil, p. 66.

ⁱ Buchanan says, she compelled him

to go with her; but in the condition she was in, it was hardly possible for her to use force, and consequently it is much more likely that he followed her voluntarily. Rapin.

Eliz.
1566.

and laid in the sepulchre of the kings, close by Magdalen of France, daughter of Francis I. It is easy to guess that the deed lately committed by the king greatly increased the queen's aversion to him. She put a constraint upon herself whilst a prisoner; but as soon as she saw herself at liberty, she mortified him beyond all patience. Buchanan is very circumstantial, and what he relates is in a manner confirmed by Melvil, who says, 'the queen could not bear the king in her sight: she fled from his company; and he went up and down all alone, seeing few durst bear him company. He was disliked by the queen, and by all such as secretly favoured the late banished lords: so that it was a great pity to see that good young prince cast off, who failed rather for want of good counsel and experience, than from any bad inclinations.' In a word, the queen, who had resolved to lie-in at Sterling, seeing the king arrive there, retired without him to the castle of Edinburgh to wait the time of her delivery.

Melvil,
p. 66, 67.

The earl of
Bothwell
is in great
credit.
Melvil,
p. 67.
Thomson.
Buchanan.

Now began the earl of Bothwell to hold in the queen's affection the place Rizzo had possessed. As the new favourite found the queen had a great regard for the earl of Murray, who had lately given her convincing proofs of his fidelity, he joined with the earl of Huntley, and John Lesly bishop of Ross, to destroy him. To this end, they intimated to the queen, that he intended to get the earl of Morton and the rest of Rizzo's murderers recalled, in order to form a party against her whilst she was in childbed^k. But she would not believe it, and Melvil entirely undeceived her. Thus Murray was always exposed to his enemies, to whom the queen, to her own misfortune, gave but too much access to her person.

Elizabeth
discovers
Mary's de-
signs by help
of a spy.
Melvil,
p. 68.

Elizabeth being fully informed of what passed at the court of Scotland, was not sorry to see her good sister (for so she called Mary) pursue a course contrary to her true interest, in trusting to men who could not but ruin her. She knew Mary could not relinquish her project of dethroning her; and that the pope, the cardinal of Lorrain, and the courts of France and Spain, took great care to keep her in that resolution. So, the better to discover her secrets, she had sent one Ruxby^l into Scotland, who feigning to fly out of England, and

^k And therefore advised her to imprison him till she was delivered. Melvil, p. 67.

^l This man was to appear to be a zealous favourer of Mary's right and title to the crown of England, and to

inform her of the great friendship divers of the catholicks had for her, who durst not deal with the Scotch ambassador, being a protestant; but that he would deal himself betwixt her majesty and them.

to hate Elizabeth mortally, had insinuated himself into Mary's favour, and by degrees got out of her some important secrets, which he communicated to secretary Cecil. These discoveries having confirmed Elizabeth's suspicions, were the reason that though she had by proclamation commanded all the fugitive lords of Scotland to depart out of her dominions, she gave them private assurances of her protection, designing, when occasion, to make them her instruments to raise Mary disturbances, which should prevent her from thinking of England.

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1566.

She assures the Scotch fugitives of her protection.
Melvil, p. 69.

Mean while sir Robert Melvil, the Scotch ambassador in England, having found that Ruxby was Cecil's spy, gave notice of it to the court of Scotland, who ordered him to be arrested with all his papers, among which were found some of Cecil's letters in cypher^m. He was kept with such care, that it could not be known why he was apprehended. Shortly after, Elizabeth sending Killigrew into Scotland about some affairs, ordered him to demand Ruxby as an English fugitive. Mary, feigning to be ignorant of Ruxby's business in Scotland, replied, she was ready to deliver him to any person, whom the queen her sister should commission to receive him. But Elizabeth understanding he had been arrested, and suspecting the reason, said no more of the matter. Thus these two queens, amidst their mutual demonstrations of friendship, looked upon one another however as real enemies, and not without cause. Mary was privately labouring by her emissaries to corrupt Elizabeth's subjects, and inspire them with a spirit of rebellion. Elizabeth on her part countenanced the male-contents of Scotland with secret intimations, that they should always find in her a powerful protection.

The spy is discovered,
Melvil, p. 69.

The two queens consider one another as enemies.

Whilst these things were transacting, the queen of Scotland was delivered of a prince on the 19th of June, and immediately James Melvil was sent to Elizabeth, to carry her the news and desire her to stand godmother to the new-born infant. Melvil says in his Memoirs that secretary Cecil having brought the news to the queen, who was then at a ball, the dancing immediately ended, and the queen sat down in her chair, leaning her head upon her hand, without speaking a word; that one of her ladies asking the reason of her sudden melancholy, she replied, 'The queen of Scots was mother of a son, while she was but a barren stock.' However, the

Birth of James, Mary's son.
Buchanan.

Melvil, p. 69, &c.

Elizabeth is vexed at it.
Melvil, p. 70.

^m It was only one letter, wherein he rewarded, and desired him to continue in his diligence, Melvil, p. 69.

Eliz.
1566.

next morning, when she gave audience to the envoy, she appeared better dressed and more gay than usually, expressing great joy that the queen her good sister was safely delivered. At the audience, Melvil insinuating to her, that in this juncture she could not better show her concern for what related to the queen of Scotland, than by declaring her presumptive heir to the crown of England; she coldly answered, the affair was in the hands of the lawyers, and she heartily wished her title might be found well grounded.

Mary's
friends try
to dispel
Elizabeth's
suspicions.
Melvil,
p. 73, 74.

Whilst Melvil was at London, Mary's principal friends thought it absolutely necessary to remove the court of England's suspicions occasioned by Ruxby's intelligence; and that, for this purpose, it would be proper for queen Mary to write two letters, one to her ambassador in ordinary, to be shown to Elizabeth, another to secretary Cecil^a, and draughts were sent to her. These letters were writ accordingly. In that to her ambassador, Mary protested she expected nothing, but by the favour and friendship of her good sister. She enjoined her ambassador not to hearken to any proposal of the malecontents, but to threaten to discover their plots if they came to his knowledge. The other letter, directed to the secretary of state, contained much the same protestations. 'By these letters, adds Melvil, Ruxby's intelligence was suppressed, and my brother suffered to stay in England, whereby the queen's friends so increased, that many whole shires were ready to rebel, and their captains already named by the election of the nobility.'

Mary's de-
signs.
Melvil,
p. 74.

The two
queens lay
inures for
one another.

This confession of a man, who probably was well informed, since he was brother of the ambassador in ordinary, shows what were Mary's designs. Can it be thought that the ambassador undertook to incite the nobles and counties of England to rebel contrary to the will of the queen his mistress, or without her knowledge? There are in Melvil's Memoirs several passages to the like effect, which show that Mary and her friends were perpetually striving to increase her adherents in England, and to keep them disposed to take up arms against Elizabeth, when it should be deemed proper. It is therefore no wonder if Mary refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. That ratification would have discouraged her friends in England and other countries. Elizabeth was not ignorant of Mary's aim, which, in short, was to dethrone her, if she could possibly find means. This was the reason of her pre-

^a The letters were both writ to Melvil, and Cecil the other. They are to be seen, p. 73. of Melvil's Memoirs.

ling her so earnestly to take the false step of ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, in order to break her measures. On the other hand, at the very time Mary was making protestations of friendship to her good sister, and intreating her to stand godmother to her son, she was endeavouring to insnare her, by persuading her to get her declared heir to the crown. She knew, could she once obtain that advantage, her party, which was already very great in England, would become more numerous and powerful. But they both knew their interests too well to fall into the snares they laid for each other. So, Mary never ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, neither did Elizabeth ever declare her next heir. It may however be justly presumed that if Mary had not lost herself another way, as we shall see presently, she would have thrown Elizabeth into difficulties of which with all her policy she would have hardly got clear.

In the interval between Mary's delivery and the prince's baptism, she was seen to treat the king with so great contempt, and to put such grievous affronts upon him, that it was the talk of the whole kingdom. Buchanan is not content with enlarging upon this subject; but speaks moreover of the queen's amours with Bothwell, in a manner that shows she had lost all shame, and no longer regarded what the world said of her. It might be thought Buchanan, who hated the queen, has used aggravation, if what happened afterwards did not too evidently confirm what he has said. Camden says nothing of the queen's amours with Bothwell, and speaks but slightly of her aversion to the king, calling it only a difference between them, because these were things directly contrary to his design of an entire vindication. Melvil found himself embarrassed. He durst not say all, but the sequel and connexion of his Memoirs necessarily requiring he should say something of the queen's amours, he contents himself with intimating in several places, that Bothwell was at that time absolute at court and entirely governed the queen. He was not so reserved with respect to the queen's aversion to the king, since he does not scruple to show it was extreme.

The prince's baptism being to be celebrated at Sterling, the ambassadors of France, England, and Savoy, who were to stand godfathers, repaired thither, and the court was very

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1566.

Mary sees
the king ill.
Buchanan.
She lives in
a scandalous
manner with
Bothwell.
Thuanus.
Buchanan.

The prince's
baptism.
Melvil,
p. 74.
Buchanan.
Camden.

* Thus, p. 77. he says, that the earl of Bothwell ruined all at court, having brought home the banished lords, and patched up quiet friendship with the earl of Morton; and in the same page

he affirms, that the earls of Bothwell and Huntley enterprised the slaughter of the earl of Murray at Jedburgh, but the lord Hume came there with forces, and prevented that enterprize.

numerous.

Eliz.
1566.

The king
undergoes
many morti-
fications.
Buchanan.

P. 74. 75.

P. 77.

Mary refuses
to ratify the
treaty of
Edinburgh,
Camden.
Walsing.
Instructions
to Norris,
Thuanus.
and offers to
make ano-
ther less
ambiguous.

numerous. It was the earl of Bedford, whom Elizabeth sent to stand in her place. The prince was named James, and the queen prevailed, though with much difficulty, that he should be baptized after the manner of the Romish church, intending to educate him in the eatholick religion. Whilst the court was at Sterling, the king was exposed to unheard of indignities, not daring to show himself by reason of the extreme want he was reduced to, whilst Bothwell appeared with a royal magnificence, to the great scandal of the world. But without insisting upon what Buchanan says, since he is not thought impartial, I shall content myself with the testimony of Melvil. The queen, says that author, being at Sterling, seemed very melancholy, and complained to me of Rizzo's murder, as of an outrage which could not be blotted out of her mind. I endeavoured to comfort her, and to persuade her to recall the banished lords, that she might enjoy a peaceable government. I had now somewhat prevailed with her; 'but, alas, she had bad company about her, for the earl of Bothwell, who had a mark of his own that he shot at, as soon as he understood of her wife and merciful delibérations, took occasion to bring in the earl of Mortoun, and his associates, thereby to make them friends, and by them to fortify his faction. For apparently, he had already in his head the resolution of performing the foul murder of the king, which he afterwards put in execution, that he might marry the queen.' He adds further, that the earl of Bedford being upon the point of returning to England, desired him to tell the queen from him, 'That for her own honour, she should entertain the king as she had done at the beginning.' Melvil discharged his commission, but without any effect. What Buchanan relates, is much better confirmed by these testimonies than confuted by Camden's silence.

After the ceremony of the baptism, the earl of Bedford, pursuant to Elizabeth's orders, pressed the queen of Scotland to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Hitherto she had only used pretences and excuses to evade the demand; but now she spoke more freely. She answered, there was an article in the treaty expressed in ambiguous terms, which she could not ratify without great prejudice to herself: that however, she offered to send commissioners to the borders, to agree with those of the queen of England upon a new treaty, wherein she would promise to assume neither the title nor arms of England, so long

He was accompanied by George Carey, eldest son of the Lord Hunsdon, Christopher Hatton, Esq; Mr. Lignith, &c. Melvil, p. 76. The prince was baptized December 28. Stow. p. 660.

as Elizabeth and her heirs should live. Thus the difficulty was at length unravelled, and indeed Elizabeth could not with justice require more of her. Nevertheless, she took this answer for a refusal, which, in my opinion, is a clear evidence of what I have said elsewhere, that Elizabeth intended to make use of this absolute ratification, if Mary had been so unwise as to give it, against Mary herself, and thereby prove she had no title to the crown of England. It is extremely probable, that most of the English protestants, after having been so cruelly persecuted in the foregoing reign, wanted only a pretence to exclude a catholick princeess from the succession.

The court of Scotland being returned to Edinburgh after the prince's baptism, the king was treated there in so injurious a manner, that he resolved at last to retire to Glascow to the earl his father, who had left the court, not to be a witness of the base indignities offered to the king his son. Just as he was going, some of the queen's officers took away all his plate, and gave him a sett of pewter. He was hardly a mile from Edinburgh, when he felt himself seized with a very violent illness, caused by poison, given him before his departure. He went on, however, to Glascow, where physick and the strength of his constitution overcame the violence of his distemper, though with great difficulty. Not to interrupt the thread of the affairs of Scotland, I have run over at once what of moment happened in that kingdom, in the year 1566. We must now proceed to other matters.

In the beginning of this year, Charles IX. sent Mr. de Rambouillet into England, with two collars of the order of St. Michael, which he desired Elizabeth to confer on what two noblemen she pleased. She made choice of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Leicester, and honoured the bearer with the order of the garter. But we must not be deceived by these external marks of mutual esteem and friendship between the two courts, for they were far from being sincere. Elizabeth had broke the measures of the court of France, by driving the French out of Scotland. Moreover, she was looked upon as the head and protectress of the protestants,

¹ Camden says not a word of this poisoning. Rapin. — Melvil's account is this, "The king followed the queen about whithersoever she rode, but got no good countenance. So that finding himself slighted, he went to Glascow, where he fell sick, it being alledged, that he had got poison from

"some of his servants." p. 77.

"It was not the bearer, but king Charles his master, that was honoured with the order of the garter. Rambouillet, in the king his master's room, took his place amongst the knights of St. George at Windsor, says Camden, p. 399.

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1566.

whose destruction had been determined in the conference of Bayonne. So, in all appearance, it was only to amuse her, that the court of France gave her this equivocal mark of their esteem. Elizabeth was not ignorant, that the French court, which was extremely bigotted, and where the queen of Scotland had such powerful friends, had no affection for her: nay, supposing she had received no intelligence of the resolution taken at Bayonne, which was however known or guessed by the Huguenots of France, she could never trust that court.

The earl of
Arundel
quits Eng-
land.
Camden.

This year, the earl of Arundel departed the kingdom with the queen's leave, under colour of changing the air for the recovery of his health. It was thought, the real motive of his retreat was his despair of marrying the queen, with which he had vainly flattered himself^a.

The queen
visits Ox-
ford.
Camden.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Shortly after Elizabeth's receiving the news of the queen of Scotland's delivery, she visited the university of Oxford, where she was received in the same manner as at Cambridge. She also shewed here, by her discourse and courteous behaviour, an extraordinary regard for that university^b. Never was prince greater master than herself of the art of gaining the love of her subjects, by kind and affectionate expressions, which seemed to flow from her heart^c.

A plot to
cause the
queen of
Scotland to
be declared
Elizabeth's
heir.
Camden.
D'ewes.

Notwithstanding all this, a terrible storm was gathering against her. The queen of Scotland having been delivered of a prince, her friends began to stir, and scrupled not to act openly, in order to have her declared the queen's heir. The parliament met in November^d with that resolution. Those who managed the affair were Mary's chief friends, and had only her in view: but the publick good was pretended by all. Among the lords there were some, who seeing Elizabeth unmarried, and the queen of Scots inclined to a divorce, flattered themselves with marrying one or other. To this end they kept behind the curtain, and set their friends to work, in order to strike in the most critical minute. At length, the party being made, it was moved in the upper house to address the queen, and pray her to marry, or appoint a successor. Among

^a He left the kingdom after the expense of a vast treasure, on the vain hopes of enjoying the queen.—At the same time others of the English nation went into Hungary to war against the Turks; the chief of whom were sir John Smith, son to the sister of Jane Seymour, king Edward VI's mother, Henry Champernoon, Philip Butthide,

Richard Greenville, William Gorges, Thomas Cotton, and others. Camden, p. 399.

^b She staid there seven days. Ibid.

^c She returned the university thanks for their civilities in a Latin speech. Camden, *ibid*.

^d It met by adjournment on September 30. D'ewes, p. 93.

thereasons alledged for this request, some were contradictory; but all arguments were good to those who had formed the project, provided they could engage the majority on their side. To gain those who had only the publick good in view, they were told, if the queen died without issue, the kingdom would be exposed to great troubles, because nothing yet was settled about the succession. The zealous protestants were made to fear, that the queen of Scotland having a claim to the crown, there was danger of seeing the late reign acted over again, if the queen did not take a husband, and with the blessing of God get a successor. Many fell into the snare, imagining the queen, who had so great an affection for her subjects, would comply with their desires, and resolve at length to marry, and they hoped by that means to see the kingdom in perfect tranquillity. The queen of Scotland was not mentioned, and yet it was she alone the heads of the plot had in view. They knew the queen had resolved never to marry. Nay, it was believed, she could not do it without hazarding her life, and that her physicians had told her the same*. But feigning ignorance, they resolved she should be pressed to marry, that they might, from her refusal, have a pretence to oblige her to name a successor. This could be only the queen of Scotland, there being no other person that could dispute her title. The dutchess of Suffolk and her two eldest daughters were dead. The third was very deformed, and had married a man of a very mean condition. Nay, I do not know whether she was yet alive. As for the children of Catherine Grey, the second of the three sisters by the earl of

* Huick the queen's physician dissuaded her, it seems, from marrying, on pretence of some natural defect. Camden, p. 399. --- Here it may not perhaps be disagreeable to the reader, to peruse a story related by Melvil. He was told at Newcastle, by an Englishman, one of the gentlemen of queen Elizabeth's privy-chamber, that king Henry VIII. had been so curious as to enquire of diviners or necromancers, what should become of his son Edward, and of his two daughters Mary and Elizabeth. He was answered, that Edward should die, having few days and no succession; and that his two daughters should succeed one another. That Mary, his eldest daughter, should marry a Spaniard, and that way bring many strangers into England, which would occasion

great strife and alteration. That Elizabeth should reign after her, who should marry either a Scotchman, or a Frenchman. Whereupon the king caused to give poison to both his daughters, but because this had not the effect he desired, (for they finding themselves altered by vehement vomitings and purgings, and suspecting poison, had taken remedies,) he caused to proclaim them both bastards. But the women that attended about queen Mary alledged, that her matrix was consumed; for she was several times supposed to be with child by king Philip of Spain, yet brought forth nothing but dead lumps of flesh. Therefore to be revenged of her father, she had caused, secretly in the night, to take up her father's bones, and burn them. Melvil, p. 28.

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1566.

The house of
lords press
the queen to
marry.
Camden.
D'ewes,
p. 105.

Hertford, Elizabeth had caused them to be declared bastards by a legal sentence. Consequently they could not pretend to the throne. As for the countess of Lenox's title, Mary had taken care to unite it with her own by her marriage with the lord Darnly. It was necessary therefore, either to call to the succession some descendant from the females of the house of York, to which the queen and parliament would not have willingly agreed, or to nominate Mary Stuart to fill the throne after the queen. The combination was so strong in the upper house, that some of the lords were of opinion it was not sufficient to intreat the queen, but that she ought to be obliged to marry, or in case of a refusal, a successor be declared by act of parliament, even against the queen's will¹. At last, it was resolved to send the lord-keeper Bacon, to beseech her, in the name of the house, to chuse a husband, and to lay the reasons before her².

The com-
mons are still
more warm.
Camden.
D'ewes, p.
124, 128.

Things were managed with still less temper in the lower house. It was openly maintained, that since the queen would not marry, she ought to be constrained to appoint a successor: that by neglecting so necessary a precaution, she showed that her pretended affection for her people was all dissimulation, since she preferred her own interest to the welfare of the nation: that she could deny what was desired of her, only out of fear of her successor, which fear could be entertained by none but timorous princes or faint-hearted women³.

The queen's
perplexity.
Camden.
D'ewes.

The queen took some time to return an answer, to the lords, and seemed to be ignorant of, or overlooked, what passed in the house of commons. She was however extremely mortified, that her enemies had credit enough to turn both houses of parliament against her, and to see those whom she had most favoured prevailed with to act so directly contrary to her interest. As she knew very many of her subjects were not fully convinced of the justice of her title to the crown, she plainly perceived, to appoint the queen of Scotland for her presumptive heir, was really increasing and strengthening the right of that dangerous rival. Among the sovereign

¹ The earls of Pembroke, and Leicester did openly, and the duke of Norfolk with more caution, profess this to be their opinion. But they made their submission, and obtained their pardon. Camden, p. 399.—Most of the lords and other great men in England, were then well affected to the queen of Scots, and kept a correspondence with her, as may be seen in Melvil, p. 46, &c.

² This petition was presented to the queen November 5. D'ewes, p. 104, 105.

³ These and other points were first moved in the house by Mr. Melneux; and were insisted upon by Bell and Moulson, great lawyers, with Dutton, Kingmill, Wentworth, and others. Camden, p. 400. D'ewes, p. 124, &c.

princes,

princes, she had no ally or true friend. On the contrary, she could not doubt that the pope, France, and Spain, would readily assist to deprive her of the crown. Her whole dependence was upon the affection of her people, whose representatives she saw combined, as I may say, against her, to oblige her to take a step so opposite to her true interest. It is not easy to guess what she would have resolved, if the lords had persisted in their demand, and been seconded by the commons. Till she could more fully discover the intrigues which influenced the parliament, she made use of an expedient which succeeded, delaying to take other measures, according as her enemies should proceed. The expedient was, to order thirty of each house to come to her. [These she diverted by the most obliging expressions, mixed with a gentle reproof from their resolution, and promised them to manage things, not only with the care of a prince, but the tenderness of a parent. And whereas the house had offered greater subsidies than usual ^b, on condition she would declare a successor, she refused those extraordinary grants ^c, and accepted a smaller sum, saying, "That money in her subjects purse, was as good as in her own exchequer ^d."

She sends for thirty deputies from each house. D'ewes, p. 103, 104.

The last day of the session, she made the following speech to both houses,] to let them know, or rather to disguise, her intentions, and evade their request.

"MY lords, and others the commons of this assembly, ^{Queen's speech to them.} although the lord-keeper hath, according to order, very well answered in my name, yet as a periphrasis, I have a few words farther to speak unto you. Notwithstanding I have not been used, nor love to do it, in such open assemblies; yet now (not to the end to amend his talk) but remembering that commonly a prince's own

D'ewes, p. 116.

^b There is mention in the Journals only of a subsidy, and one tenth, and fifteenth. The bill for it was first read in the house of commons, October 28, and in the house of lords, on December 17, and for the second and third times, on the 18th. See D'ewes, p. 111, 125, 126.

^c The reason of this refusal seems to be, that the declaration of a successor, and the subsidy bill, were ordered by the house of commons to proceed together; so that the one could not be rejected without the other. See D'ewes, p. 124. She remitted only the third payment of the subsidy, as before rated, granted by

parliament, to induce her to declare a successor. See D'ewes, p. 131.

^d Rapin mistaking the thirty members sent for by the queen from each house for so many deputies from the parliament, makes the queen speak the following speech to them, and not to both houses, as she did at the end of the session. Had he happened to see the original speech which is here inserted, instead of the abridgment in Camden, he would have perceived his error. What is inserted between the two crotchets, is supplied from Camden, in order to rectify Rapin's mistake.

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1566.

“ words be better printed in the hearers memory, than those
 “ spoken by her command, I mean to say thus much unto
 “ you. I have in this assembly found so much dissimulation,
 “ where I always professed plainness, that I marvel thereat,
 “ yea two faces under one hood, and the body rotten, being
 “ covered with two vizors, succession and liberty, which
 “ they determined must be either presently granted, denied,
 “ or deferred; in granting whereof they had their desires,
 “ and denying and deferring thereof (those things being so
 “ laudable, as indeed to all men they are) they thought to
 “ work me that mischief which never foreign enemy could
 “ bring to pass, which is the hatred of my commons. But
 “ alas! they began to pierce the vessel before the wine was
 “ fined, and began a thing not foreseeing the end; now by
 “ this means I have seen my well-wishers from my enemies,
 “ and can, as me seemeth, very well divide the house into
 “ four. First, the broachers and workers thereof, who are in
 “ the greatest faults: secondly, the speakers, who by elo-
 “ quent tales persuaded others, are in the next degree:
 “ thirdly, the agreeers, who being so light of credit that the
 “ eloquence of the tales so overcame them, that they gave
 “ more credit thereunto than to their own wits: and lastly,
 “ those that sat still, mute, and meddled not therewith, but
 “ rather wondered, disallowing the matter; who, in my
 “ opinion, are most to be excused. But do you think, that
 “ either I am unmindful of your surety by succession wherein
 “ is all my care, considering I know myself to be mortal?
 “ No, I warrant you; or that I went about to break your
 “ liberty? No, it was never my meaning, but to stay you
 “ before you fell into the ditch. For all things have their
 “ time; and although perhaps you may have after me one
 “ better learned, or wiser; yet I assure you, none more care-
 “ ful over you; and therefore henceforth, whether I live to
 “ see the like assembly or no, or whoever it be, yet beware
 “ however you prove your prince’s patience, as you have
 “ done mine.
 “ And now to conclude, all this notwithstanding (not
 “ meaning to make a Lent of Christmas) the most part of
 “ you may assure themselves, that you depart in your prince’s
 “ grace.”

It is not easy to comprehend what the queen would have
 intimated to the parliament when she said, “Whether I live
 “ to see the like assembly or no.” For these are ambiguous
 words, which may be taken in various senses. Besides, they
 are

are put in where they have not much connexion with the preceding or following words. However, after this confused speech, the parliament was immediately dissolved. But this was only a palliative remedy, which was not capable of allaying the fermentation already raised among the people*. If it gave the queen time to take other measures, it afforded also her enemies leisure more strongly to erect their batteries. Very probably, the affair would have been debated again in the next parliament, if in the mean while the queen of Scotland had not lost herself by her ill-conduct, and visibly lessened her party in England†. This is what I am going to show, after closing the year 1566 with a brief account of the affairs of the Netherlands.

After Philip II. had quitted these provinces in 1559, in order to reside in Spain, the discontent of the nobles and people was grown to that height, that it was not possible the affairs of that country should remain any longer in their present situation. This universal dissatisfaction flowed from several causes. I. The people's belief, that the king had formed a design to abolish their liberties and privileges, and establish an arbitrary power. II. The erection of the bishopricks, which greatly lessened the jurisdiction and revenues of the abbeyes, in which many families were concerned. III. The inquisition which was intended to be set up in these provinces, and which was little less abhorred by the catholics than by the protestants themselves. IV. The prohibition to assemble the states. V. The king's project to extirpate the hereticks, who were now very numerous in the country. VI. and lastly, The interest of the great men, who plainly saw how fatal to them the execution of the king's design would be. They had in vain for several years besought their governors to assemble the states, and prevent the calamities with which they

Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.
Grotius.
Strada.

* The queen about this time cast one Thornton, a reader of law in Lincoln's-Inn, into the Tower, upon the queen of Scots complaint, that he had called her title inquestion. Camden, p. 401.

† This last mentioned parliament, which was dissolved on January 2, granted the queen a subsidy, and one tenth, and a fifteenth. The clergy granted at the same time, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. — The acts made in this session were these: 1. An act declaring the making and consecrating of bishops within this realm to be good, orderly, and lawful. 2. That no man shall send

any rams, sheep, or lambs alive out of the realm, upon pain, for the first offence, of forfeiture of all his goods, and one year's imprisonment; and for the second, of being declared a felon. 3. That cut-purses and pick-pockets shall not have benefit of clergy. 4. Whereas there were but one sheriff for Surrey and Sussex, one for Essex and Hertfordshire, one for Somerset and Dorset, one for Warwick and Leicester, one for Nottingham and Derby, one for Oxford and Berkshire, it was ordered, that for the future (the year 1567 being the first) each of these counties should have a sheriff a-piece. See Statut.

1566. Eliz. foresaw their country was soon going to be afflicted. Their request was constantly rejected. This rigour had at length obliged the prince of Orange, count d'Egmont, count Horn, and several other lords, to withdraw from the council of state, and write to the king, that cardinal de Granvelle had rendered himself so odious, that the worst was to be feared, if he continued any longer in the Low-Countries. Philip not thinking proper to recall the cardinal directly, advised him however to withdraw. As soon as Granvelle was gone, the great men went and resumed their places in the council.

Mean while, the inquisition being universally abhorred, the people began to stir, and shew their resolution to free themselves from that yoke. The great men supported this resolution with two motives. First, because they perceived the inquisition must prove destructive of liberty. In the second place, because they were informed the king had taken terrible resolutions against them, on account of what had passed about cardinal de Granvelle. Whereupon they formed a confederacy against the inquisition, and Lewis count of Nassau, brother to the prince of Orange, with four hundred attendants, presented a petition to the governers. On this occasion it was that the protestants received the name of Gueux or Beggars. The governers not having power to grant their request, the protestants, of their own accord, took the liberty to preach publicly, and the governers was forced to suffer it, and at length to allow it expressly. From that time, Philip considered the people of the Low Countries as rebels, and they for the most part looked upon him but as an unjust and cruel sovereign, who aspired to be absolute master of their estates, their bodies and their souls. I shall enter no farther into these affairs. It suffices to have briefly shown the spring of the troubles of the Netherlands, which I shall have occasion to speak of sometimes in the sequel. I return to the affairs of Scotland, which more nearly relate to England.

1567. I am now going to give an account of an event which has been rendered obscure, as well by religious prejudices, as for the sake of the prince of Scotland, whose birth I have mentioned. This prince coming to the crown of England after queen Elizabeth's death, thought it his duty to try to vindicate the queen his mother from the horrible crime she was accused of during her life, I mean of murdering the king her husband. In all likelihood, he made use of Camden's pen for that purpose.

Remarks on the tragical death of the king of Scotland.

§ This year, on the 7th of June, in London was laid by sir Thomas the foundation of the Royal-Exchange Gresham, kn't. Hollingh. p. 129.

It

It is agreed, that Henry Stuart king of Scotland, husband of queen Mary, was assassinated the beginning of the year 1567. It cannot be denied, that this murder was committed by the earl of Bothwell, or his order; that the earl was then in great credit with the queen, and that she married him a few months after the tragical death of the king. This, added to her aversion for the king, forms a strong prejudice against her. On the other hand, almost all the Roman catholic writers who mention this murder, make it their business to justify the queen, and throw it on the earl of Murray. They seem to have taken this course with the more reason, as Camden, a protestant author, in his Annals of queen Elizabeth, has openly undertaken Mary's defence, and represented the earl of Murray as the author not only of the crime, but even of all the troubles which happened in Scotland, after the marriage of queen Mary with Francis II.

Eliz.
1567.

The queen
is accused by
some, and
cleared by
others.

It will be asked perhaps, where is the necessity of clearing this fact in a history of England? I answer, there is an absolute necessity, because otherwise queen Elizabeth's conduct will be either inconceivable or misunderstood. The history therefore, as well as truth, requires a distinct knowledge of the foundation of queen Elizabeth's politics, and of the real cause of the events which will be related hereafter. This fact is as the hinge on which all the affairs of England and Scotland turn for several years. They who, under colour of clearing it, have laboured to darken it as much as they could, were very sensible, how contrary the truth was to the idea they desired to give of the affairs of this reign. So, to set it in a true light, it will be absolutely necessary to follow a quite different course.

The necessity
of clearing
this
fact.

To succeed in what I propose, I must largely treat of the affairs of Scotland. Some grave authors of an established reputation have endeavoured to disguise the facts they have related, by curtailings and altering them, by suppressing material truths, and supposing things which have not even the least probability. To oppose to them a bare narration, containing only the naked truth, would not be the way to satisfy the reader, who would be still at a loss to know whom he ought most to credit. It is necessary therefore to prove what I advance, and in matters of fact there are no better proofs than the mutual connexion of these same facts, and the testimonies of unsuspected persons. But it is almost impossible to show where the truth has been altered, without running into some reasoning which indeed do not always suit with history, but which, on this occasion, seem to me unavoidable.

Camden.

Eliz.

1567.

Testimonies
of three
historians.

Buchanan.

Three historians who may be considered as originals, have related what passed in Scotland during the reign of Elizabeth, namely; George Buchanan, William Camden, and James Melvil. Some remarks on these three authors will help to give the reader a true notion.

Buchanan, a Scotchman and protestant, was a man of great learning, and much esteemed by all the learned in Europe. If he had not penned the History of Scotland, he would perhaps have been neither envied nor hated: but as in the recital of the frequent quarrels between England and Scotland, he does not always agree with the English historians, a prejudice is formed against him in England, as if he endeavoured to falsify whatever might be to the advantage of the English. This difference would have been little regarded by other nations, if what Buchanan says of queen Mary Stewart had not excited all the Roman catholics in Europe against him. His aim was to show, that queen Mary was the sole cause of the troubles of Scotland, and particularly, the author of the king her husband's death; and his history is full of circumstantial facts, which have a visible connexion and tend all to the end he proposed. He does not cite testimonies to confirm what he says, because he writ at the very time the things were transacted, or shortly after. On the other hand, he was Murray's creature, and counted revengeful. It is chiefly upon these prejudices that his history has been discredited, without however any express endeavours to confute him in any material assertion.

Camden.

Camden, an English author and protestant, wrote the Annals of the reign of queen Elizabeth in the time of James I, son of queen Mary. He was eminent for his knowledge in the antiquities of England, and, if I mistake not, he was Clarenceux king at arms. The History of England is indebted to him for several good works, which have greatly served to illustrate it. But it manifestly appears, that in writing the Annals of Elizabeth, his only aim was to vindicate the queen of Scots, under colour that the History of Elizabeth cannot be compiled without a particular account of the affairs of Scotland. He speaks extremely well of Elizabeth when Mary is not concerned. But in the places where the two queens must be necessarily put in opposition, he does it so artfully, that Elizabeth is shown to be in the wrong. It is not the same, where he can praise or excuse Mary without wounding Elizabeth; for then he makes no scruple to represent Mary as a pattern of virtue. He entirely passes over in silence whatever may injure her reputation, or contents himself with con-

futing

futing what she is accused of, by a bare and directly opposite narration, without alledging the least proof. So, when a man reads the histories of Camden and Buchanan, he would think these two writers are speaking of two different queens, who reigned at the same time in Scotland. Buchanan's design was to blacken Mary's reputation, and Camden's, to vindicate or praise her. Wherefore, Camden, who wrote last, has taken care to warn his readers, that no credit is to be given to Buchanan, because he was the earl of Murray's creature, a mercenary writer, and his works were condemned by the states of Scotland. Nay, he pretends, that, before his death he repented of his malice¹; but, according to custom, supports what he advances with no proof, neither does he take up Buchanan in any remarkable circumstance, but only, as I said, by giving a contrary account. Having thus removed the testimony of the Scotch historian, he adds, 'For his part, he proposes, to the end both sides may be heard, to relate the affair [the king's murder] without any mixture of love or hate, as far as he can come to the knowledge of it, from writings, published at the very time, but soon suppressed in favour to the earl of Murray, and in hatred to the queen, or from letters of ambassadors, and of other persons worthy of credit.' It must be observed, that he cites in his Annals no passage from these suppressed writings, gives neither the titles nor authors, neither does he name the ambassadors, and persons of credit, on whose testimony he builds his account. He alledges but one single paper, which I shall speak of in its place, and which carries all possible marks of forgery. Thus, after a caution not to believe Buchanan, who writ of what passed in his own time and before his own eyes, he will have us believe him, who did not write till above forty years after the event, upon his bare word and upon the testimony of persons and books unknown¹.

After

¹ Camden's words upon that point are very inconsistent. He says, "That Buchanan often blamed himself with tears in the king's presence, for having employed his pen in too virulent a strain against queen Mary; and wished on his death-bed, that he might live so long as to recall the truth of that fact." Now, surely, if he had often blamed himself for this fact, he had time enough to recall the truth of it before he came to be on his death-bed. See Thuanus, *Addit. ad Vol. III. p. 36a.*

² Many believe Camden writ nothing in his Annals about Scotland, but what was dictated to him, or enjoined by James I. We must therefore understand here by Camden, the real author of the Annals, whoever he be. Rapin. — Osborn says, that Camden's lines were directed by king James, and he led rather to vindicate the honour and integrity of his mother, than to do right for a mistress, that had from a schoolmaster raised him to a capacity of being the first king at arms. *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, § 16.* — It is something remarkable,

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Camden's
account of
the king's
death.

After this preamble, he enters upon the subject, and, in order to relate the king's death, begins with a character of the earl of Murray, and represents him as a man of boundless ambition, and aspiring to the crown. It has been seen that this was the accusation brought against him before Henry II. by the queen-dowager and the cardinal of Lorraine, and of which Melvil has fully cleared him. Camden adds, that, with this view, Murray did all he could to hinder the queen's marriage, and not succeeding, took up arms against her, and was at length forced to fly into England: that, during his absence, by his letters and friends, he sowed discord between the king and queen; and to hinder his condemnation, the earl of Morton, his friend, persuaded the king to cause Rizzo, secretary to the French dispatches, to be assassinated: that the king coming to a sense of the heinousness of the crime, conceived such an aversion to Murray, that he resolved to make him away; but that Murray having notice of it, was immediately reconciled to Bothwell, and determined with him to kill the king, in order to cast the deed on the queen, ruin her in the affection of her subjects, and at the same time destroy the earl of Bothwell, and seize the government.

Remarks on
this account.

This is the substance of the story forged by Camden to justify the queen, and throw the murder of the king upon the earl of Murray. I call it a forged story, because indeed it is impossible to reconcile it with the history of Scotland, the principal circumstances whereof this author has been pleased to omit. For instance, he says nothing of the favour Rizzo was in with the queen, or of his great credit at court, neither does he mention that princess's amours with Bothwell; and, yet in his very narrative, these two facts must be necessarily supposed. For, how can it be conceived, that, to save the honour and estates of the earl of Murray, there was a necessity of assassinating a secretary for the French dispatches, if this secretary had not been in great credit with the queen? Again, why must Murray destroy Bothwell, in order to usurp

markable, that the records of the criminal court, or justiciary of Scotland, commonly called The Acts of Adjournal, are missing during the government of queen Mary, and also of her son king James, till after the trial and execution of the earl of Morton in 1581. In which records was the earl of Bothwell's trial, and the trials of some others of the regicides of king Henry Darnley. The records of the parliament of Scotland, held in August 1560, by appoint-

ment of queen Mary and her husband Francis, wherein the authority of the pope was abolished, and the protestant religion established, are likewise missing; as were also those of the parliament in December 1657, wherein the acts made concerning the protestant religion were ratified, with several acts concerning queen Mary. Anderson's Collect. Preface to the first Volume, p. 7, 8.

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the government, if Bothwell had not been in possession of Eliz. It is very visible, that otherwise Camden's account has 1567. neither coherence nor foundation. In short, this author was not ignorant that the queen of Scots had been publicly accused of the king her husband's death; that all Scotland and all England were full of it, and that it passed for a certain fact in both kingdoms. Can therefore facts publicly known, if I may so say, be overthrown forty years after, by a bare contrary account, without the least proof of what is advanced? But to confirm what I have been saying with regard to Camden, I need only observe, that Melvil's Memoirs, penned before Camden's Annals, but which appeared not till long after, are entirely opposite to what that author has said, and perfectly agree with Buchanan's history, a few circumstances excepted.

Melvil is the third author I am to speak of. He was a person of distinction, who was employed in several embassies, and concerned in what passed at the court of Scotland. Nay, it appears in his Memoirs, that he was very much in the queen's favour, since she chose him to advise her about her behaviour, and tell her of her faults. A sovereign can hardly give a subject greater marks of esteem. If Buchanan has not mentioned him in his history, it was probably because he loved him not. Melvil, on his part, has drawn in his Memoirs a character of Buchanan, which, though it does justice to his sense and great knowledge, gives no very advantageous idea of the qualities of his mind. This suffices to show he has not copied that historian, and that they did not correspond. He has writ what passed before his eyes, from the year 1563, when he returned to his own country, to the year 1594. Consequently he cannot be said to be ill informed. He may be still less suspected by the queen's friends, since it is plain in his Memoirs, that he was always attached to the interests of that princess. Accordingly he speaks of her every where with great caution, contenting himself with briefly intimating some things which Buchanan has not scrupled to insist upon more largely. He has not thought fit however to conceal the principal facts, because these facts serve for foundation to his Memoirs, which otherwise would have no connexion. He has not writ either to justify or accuse the queen, but purely for the instruction of his son in what passed in his own time. If we compare his Memoirs with Buchanan's History and Camden's Annals, we shall soon be convinced it is impossible to reconcile them with what Camden says, but that on the contrary, they agree in the principal facts related by Buchanan,

Remarks
on Melvil's
Memoirs.

Eliz.

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nan. All the difference is, Melvil has cleared many things which Buchanan did not well know; and on the other hand, Buchanan has enlarged much more upon every thing that can reflect on the queen, whereas Melvil very slightly touches upon such passages. By that he shews he speaks of them with regret, and so far only as to carry on the thread of his Memoirs.

After these remarks upon three historians, of whom two were cotemporaries, eye-witnesses of what they relate, and agree together in the main without having writ by concert, and without one at least being liable to be suspected of disguising the truth, and of whom the third writ forty years after, and is directly contrary to the two others, without supporting his story with any testimony, or known author, I think I cannot be blamed if I take the two first for guides preferably to the last ^k.

The queen orders the prince to be carried to Edinburgh. Buchanan. The king has a mind to withdraw into Spain. The queen caresses him, and persuades him to retire to Edinburgh. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 78. Spotiswood. Thuanus.

Whilst the king was taking remedies to expel the poison, the queen removed the young prince her son from Sterling, and ordered him to be carried to Edinburgh, though it was in the midst of winter ^l. Shortly after she heard the king had resolved to withdraw into France or Spain, and that there was an English ship ready to receive him, as soon as he could bear the fatigue of the voyage. This precaution making her apprehensive he would get away, and so break all her measures with Bothwell, she expressed an intention to be reconciled to him. To that purpose, she sent several tender and affectionate letters to convince him of her sincerity. At last, she went to see him at Glasgow ^m, and so artfully managed him, that she prevailed with him to return to Edinburgh in a litter. Melvil does not mention the queen's journey to Glasgow, but necessarily supposes a reconciliation, since he speaks of the king's voluntary return to Edinburgh ⁿ. As soon as he came there, he was lodged in a lonesome house ^o, near

^k In short, it may be said of these three historians, in regard to queen Mary, that Camden has scarce said one word of truth, that Buchanan has said all the truth, and more than the truth, and that Melvil has said the truth, but not the whole truth.

^l Pretending that the house where he was kept, was inconvenient, and Sterling a moist and cold place, where he should catch cold. Buchanan. Melvil says nothing of this journey; but he supposes it afterwards, when he says, the queen delivered the prince to the earl

of Marr, that the castle of Edinburgh might be taken out of his hands. Rapin.

^m Attended only by the Hamiltons, and other enemies of the king. Buchanan.

ⁿ His words are, The king was afterwards brought to Edinburgh, and lodged in the Kirk-field, as a place of good air, where he might best recover his health. But many suspected that the earl of Bothwell had some enterprise against him, p. 78.

^o Uninhabited for some years. Buchanan.

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the walls of the city, on pretence he would be disturbed by the noise in the palace. For some days the queen made him frequent visits, and even caused her own bed to be brought into a room underneath the king's. In a word, she omitted nothing to persuade him, she did not bear him the least ill will. At that time the earl of Murray, upon news that his wife was like to die of a miscarriage, desired leave to go and see her, and went away accordingly, notwithstanding the queen's instances to the contrary. This circumstance makes equally for Buchanan and Camden. Buchanan infers from it, that the earl of Murray had no hand in the king's murder, who was killed the night following, since he absented himself the day before the deed ^p. Camden draws a quite contrary inference, saying the motive of his going away was to hinder his being suspected. Buchanan and Melvil affirm, many knew there was a design to kill the king, but no man durst warn him of it, because he told all again to the queen, or to some of his servants who betrayed him. However, the earl of Orkney, half-brother to the earl of Murray, gave him notice of it, which he telling again to the queen, she sent for the earl of Orkney to examine him; but he denied in her presence he had ever said any such thing ^a.

Eliz.

1567.

The earl of
Murray
leaves the
court.
Buchanan.
Melvil.
Camden.
Barnstable.

Buchanan.
Melvil,
p. 78.
Thuanus.

At length, the time appointed for the deed being come, the queen left the king to go and put to bed one of her women who had been married that day. I omit numberless circumstances whereby Buchanan insinuates the queen was in the plot. Indeed those circumstances would be so many proofs, if they were confirmed by an unsuspected author: but as Melvil says nothing of them, I chuse to pass them over in silence. However, the king was strangled that night ^a, with one of his servants who lay in his room. As soon as he was dead, his body was carried into a garden belonging to a neighbouring house, where his slippers were also brought. Then fire was set to some barrels of powder placed in the room where the queen's bed was, and the house was blown up. The people who came running in at the noise, were told at

The tragical
death of the
king.
Buchanan.
Burnet,
t. iii. p. 324,
&c.
Barnstable.
Spotiswood.
Thuanus.

Buchanan.

^p Melvil says, that he was retired from the court several days before, p. 78.

^a This advertisement, says Melvil, moved the earl of Bothwell to haste forward his enterprise; he had before laid a train of powder under the house where the king did lodge, and in the night did blow up the said house with the powder; but it was spoken, that the king was taken forth, and brought

down to a stable, where a napkin was stopped in his mouth, and he therewith suffocated, p. 78.

^b Sebastian, one of her musick. Buchanan.

^c February 10, two hours after midnight. See Anderson's Collect. tom. i. p. 36. Conaenus varies from this account in some circumstances, but agrees with it in the main. See Jebb's Collect. tom. ii. p. 29.

Eliz. first, that the violence of the gunpowder had thrown the
1567. king into the garden. But as his slippers were found by him,

A report is spread that the earl of Murray had killed the king.
 Camden.
 Buchanan.
 Spotswood.
 Thuanus.
 Bothwell is accused of it.
 Melvil,
 p. 78.

as his shirt was not singed by the fire, and as some black and blue marks were seen round his neck, the people were not so credulous. The same night it was rumoured about the city, that the earls of Morton and Murray had caused the king to be assassinated, and this report spread immediately as far as the borders of England. Camden infers from hence, that the earl of Murray must have been concerned in the murder, since he was presently accused by the voice of the publick: but this voice of the publick consisted doubtless of some people who were suborned to spread the report. Melvil affirms on the contrary, it was whispered at court that Bothwell had caused the king to be murdered, and that he was strangled with a napkin. He adds, 'I came to the door of the queen's chamber the next morning after the murder, and the earl of Bothwell said, That her majesty was sorrowful and quiet, which occasioned him to come forth. He said, the strangest accident had fallen out which ever was heard of, for thunder had come out of the sky, and had burnt the king's house, and himself was found dead lying a little distance from the house under a tree. He desired me to go up and see him, how that there was not a hurt nor a mark on all his body. But when I went up to see him, he had been taken into a chamber, and kept by one Alexander Durham, but I could not get a sight of him.' Buchanan adds, the queen ordered the body to be brought to her on the wrong side of a bench, and after viewing it some time, without any signs of joy or grief, commanded it to be interred near Rizzo, in the sepulchre of the kings^t. It is strange that Camden, who attempts to strip Buchanan of all credit, should not undertake to confute any of the circumstances related by that historian, though they are many in number, and very dishonourable to the queen.

The king is buried near Rizzo.
 Buchanan.

Murray returns to court.
 Buchanan.

Scandalous behaviour of the queen.

The earl of Murray, though sick, and notwithstanding the rumour about him, came to court two days after, and appeared without fear. I his shows he was in no dread of the accusations of his enemies; and indeed he was never questioned for the fact^u. The queen keeping her chamber but a few days, resumed her usual way of life, having always the earl of Bothwell with her.

^t Though the nobility there present had decreed to give him a magnificent burial. Buchanan.

^u But Bothwell attempted to dispatch him out of the way. See Buchanan, l. 12.

Mean while, the people murmured exceedingly that there was no enquiry concerning the king's death, of which they openly accused the earl of Bothwell. These murmurs were so publick, that Bothwell could not help taking some step to show he was willing to clear himself. He went therefore in company with some friends to the earl of Argyle, chief justice of the kingdom, and requested him to make inquisition concerning the murder of the king. Upon his request, a proceeding was begun, and the depositions of several persons were taken; but all was suppressed on a sudden. The court was contented with offering a reward to any person that should discover the authors of the king's death: but as all believed the queen and Bothwell guilty, no one was so bold as to accuse them. It would have been very dangerous to take such a step. However, libels and ballads were published, wherein Bothwell was still accused. Whereupon he caused it to be fixed up in several places, that he would fight any person that should dare to maintain the accusation. He was answered by another paper, posted up without a name, that his challenge was accepted, provided he would appoint a neutral place for the duel; but this came to nothing.

This queen perceiving at length that the murmurs and complaints of the people might be attended with ill consequences, was desirous of having the castle of Edinburgh in her hands, the custody whereof was committed to the earl of Marr by the states. The earl was unwilling to comply with the queen's desire: but at length, imagining a civil war was at hand, he offered to deliver the castle, provided he was suffered to carry the young prince to Sterling, of which he was governor also. He thought it more advantageous to be master of the prince's person than of the castle of Edinburgh, and the queen agreed to the exchange.

Hitherto people were contented with liberally publishing their suspicions of Bothwell, without any adversary appearing against him: but at last, the earl of Lenox finding the queen very slow to punish the crime lately committed, solicited her by letter for justice upon Bothwell, charging him with being the author of the king his son's murder. His letter threw the queen into great perplexity. She could not deny a father the satisfaction he demanded, especially in a case concerning the death of a king who had been her husband. I shall not relate here all her artifices to evade this prosecution, and to

Ediz.

1567.

Bothwell tries in vain to clear himself.

Buchanan. Melvil.

Anderson's Collect.

t. ii. p. 36, 37, 38, 39, &c.

Ib. p. 38, 43.

Buchanan. Spotiswood,

The queen gets the castle of Edinburgh in her hands, and delivers the prince to the earl of Marr.

Buchanan. Melvil.

p. 30, 31.

The earl of Lenox demands justice for the king's death.

Buchanan. Camden.

Anderson's Collect.

tom. ii. p. 40, &c.

Spotiswood.

* Since, as Buchanan observes, the person, the judge, the examiner, and earl of Bothwell was to be the accused the punisher too, l. 18.

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1567.

Bothwell is
acquitted.
Melvil,
p. 78.
Spotiswood,
April 26,
27.

get Bothwell acquitted, because Buchanan, who has given the particulars, may be suspected. I shall content myself with transcribing what Melvil says upon this subject.

‘ Every body suspected the earl of Bothwell, and those who durst speak freely to others, said plainly, that it was He. Whereupon he drew together a number of lords of his dependers to be an assize, which cleared and acquitted him; some for fear, some for favour, and the greatest part in expectation of advantage. This way being assailed, he remained still the greatest favourite at court.’

This testimony of a man who cannot be suspected of flandering her is very strong against the queen. She not only could not part with a man publicly accused of the murder of the king her husband, but even made him her prime minister and favourite. Though she had believed him innocent, it was renouncing the laws of decency, which a woman seldom does, unless carried away by the violence of passion: but these are trifles in comparison of what she did afterwards².

Fruitless representations to the queen about her marrying Bothwell.
Melvil,
p. 78.

Ibid. p. 79.

The report of the queen’s intending to marry the earl of Bothwell flying from the court over all the kingdom, the lord Hennis came to Edinburgh. He took so seasonable a time, that he accosted the queen in Bothwell’s absence, and casting himself at her feet, freely told her, it would be an everlasting dishonour to her, if she married her husband’s murderer. The queen feigning a surprize, answered, she did not know from whence he had that intelligence, and very coldly added, that hitherto her heart had dictated nothing to her in favour of Bothwell. A few days after, Melvil received a letter from England about the same thing, but expressed in much stronger terms than the lord Hennis’s remonstrance, which he showed to the queen, who said it was a device of his own. Melvil assured her, the letter came from the person whose name was subscribed, and contained nothing but what he himself had designed to represent to her as he was in dutybound. Thus the queen, in resolving to marry Bothwell, sinned not out of ignorance, since she was fully informed of the people’s opinion concerning the author of the king’s death.

The queen suffers herself to be carried off by Bothwell, who conducts her to Dunbar.
Melvil,
p. 79.

A few days after she went to Sterling to see the prince her son. If Buchanan is to be credited, her intent was on some pretence to get him out of the hands of the earl of Marr, who plainly refused to deliver him. In her return to Edinburgh,

x John Habroun, Talla, Dagleish, king’s murder, January the 3d ensuing. and Powry, were executed for the See Buchanan’s Detection.

She was met by the earl of Bothwell, with a company of armed men ¹, who carried her away, and conducted her to Dunbar. Melvil, who was present, and was himself arrested, says "Bothwell only took her majesty's horse by the bridle," and adds not a word which may insinuate that the queen seemed surprized at this violence, or that she offered to make the least resistance ². He says on the contrary, that captain Blachater who seized him, assured him all was done with the queen's own consent.

When Bothwell came to Dunbar, he procured a divorce from his wife, daughter of the earl of Huntley, whom he had married but six months before. The divorce was decreed by two sentences, one in the ecclesiastical, and the other in the civil court, and both at the suit of the countess of Bothwell. In the first trial, before the archbishop of St. Andrew's, Bothwell was accused of a criminal commerce with a kinswoman of his wife, and upon his confession, the archbishop pronounced the sentence of divorce ³. In the second, his wife accused him of adultery, and as he did not deny it, the marriage was annulled. He was forced to use these two means, by reason of the different rules the two courts observe, with regard to the causes for annulling a marriage. The process was commenced and ended in less than ten days. In all appearance, the earl of Huntley, Bothwell's great friend, persuaded his daughter himself to sue for a divorce. This is Buchanan's account; but Melvil says, he cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his wife, because having been released, he had left Dunbar. Hence it is plain at least, he had not read Buchanan's History, when he writ his Memoirs, nor did copy that historian, though they agree in the principal facts.

Bothwell being thus parted from his wife, carried the queen to Edinburgh, and the next day she appeared in the courts of justice, and declared she was entirely free. This was done to prevent an objection, which might be taken from her captivity, to null the marriage she intended to contract with Bothwell. This marriage was so odious in all its circumstances, that it was very difficult to find any pretence to lessen the horror of it. The only method the queen and

¹ Six hundred men, at Almon bridge. Buchanan.

² The queen, in her instructions to the bishop of Dunblane, says, That the earl partly extorted, and partly obtained her promise to take him for her

husband. See Anderson's Collect. tom. i. p. 99.

³ Some say he had a bull to absolve him from this incest. If so, he would not plead it, that he might give occasion to the annulling of the marriage. Rapin.

Buchanan.
Spotiswood.
Burnet.

Bothwell
puts away
his wife.
Buchanan.
Melvil.
Spotiswood.

p. 80.

The queen's
marriage
with Both-
well.
Buchanan.
Anderson's
Collect.
t. i. p. 87.

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1567.

Spottiswood.
Melvil,
p. 80.

Melvil.
Ibid.
Spottiswood.

The queen
and Both-
well cause a
league to be
signed by
some lords.
Buchanan.

The earl
refuses to
sign it.
Buchanan^a.

Bothwell could find, was to make the lords of the court complices of the same crime. To that end, Bothwell having invited them to dinner, presented to them and caused them to subscribe a paper, the purport whereof was, 'That they judged it was much the queen's interest to marry Bothwell, he having many friends in Lothian and upon the borders, which would cause good order to be kept. And then the queen could not but marry him, seeing he had run away and lain with her against her will.' One of Camden's artifices, among many others, is to speak of this paper or approbation of the great men in a very loose manner, and alter it entirely, under colour of relating the substance. Moreover he speaks of it before he relates the queen's rape, that the rape might be considered as a consequence of the approbation of the great men, whereas it was just the contrary, as may be seen by the very writing in Melvil^b. However the marriage was solemnized^c after the manner of the protestants by the bishop of Orkney, who was very ready to do so odious an office.

Whatever suspicion the queen had given of herself, by her neglect to punish the authors of the king's murder, there were some however who still doubted whether she was guilty. But when they saw her publicly espouse the earl of Bothwell, hardly was there a man who durst undertake her defence^d. It was easy for her to perceive the change in the hearts of her subjects, so visible was their discontent. For this reason, she resolved to strengthen herself with the assistance of the great men, by forming a league with them for the defence of herself and new spouse. All those that depended on Bothwell readily signed the league; but herein lay not all the difficulty. There was another very considerable party which was to be gained, otherwise the league of the court would be of little power. To that end, the queen and Bothwell thought it necessary to begin with the earl of Murray, that he might influence all the rest. The confederacy therefore was brought him to sign. But he answered, that to oblige him to serve the queen, it was needless to make him sign the paper; and for the earl of Bothwell, since the queen had desired he would be

^b And yet the queen, in her instructions to the bishop of Dunblane, makes this writing to have been signed before she was carried away. See Anderson's Collect. tom. i. p. 94, and 104.

^c May 15, at the palace in Holyrood-house, by Adam Bothwell bishop of Orkney. Melvil, p. 80.

^d And people began to think, that the prince was in danger to be cut off by him who had slain his father; — for Bothwell boasted, that if he could get him once in his hands, he should warrant him from revenging his father's death. Melvil, p. 73, 81.

reconciled to him, he should punctually observe whatever he had promised. However, fearing after this refusal to be exposed to the resentment of the court, he desired leave to withdraw to St. Andrew's; but perceiving the queen made some scruple prayed her to permit him to pass some time in France; to which she readily consented, and he departed within a few days *. Camden has taken care not to mention the reason of Murray's retiring into France: that very ill agrees with his scheme. For, had that lord associated with Bothwell to kill the king, why should he quit the court, at a time when, instead of having any thing to fear, he might have expected every thing from the great credit of his pretended friend?

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He retires
into France,
Melvil,
p. 80.
Camden.

Mean while, all Scotland loudly complained that no vengeance was taken for the king's death, and at seeing the queen married to the man who was universally considered as the murderer. The king of France even writ to Du Crocq his ambassador, to signify his astonishment at it, and his letter was shown to several lords. In short, the earls of Argyll, Morton, Marr, Athol, Glencarn, and the baron of Boyd, meeting at Sterling, signed a confederacy, the intent whereof was to bring the murderers of the king to condign punishment, and to cause the queen's late marriage to be dissolved †. They hoped to effect this the more easily, as they had room to believe the queen herself would not be sorry to be compelled, considering the unworthy treatment she had now received from her new spouse. Melvil says, he heard her one day call for a knife to stab herself, not being able to bear his brutish usage.

A confederacy to punish the king's murderers, and dissolve the queen's marriage.
Buchanan,
Melvil,
p. 81, 82.
Spotiswood.

p. 81.

As the confederates did not question that the people of Edinburgh would countenance their undertaking, they had projected to invest the city, that the queen and Bothwell, who were there without troops, might not escape. But Bothwell, having notice of their design, retired with the queen to Borthwick. They were pursued by the confederates; but it was in vain, the queen and Bothwell being now gone to Dunbar. Having missed their aim, the confederates marched to Edinburgh, where the gates were opened to them, notwithstanding the endeavours of the earl of Huntley, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the bishop of Ross, to the contrary, who were even forced to withdraw into the castle, from whence sir James Balfour, whom the queen had made gover-

The queen and Bothwell retire to Dunbar.
Buchanan,
Melvil,
p. 82.

Edinburgh declares for the confederates.
Buchanan,
Melvil,
p. 82.

* Melvil speaks not of this confederacy. He says only, that the earl of Murray retired into France, without showing the reason. Rapin.

† And for that purpose assembled about three thousand men together. Melvil, p. 82.

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nor, afforded them means to escape. He gave also the confederates to understand he would not give up the castle, but intended to stand neuter.

The queen
and Both-
well march
to Edin-
burgh.
Buchanan.
Melvil,
p. 82.

Mean time, the queen and Bothwell drew together some forces at Dunbar with all possible diligences. But the confederates were extremely embarrassed. They had no money: Balfour refused to give them any artillery or ammunition; and by reason of the ill success of the enterprize of Borthwick, part of their troops had deserted them. So, after several consultations, they had almost resolved to give over their projects, and return to their homes. The queen and Bothwell being informed of their condition, marched immediately towards Edinburgh, in hopes of surprizing them before they came to any resolution. The news being brought to the confederates in the night, instead of flying they resolved to meet the queen, and decide the affair by a battle. This resolution stopped their enemies, who finding things take a quite different turn from what they expected, suffered them to pass the Esk without opposition, after which the two armies stood very near each other. Then it was the queen perceived her troops did

The confederates go out to meet her.
Buchanan.

She is afraid of being deserted by her troops.
Melvil,
p. 83.
Buchanan.
Spotiswood.

not serve her heartily, and that but few of her officers and soldiers were willing to fight in her quarrel. The knowledge of this inspiring her with great fear, she desired to speak with William Kircaldie laird of Grange, one of the heads of the confederates, who commanded a small body, more advanced than the rest of the army. Kircaldie waiting on her, told her plainly, there was no hopes of agreement, unless she would put away Bothwell, who was reckoned the late king's murderer, and moreover, was married to another woman; but on that condition, the confederates would honour and obey her as they ought. The queen asking him, whether she could rely upon his word, he returned to the confederates, and brought a full power to treat with the queen upon that condition. Whereupon Bothwell seeing no remedy, chose to

She capitulates with the lords;

and puts herself into their hands.
Buchanan.
Melvil,
p. 83.
Spotiswood.
She is conducted to Edinburgh, and put into custody;
Melvil,
p. 84.

retire to Dunbar, and the queen put herself into the hands of Kircaldie, who conducted her to the confederate army. The heads received her with more respect than she expected; but it was with great difficulty the soldiers were restrained, who cried out against her very irreverently. She was conducted that night to Edinburgh, and lodged in the provost's house, where a guard was set on her, so that she was really a prisoner. It is likely, the heads were not yet fully determined what to do with her; but she afforded them herself an occasion to be resolved. The very night she came to Edinburgh, she bribed one of her guard, and gave him a letter for Bothwell,

full

full of tender and affectionate expressions, calling him, "her dear heart," and promising never to forsake him. This letter falling into the hands of the confederate lords, made them resolve to be more watchful over her, and afforded a pretence to shut her up in the castle of Lochleven under the custody of the earl of Murray's mother.

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and then
shut up in
Lochleven.
Camden.
Buchanan.
Melvil.
Spotiswood.

The queen complained grievously of this usage, and writ to Kircaldie, reproaching him that what had been promised her was not performed. Kircaldie answered, he had already upbraided the lords for the same; but they had showed him a letter under her own hand, which had stopped his mouth. He ended his letter with saying, he could do nothing for her, but advise her to think no more of a man who was married to another, and accused of killing her husband. The queen, as she read the letter, shed a flood of tears.

But a thing which happened a few days after was still more prejudicial to her. Bothwell coming to Dunbar, sent a man to Balfour, governor of Edinburgh-castle, for a casket which he had trusted with him. It was a silver casket, presented to the queen by Francis II. which she had given to Bothwell. Balfour delivered it to the messenger; but if we may believe Buchanan, gave notice of it to the confederate lords, who took it from the bearer. However, it fell into their hands.

A casket of
Bothwell's,
with some
papers is in-
tercepted.
Buchanan's
Detect.
Spotiswood,
p. 208.

They opened it, and found a great many love-verses and letters, and among the rest, some that contained the whole plot against the late king, and the manner it was to be executed. But this was not all; Buchanan says, there were also three contracts of marriage between the queen and Bothwell, one of which was written in the queen's hand before the king's death. Another was written in the earl of Huntley's hand, in the interval between the king's death and the queen's third marriage; and the last was a contract in form, made at the time of the nuptials. Probably, the two first were only draughts, supposing Buchanan speaks the truth; for Melvil says nothing of the casket or contracts. Camden says however, on another occasion, that certain verses and love letters were produced against the queen; but mentions not the casket spoken of by Buchanan.

The queen's captivity, and the seizing of her papers, having made Bothwell sensible it would not be proper for him to be

Bothwell
retires to
the isles of
Orkney.
Buchanan,
Melvil,
p. 84.

§ These letters were first published at the end of Buchanan's Detection; others have since been printed at London in 1. 26, by Mr. Edward Simmons, under Mary's name, but do not agree with the former.
h Dated April 5. See Buchanan's Detection.

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in Scotland, he retired to the isles of Orkney¹, where he turned pyrate for some time, either for his subsistence, or to be revenged of the Scots.

The queen is obliged to resign the crown to her son. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 85. Camden. Spotiswood, Hollingsh. p. 405.

p. 85.

Melvil. Ibid. Camden, p. 405.

She is allowed to appoint a regent. She nominates Murray. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 85.

Buchanan. Hollingsh.

Mean while, the chiefs of the confederates conferring together upon their affairs, considered that if they should put the queen again in possession of the government, they could not rely on her promises, or be secure against her². They concluded therefore, that it was absolutely necessary to deprive her of the administration, and to that end sent the earl of Lindsay³, to persuade her to resign the crown to the prince her son. Camden says, to oblige her to this, she was threatened to be brought to a publick trial for the murder of the king her husband, for incontinency, and for breach of promise on the account of religion. And Melvil affirms, the earl of Lindsay had orders to threaten her, if he thought it necessary. The queen was strangely surprized at this proposition: but rightly judging, it was not in her power to deny what was demanded, and that an obstinate refusal might draw upon her worse troubles, she gave her consent. She did it the more readily, as she was privately told by some of the confederates, and Throckmorton the English ambassador, that whatever she signed in prison would not be of any force, but might be revoked when she should be at liberty. The confederate lords willingly agreed, she herself should nominate one or more regents, to govern the kingdom during the prince's minority. She appointed the earl of Murray, either of her own choice⁴, or because it was hinted to her that he was desired for regent; and, in case he refused the office, she substituted the duke of Chateleraut, the earl of Argyle, and some other lords⁵. Then, she was made to sign all the acts necessary for the resignation of the crown; and notice being sent to the earl of Murray, who was in France, the preparations were made for the inauguration of the new king, who was but a year old. The queen's resignation was signed the

¹ And from thence to the Schetland isles. Buchanan.

² Lidington, and some others, were for restoring her to her authority on these terms, That the king's murderers should be punished; That care should be taken of the prince's person; and that Bothwell should be divorced from her, and religion established. Others were, for her abdicating the kingdom in behalf of her son, and being sent in perpetual exile, either in France or England. Others were of opinion, that she should

be tried, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and her son crowned in her room. And others again, that she should lose her crown and life together. Camden, p. 405.

³ And the lord Ruthven. Spotiswood, p. 211.

⁴ Melvil says, she desired the lord Murray to be the first regent, p. 85.

⁵ Matthew earl of Lennox, John earl of Athol, James earl of Morton, Alexander earl of Glencarn, and John earl of Marr. Camden, p. 405. Buchanan.

24th of June, and the young king was inaugurated the 29th of the same month by the bishop of Orkney.

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Shortly after, some lords^o, who were not of the confederacy, met at Hamilton-castle, to consult what was to be done at this juncture. The confederates, having notice thereof, sent James Melvil, author of the *Memoirs*, to know the reason of their being assembled. They replied, they could not but think it strange, that the king should be crowned without their being called to the ceremony, since they had no less zeal than the rest of the lords for the good of their country, and they believed to have cause to fear there were ill designs against them, since such important resolutions had been taken without consulting them; that therefore they were met, not with intent to offend any person, but only to provide for their own safety. Melvil says, the wisest of the confederates were for admitting these lords to their consultations, but the others resolved to exclude them, and that this advice prevailed to the great detriment of the kingdom. Indeed, from this small number of lords assembled at Hamilton rose a party, which declared at length for the queen, and served long to foment the troubles of the kingdom.

A party is formed for the queen. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 85.

p. 86, 88.

The chiefs of the confederates had not all the same views. Some acted only out of private interest, and made use of the present juncture to ruin their enemies. Others, in signing the confederacy, intended to remove the scandal which the queen's marriage had given to get rid of Bothwell, to put the queen again in possession of the government, and perhaps to limit her authority by means of the states. These knowing the earl of Murray was returning to Scotland^p, sent James Melvil to inform him of the situation of affairs, and to exhort him to behave with great moderation, and above all things to avoid an entire rupture with the queen. They represented to him, that his interest required it, because he would be much more master of his own party, so long as he left the queen some hopes, than if he reduced her affairs to such a state, that her enemies would have nothing more to fear from her. Murray perceived, that indeed such a conduct would be advantageous to him, and promised to follow their advice. But he was no sooner arrived than he suffered himself to be swayed by the violent men of his party, who persuaded him to put affairs beyond the power of being ever restored. This is the representation Melvil gives of the earl of Murray's conduct.

Sundry motives of the confederates.

Melvil, p. 87.

The earl of Murray arrives, and ill treats the queen. Melvil, p. 87. Camden.

^o The lords Hamilton, Pasly, Fleming, Boid, John Hamilton: bishop of St. Andrew's, &c. Melvil, p. 85.

^p He came to Edinburgh, August 11. Spotiswood, p. 213.

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A few days after his arrival, he waited on the queen, and instead of comforting her, as he had done formerly, when she was under confinement at Edinburgh, he loaded her with reproaches. This had like to break her heart; for till then, she was in hopes the earl of Murray would labour to restore her.

He is owned
for regent.
Buchanan.
Camden.
Melvil,
p. 87.
He invites
the Hamil-
tonians to
come in :
Buchanan.
Spottiswood,
but they
refuse.

Mean while, the confederates praying him to accept of the regency, he seemed inclined to refuse it, and desired a few days to consider of it: but this was all grimace, and at length he accepted it. Before the states, which had been convened in his absence, met, he writ to the Hamiltons, (for so were called the lords assembled at Hamilton) to desire them to come and join with the rest of the states, in what should be deemed necessary for the good of the kingdom: but they refused to come. An agreement was talked of some time, but there occurred insuperable difficulties. Buchanan casts the whole blame upon the Hamiltonians; and Melvil, on the contrary, upon the violent party of the confederates, with whom the regent was joined. All that can be conjectured is, that they who had procured the assembly at Hamilton, intended to serve the queen, and wanted only a pretence to declare, which the earl of Murray furnished them with, perhaps very imprudently. However, Murray not thinking fit to defer the convention of the states, in expectation of an agreement with the Hamiltonians, which to him still seemed more remote, the regency was confirmed by a decree, subscribed by above two hundred lords and gentlemen of the greatest distinction, as well catholicks as protestants.

Orange
made gover-
nor of Edin-
burgh-castle.
Buchanan.
Melvil,
p. 90.
Spottiswood.

The new regent's first care was to remove Balfour, who had rendered himself suspected, from the government of Edinburgh-castle, and to confer it on the laird of Grange. Mean while, the Hamiltonians, at the head of whom was the earl of Argyle, loudly complained of their being neglected, and refused to acknowledge the earl of Murray for regent. It was easy to perceive, their aim on that pretence was to form a party for the queen. And indeed, some time after they met at Dunbarton, and signed an association, the intent whereof was to release the queen, and replace her on the throne. Twelve lords, of whom the earl of Argyle and the bishop of St. Andrew's were the chief, subscribed the bond of association. But the earl of Argyle deserted that party presently after, and came to the parliament. This lord, who frequently changed sides, did not remain long with the

Association
in favour of
the queen.
Melvil,
p. 88.

He was elected regent, August 20.
Spottiswood, p. 212.

Eleven only. Melvil, p. 88.

party

party he had espoused. As for the duke of Châteleraut, he was then in France about his own private concerns. The association was not at first very formidable to the regent; but it became so afterwards, because all the malecontents of the king's party joined it by degrees, it not being easy for the regent to please all.

During the rest of the year, the regent took into his hands all the strong places of the kingdom, and bestowed the offices and governments as he judged necessary for the preservation of the publick peace. He took care, above all things, to cause justice to be administered punctually and impartially. Melvil blames him only for one thing, namely, his not being so diligent as he might have been in gaining the Hamiltonians. But it must be considered, Melvil himself manifestly leaned to that party. The queen valued and loved him, and consequently it was natural to wish her restoration. He plainly shows in his Memoirs, that he heartily desired she might be replaced on the throne, which made him blame those who opposed it.

The regent takes possession of all the fortresses.
Melvil, p. 90.

The knowledge of the affairs of Scotland is so absolutely necessary for understanding the motives of queen Elizabeth's conduct and politicks, that it is not to be thought strange, that I have given so particular an account of what passed in that kingdom. The sequel will justify, as I hope, this long digression. I return now to the affairs of England.

The term for the restitution of Calais being expired, Elizabeth sent into France sir Thomas Smith secretary of state, and sir William Winter master of the naval stores, to demand that place of the king, according to the treaty of Cateau. But nothing was farther from the king of France's thoughts. He appointed commissioners to treat with the English ambassadors, as if it was to be considered again to whom that place was to belong, and as if the treaty of Cateau was to be reckoned as nothing. Michael Hospital chancellor, who was first commissioner, made on the occasion a long speech, of which it will be sufficient to relate the substance, to show how groundless were the reasons with which he supported the refusal of Calais. He said,

Elizabeth demands Calais.
April 28. Camden. Speed, p. 838, &c. France refuses it.

“ By the same right the English demand Calais, they may as well claim Paris; for the one, as well as the other, was won and lost by arms.”

! There was an express treaty for Calais; but there was none for Paris. Rapin.

“ The

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" The English plead a new title to Calais, whereas the king of France's title is of the same date with the monarchy itself.

" Though the English had it in possession above two hundred years, yet the right was as much in the kings of France, as were the dukedoms of Guienne and Normandy, which the English detained a long time by force. And therefore it could not be said, the French had conquered Calais and those dukedoms, but only recovered what belonged to them.

" Prescription of time is of no consideration among princes, but right always takes place, and by the law of the Twelve Tables, the authority remains perpetual against an enemy.

" Though the English undertook the late war for the sake of Calais, yet that place was not mentioned in the treaty of Troye, and thereby they owned they had no farther pretensions to it.

" The clause inserted in the treaty of Troye, relating to the reservation of rights, concerns only small and insignificant matters, and not the restitution of Calais, which is an article of the greatest importance.

" The pretended attempts of Francis II. in Scotland, could by no means affect the right of Charles IX. his successor. Indeed, the very intentions of private persons are in some respects liable to the laws; but the case of princes is quite different.

" The late king, in aiding the queen of Scotland his wife, did no more than the English themselves had done in seizing Havre de Grace, under colour of keeping it for the king. Moreover, they furnished the prince of Condé with money, and therefore have forfeited their claim to Calais.

" When it pleased God that the French should recover Calais, he set the natural bounds between the kingdoms of France and England, according to the poet:

" Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.

" In a word, if any one had the assurance to propose to the king the restitution of Calais, he would deserve not only death, but a worse punishment, damnation."

The English
ambassador's
answer.
Camden,
Speed.

Smith replied, " he would not stay to show the weakness of the arguments alledged by the chancellor, because he could

" could not believe the refusing to restore Calais would in
 " good earnest be founded upon reasons so little plausible. EHZ.
1567.
 " There was a treaty made expressly on this account, which
 " the chancellor never mentioned, as if he had forgot, that
 " upon this treaty, signed, ratified, and sworn to by the
 " king of France, the queen of England's demand was
 " grounded. Neither did he intend to lose time in combating
 " maxims, which, if admitted, would render all treaties be-
 " tween sovereigns of no effect: but would content himself
 " with answering two objections, which were the most spe-
 " cious. As for the treaty of Troye, he appealed to some of
 " the commissioners, who were present at the conclusion of
 " that treaty, whether it was not agreed that the restitution
 " of Calais should be comprised in the general reservation
 " of rights, and that the reason which they alledged to hinder
 " the town of Calais from being reserved by name was, be-
 " cause the eight years were not yet expired. As for Havre
 " de Grace, the English made a peaceable entry, being in-
 " vited by the inhabitants and the people of Normandy. In
 " short, as for the money lent to the prince of Condé, the
 " king of France himself owned it was for his service, since
 " it was to pay the German soldiers, who threatened to ra-
 " vage the kingdom." But all these reasons were to no pur-
 " pose, France being resolved not to part with Calais. I shall
 observe here by the way, that the chancellor of France did
 not use, in order to evade the restitution of Calais, the argu-
 ments taken from the treaty itself of Cateau, as he might
 have justly done, if that treaty were expressed in the terms,
 or after the manner mentioned by the French historians.

It was not the chancellor's arguments that hindered Eliza- Elizabeth's
reasons to
dissemble.
 beth from asserting her right to Calais, but the situation of her
 affairs, which permitted her not to enter into a war with
 France. Her intention was not to invade, but to defend and
 maintain herself on the throne, in spite of the endeavours of
 her enemies. This was her only care, during the whole
 course of her reign. Hence it was that she sometimes seemed
 willing to marry, though in all appearance she had no such
 desire. The first she decoyed with this hope was the arch- Camden.
Hollingsh.
 duke Charles of Austria, the same that was proposed to the
 queen of Scotland by the cardinal of Lorraine. She carried her
 dissimulation so far, as to send Thomas Ratchiffe earl of Sus-
 sex in embassy to the emperor Maximilian, to settle the mar-
 riage articles, the emperor on his part having dispatched count
 Solberg to keep her in this good resolution. The earl of
 Sussex staid five months at Vienna about the negotiation, go-
 ing

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Affair of
France.
Meserai.
Thuanus.
P. Daniel.

The counts of Egmont * and Horn lost their lives by the hand of the hangman, whilst Montigny suffered the same punishment in Spain, and all the prince of Orange's lands were confiscated.

On the other hand, the court of France, under colour of fearing the duke of Alva, who was to pass near the borders, levied six thousand Switzers, with design to extirpate the Huguenots, whilst the duke of Alva should do the same in the Netherlands, pursuant to the agreement at Bayonne. It is easy to see, that in such a juncture, Elizabeth could not attempt the recovery of Calais. It was sufficient if she could avert the flames which threatened England. Mean while, the prince of Condé, having with difficulty escaped the snare of the court, re-assembled the Huguenots by the admiral's help, and was very like to have succeeded in his design of carrying away the king at Meaux. After that disappointment, he went and blocked up Paris. In short, on the 10th of November was fought at the gates of Paris a battle, wherein the constable Montmorency was slain. This action not being decisive, the prince marched to meet Casimir count Palatine, who was bringing him an aid of three thousand foot and six thousand five hundred horse. In September, La Nouë, one of the chief of the Huguenots, took Orleans. Thus all the neighbouring countries of England, namely, Scotland, France, and the Low-Countries, were in trouble and confusion, whilst the English, by the wise management of the queen, enjoyed a profound peace.

1568.
Elizabeth
concerns
herself with
the Hugue-
nots of
France.
Camden.

It was however at the expence of her own, that Elizabeth secured the repose of her people. She had to fear both at home and abroad, and consequently was obliged to attend perpetually as well to foreign as domestick affairs, in order to prevent the designs of her enemies. The state of the Huguenots in France made her very uneasy. Their enemies were likewise her's; and as there was little appearance of their withstanding the catholicks, who were an hundred to one, and supported by the authority royal, she was apprehensive that, after their extirpation, the storm would fall upon England. It was scarce to be doubted that the war, which was waging

* Charles Lamoral count of Egmont, was beheaded at Brussels in the beginning of July. The French ambassador, who was a private spectator of the execution, is said to have writ to Charles IX. king of France, "That he had seen that head struck off, whose valour had made France twice tremble."

Alluding to the battles of St Quintin and Graveling. The Flemings were so fond of him, that his execution made them lose all patience. No officers from Philip could quiet them, and they never left pursuing their revenge, till they had entirely shook off the Spanish yoke. Strada, de Bell. Belg. l. 7.

at once with the protestants of France and the Low-Countries was the effect of the mutual counsels of the French and Spanish courts, and that the destruction of the protestant religion was the principal objects these two courts had in view. Elizabeth therefore thought it absolutely necessary to let the king of France know, she was concerned for the preservation of the Huguenots, whatever reason she might have to complain of their behaviour to her. To that purpose she ordered Norris, her ambassador to Charles IX. to interceed earnestly for them, and give to understand, she knew her own interest too well to suffer them to be entirely ruined. These threats from England, the resolution of the Huguenots, and their assistance from Germany, produced a good effect and procured them a peace: but it was only a treacherous peace, wherein the court intended only to deceive them, and which for that reason was called afterwards the Lame Peace. Catherine de Medici knowing it would not be long before the war would re-ignite, resolved to be beforehand, to prevent Elizabeth from assisting the Huguenots. To that end she began now to hint to the English ambassador a marriage betwixt Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, who was but seventeen years of age. I shall speak elsewhere of the sequel of this project.

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At the same time, Philip II. showed his spite against Elizabeth, by confining her ambassador to a country village. On the other hand, sir John Hawkins, an English merchant, who was gone to trade in the Bay of Mexico with five ships, by virtue of the treaty between Charles V. and Henry VIII. was insulted by the Spanish fleet, which took and rifled three of his ships. These outrages were very grievous to Elizabeth, especially as the merchants loudly murmured, and were importunate for a war with Spain. But she did not think proper then to shew her resentment, for fear of being engaged farther than the situation of her affairs would permit. She had the more reason not to enter into a war of this nature, as at the same time the affairs of Scotland, which touched her more nearly, took a new turn and might be to her of very great consequence.

Quarrel between Philip and Elizabeth.
Camden.

Queen Mary was prisoner at Lochleven; but that did not hinder her from having still a strong party consisting of all the catholics, with those that envied and hated the earl of Murray, or such as were in credit about him. Indeed, most of those men little regarded the queen, but thought she could afford them a plausible pretence to act against the regent, and

Affairs of Scotland.
Buchanan.
Melvil,
p. 90.
Camden.
Spotiswood.

THE HISTORY

Grange pur-
sues Both-
well, who
escapes to
Denmark,
where he is
thrown into
prison.
Buchanan.
Melvil,
p. 84, 85.

it was this that caused them to declare for her. On the other side, in the regent's party itself, which was called the king's, there were some who were engaged in it purely to ruin Bothwell, whom they hated and feared. These imagined, if they could get him out of the way, things would return to their proper channel, and the queen might marry some prince, who would cause Scotland to flourish again. Kircaldie, who was of this number, being informed that Bothwell was playing the pirate near the isles of Schetland, equipped two vessels, and resolved to go in chase of him, believing all troubles would cease with his death. He was so fortunate as to meet with him. He pursued and obliged him at length to run his ship ashore, and escape to land in his boat: but his ship was taken with his servants, who, it is said, gave information of many things concerning the late king's murder, which reflected on the queen. But there is no relying upon such sort of publick reports. Bothwell having the good fortune to escape, but not knowing which way to fly, resolved at last to retire into Denmark, where he was taken up and thrown into prison. He lived there ten years in extreme misery, which turned his brains. Camden affirms, that before his death, 'he solemnly protested the queen was in no degree 'privy to the murder of the king her husband *.' But, according to custom, this author does not say from whence he had this particular *.

Several of
the regent's
party leave
him,
Buchanan.
Melvil,
p. 90.
Spotiswood.

Bothwell being no longer to be feared, all those that had declared against the queen from their hatred to him, forsook the king's party, some privately, others openly. Lidington and the lord Boyd were amongst those who feigned to be still attached to the regent, in order to have a fairer opportunity to do the queen service. The earl of Argyle wavered for a time, but at last quitted the earl of Murray, and joined the other party.

The queen
escapes out
of prison.
Buchanan.
Melvil,
p. 90.
Spotiswood.

Mean while, the regent being gone to Glasgow, heard a few days after that the queen had made her escape from Loch-levin ^b, and was at Hamilton castle, but twelve miles from Glasgow. This news quickly spreading, the lord Boyd, who was of the regent's council, forsook him immediately and went to the queen.

* Her consenting to marry him so soon after her husband's murder, carries with it a very strong presumption, which nothing but a direct proof can possibly overturn.

^a By Bothwell, queen Mary had a daughter, who was a nun at Notre Dame

de Soissons. Jebb's Collect. tom. ii. p. 610.

^b On May 2. By the assistance of George Douglass, half-brother to the regent; whose mother was likewise thought to be concerned in it, Buchanan. Camden, p. 410.

The regent was extremely perplexed, especially as he learned at the same time, that the queen's friends were drawing people together from all sides, and flocked to her in great numbers. This made him sensible he must either forsake the party, or try the fortune of a battle. He chose the last, and assembling some forces, though in number very inferior to the queen's, he departed from Glasgow, at the very time the queen was marching to give him battle. Melvil says, the queen's design at first was not to fight, having left Hamilton castle only to retire to Dunbarton, but that the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the rest of the heads of the party, were for hazarding a battle, trusting to their numbers, and hoping to govern in the queen's name, when the regent was vanquished. Be this as it will, the army, six thousand strong, advancing towards Glasgow, met the regent, who had but four thousand men, and the battle began. It is needless to give a description of it here*. It suffices to say in a word, the queen lost the day, and, for fear of falling into the hands of her enemies, fled towards the borders of England. She chose for her first retreat the house of Maxwell baron of Heris; but a few days after, not thinking herself safe there, or in any other place of the kingdom, she resolved to retire into England. Upon the least attention to what had passed hitherto between Elizabeth and Mary, and to the just reasons they had to distrust and consider each other as real enemies, notwithstanding their external demonstrations of a mutual friendship, which was all dissimulation, it will not be thought that Mary would have voluntarily taken refuge in England, had it been in her choice to retire elsewhere: but there was a necessity either of falling once more into the hands of the Scots her enemies, or of throwing herself into the arms of Elizabeth. Of the two dangers, one was near and infallible; the other was yet distant, and not so certain as to destroy all hopes of finding assistance in that queen's generosity. However, she sent one of her servants, John Beton, to Eli-

Eliz.
1568.

She marches
against the
regent.

Melvil,
p. 90, 91.

Buchanan,
Camden.

Battle
wherein the
queen is
defeated.

She flies
towards the
borders.

Melvil,
p. 91.
Buchanan.
Camden.
Spotswood.
Anderson's
Collect.
tom. iv. p. 12
&c.

She goes into
England,
and sends a
messenger to
Elizabeth.
Lesley's Ne-
gotiations,
p. 10.
Camden.
Spotswood.
Blackwood.

* Chiefly the house of Hamilton. Some say, that the archbishop of St. Andrew's intended to cause the queen to marry the lord Hamilton, in case they had obtained the victory. And the queen herself feared the same. Melvil, p. 91.

† Buchanan says, it consisted of about six thousand five hundred fighting men, i. 19. On the queen's side, the earl of Argyll commanded the battle, and the

lord of Arbroth the vanguard. And on the other side, the regent led the battle, and the earl of Morton the vanguard. Melvil, p. 91.

‡ Melvil describes this battle at large, (which was fought on May 13. Buchanan, l. 19.) The victory was owing to the conduct of the laird of Grange. See Melvil's Memoirs, p. 91.

§ Dundreven in Galloway. Blackwood, p. 231.

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1568.

zabeth, to desire her protection and leave to retire into England. Camden says, she sent by the same messenger a diamond which she had received from her as a pledge of her friendship, and of a promise to assist her to the utmost of her power, when there should be occasion. And yet this same author has inserted, under the year 1582 of his Annals, a letter of Mary to Elizabeth, wherein it appears the diamond was sent back before the battle of Glasgow: besides, though Elizabeth may possibly have added to her present of the diamond some tender and affectionate expressions, with some general promises, it is not likely she intended to oblige herself so far as Camden would insinuate. This is what I believe for several reasons. First, it is certain Elizabeth was never so well affected to Mary. Secondly, such an engagement was directly contrary to her interest, which required not that she should be so careful of her rival's prosperity. Lastly, no time can be assigned, when Elizabeth was under any necessity to carry her dissimulation to that height. Camden adds, Elizabeth sent word to Mary by Beton, that she would give her all the proofs of friendship which could be expected from a sister. But as I have often hinted, it is not always safe to rely wholly on the testimony of this author ^a. However, before this answer arrived, Mary fearing to be discovered in her retreat, took boat ^b and came to Wirkington in Cumberland, attended only by the lords Herriis and Fleming, and a few servants. The same day she writ to Elizabeth, acquainting her with her arrival in England. She told her in the letter, that having escaped out of prison, and intending to go to Dunbarton, her enemies came against her to dispute her passage ^c, and defeated her army: that this misfortune obliged her to quit her kingdom, where she could not be with safety, to come and implore her protection, and she intreated her to cause her to be conducted to her presence. She said also in the same letter, 'That her enemies, after murdering her servant before her face, had committed a new crime, which they pretended to charge her with, though themselves had plotted it, as appears by a writing under their own hands and seals.' It is this doubtless which gave Camden occasion to say under the year 1567, that the earls of Murray and

Elizabeth's
answer.
Lesley.
Camden.

Mary arrives
in England,
May 17.

She writes to
Elizabeth.
Lesley.
Camden.
Anderson,
t. iv. p. 7,
29.

^a Camden's account is confirmed by Lesley's Negotiations, from whence it is visibly taken, and on whose credit it entirely rests. See Anderson's Collect. tom. iii. p. 10, &c.

^b She got into a fisher-boat at Kirk-

cudbright, with eighteen or twenty persons. Spotiswood, p. 217. Anderson's Collect. tom. iv. p. 2, &c.

^c The contrary appears by the testimony of Melvil above-mentioned. Rapin.

Morton bound themselves by a writing to support Bothwell Eliz. when he should have killed the king². If this writing, 1568. which never appeared, were really true, it would evidently follow that Mary was not ignorant of Bothwell's being author of the king her husband's murder, since she knew Murray and Morton had promised to screen him: but it is not likely she would have made such a confession to Elizabeth. Besides, supposing that Mary's letter was such as Camden represents it, she does not name the earl of Murray. She only imputes to her enemies the crime she herself was accused of. We shall see hereafter how she maintained what she had advanced, and after what manner she made her defence.

Elizabeth being informed the queen of Scots was in Eng-Elizabeth land after the loss of a battle, sent sir Francis Knolles to com-Elizabeth refuses to see fort her, and ordered her to be lodged at a gentleman's house, Mary till she where she was treated as a queen. After that, she was con- has justified herself, ducted to Carlisle¹. Here Mary writes a second letter, ac- Camden. cording to Camden, intreating her either to admit her to her Wal- presence, or give her leave to depart elsewhere. Camden sing- ham's Ne- says, 'That Elizabeth was touched with compassion^m, be- gotiations. cause the queen of Scots offered to debate her cause before Norris's her, and engaged to prove her adversaries guilty of the Instructions, crime they unjustly loaded her with.' But this historian's Anderson's stretches a little too far what Mary said in her letter, since she Collect. did not offer to prove her adversaries guilty, as indeed she iv. p. 47, &c. never attempted it. There is not a single word in Camden's Annals concerning the queen of Scots, but what must be guarded against. We are going to see Elizabeth's compas- sion for this queen. She sent her word, that as she stood charged by the voice of the publick, with being privy to the murder of the king her husband, or at least with not enquiring after the murderers, and with keeping still in her service, and in her very house, such as were accused of being accomplices, she could not see her till she had cleared herself of so heinous an accusation, and desired to know in what manner she intended to justify herself. Whereupon it was agreed, that Elizabeth should hear her defence, and protect her if innocent. It is very probable or rather certain, that herein Elizabeth in-

¹ The words in Camden are: "They went so far as to charge me with a new pretended crime, and sign this accusation with their own hands." Which words don't seem to give Camden occasion to say, as Rapin here imagines.

² And June 16, was removed to Bol-

ton, a house belonging to the lord Scroop, warden of the west marches. Anderson's Collect. tom. iv. p. 6.

^m Camden's words are, She feared at last touched, (for who can dive into the hearts of princes, of which they who are wise always keep the key) with a hearty sense of, &c.

Eliz.
1568.

tended only to gain time, and have a pretence to detain her till she had determined what was to be done, which her council was at no small loss to know.

Sundry
opinions in
the council
about Mary.
Camden.

There was on this occasion several ways to be taken, and each had its difficulties. But, as it is very usual in the councils of princes, the star by which the ministers and counsellors were guided, was not justice or equity, but the queen's safety. In much the same case Henry IV. stayed the king of Scotland's eldest son, who was afterwards king himself, under colour that he was come into his dominions without his leave, and that prince was detained till the reign of Henry VI. It cannot be denied, that a sovereign has power to seize a foreign prince, who enters his territories without a safe-conduct. But there are cases wherein strict right becomes the greatest injustice. Such was that of Henry IV. with regard to the prince of Scotland: but in Mary's case, the circumstances appeared still more favourable. It was a woman, vanquished by her own subjects, whose violence she feared, and who, far from being suspected of any ill design against England, was come only for refuge, and to implore the protection of a queen, her near relation, who had always affected to give her marks of her friendship. So, to consider the queen's fault only as a sort of breach of the law of nations, she did not deserve to be detained in captivity. But, as I said, it is not always by these maxims that sovereigns are guided. The point in debate in the English council was, not to search for what was most consonant to justice or generosity, but what was most advantageous^a. The various courses therefore which might be taken with respect to the queen of Scots were examined, in order to chuse the most beneficial to Elizabeth. The first was to restore her to the throne, for an example, that subjects shall not expel their sovereigns with impunity. But though this was what Elizabeth should have done as a sovereign, yet other more particular considerations hindered her from endeavouring to restore and render more powerful, a queen whom she justly looked upon as a dangerous rival. For the same reason it was to be feared, if she sent her back to Scotland, though without succours, her faction would revive; and one victory, which was not impossible, might render her absolute. In that case she might recall the French into Scotland, and pursue the execution of the projects formed in France, in the reign of Francis II. her husband. On the

Camden.
Anderson's
Collect.
t. iv. p. 34.
&c. 102, &c.

^a It was at first resolved in the English council, to use the queen of Scots well, and restore her to her crown and country, as is shewn by bishop Burnet. *Hist. Ref. tom. ii. p. 417.*

other

other hand, if she were sent over to France, there was no certainty that she would not return to Scotland. Besides, if the king of France and the princes of Lorraine were masters of her person, it was very likely they would make use of her name to invade England, and the pope and king of Spain join with them. There was no way therefore but to keep her in England, either free or in prison: but to leave her at liberty was running a manifest hazard. Her title to the crown of England would draw to her court all the catholicks and disaffected persons in the kingdom, as well as the French and Spanish ambassadors, to assist her with their counsels. That if, being absent, she had been able to form a strong party in England, how much more might her presence render the same party more numerous and powerful. It is certain, though Elizabeth and her ministers pretended to think it very strange Mary should claim the crown of England, they knew however the grounds of her title, and that many people were convinced it was even more lawful than the queen's. Finally, in detaining her in prison, there was no question Elizabeth would incur the indignation of all Europe by such a severity, the motives whereof would not be generally known. This was however the course which Elizabeth took, by the advice of her council, and without doubt by her own inclination. It is certain, besides the reasons of state which induced her thereto, she was also moved by a personal jealousy of the queen of Scots, who was handsomer and younger than herself, though she was very far behind her in other respects. However, to colour in some measure the rigour which was to be used to the queen, Elizabeth resolved to appear extremely concerned for her misfortune, and very desirous to be convinced of her innocence, that she might afterwards give her a powerful assistance without fear of reproach: but, withal, she took a resolution to delay the methods to be used for that purpose, till time and opportunity should afford room for other measures. From thenceforward she constantly refused to hear those who spoke against the queen of Scots; but then she was not sorry that divers accusations were publicly spread against her, that it might not be thought strange the affair could not be cleared in a short time. So Camden had reason to say, Elizabeth seemed touched with a sense of the queen of Scotland's misfortunes, and openly detested the behaviour of the Scots. But it does not follow, these were her real sentiments. Her aim being only to prolong the affair, under colour of labouring the justification of her prisoner, it was not proper she should by her discourse declare herself a party against her.

Elizabeth
resolves to
detain her.
Camden.

Elizabeth's
policy.

Eliz.
1568.

She ought rather to show she inclined to her side. Mary herself was long deceived by this policy. She imagined Elizabeth really intended to serve her: but, discovering the artifice at last, she resolved to take such measures as furnished her enemy with a plausible pretence to detain her in prison. I will venture to affirm, this is the true key of the affair, which will never be well understood, if we stand to what is said by the historians of either side.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.

Whilst these things passed in England, the earl of Murray called a parliament at Edinburgh, to get those condemned who had taken up arms against the king in favour of the queen. The opposite faction seeing they were like to be oppressed by the decree of the states, used all their endeavours to prevent their assembling. They even demanded aid of the French, who resolved to send an army into Scotland, under the conduct of Martigues. In the mean time, the queen's friends met at Glasgow, to consult how to hinder the session of the parliament, but as they could not agree, the earl of Argyle withdrew to his house. The earl of Huntley, more fiery than the rest, assembled some troops, and posted himself at Perth, to alarm the regent, till the arrival of the French succours. But the civil war which rekindled in France, obliging the king to keep the forces designed for Scotland, the earl of Huntley was constrained to retire. This resource failing,

Buchanan.

the queen's friends applied to Elizabeth, representing to her, that the regent, by an unreasonable session of a parliament, was going to drive the principal lords of Scotland to despair, and offered to take her for umpire of their differences with the regent. This offer was very grateful to Elizabeth, because she could thereby render herself mistress of the affair, and prolong it as she pleased. She therefore let Murray know, he would oblige her in deferring the parliament, till she was better informed of the reasons which had induced the Scots to deprive their queen of the government of the kingdom. But he desired to be excused, and held the parliament on the day appointed. Buchanan pretends, Lidington, who feigned to be attached to the regent, managed it so by his intrigues, that the states resolved to punish only some of the most guilty, and that this indulgence was a great means to strengthen the queen's party. The parliament breaking up, the regent raised an army to pursue those who were condemned. He reduced several places to the obedience of the king, and very probably would have over-run the whole kingdom, if the court of England had not interrupted the execution of his designs.

Elizabeth
takes great
advantage of
the troubles
of Scotland.
Buchanan.
Camden.
Spotswood.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth found so great an advantage in becoming umpire of the affairs of Scotland, that she took care not to lose the present opportunity without improving it. To compass her ends the more easily, she plainly intimated, that she believed the queen of Scots innocent; that she herself was concerned in the quarrel, which all sovereigns ought to espouse; and that it was their interest to chastise rebellious subjects, who might give a dangerous example to others. In a word, she so artfully disguised her sentiments, that the Scotch queen's friends, blinded by these appearances, persuaded the unfortunate queen to offer to appoint commissioners to defend her cause before Elizabeth, and so fell into the snare Elizabeth had laid for her. She had no sooner made this imprudent offer, but Elizabeth writ to the earl of Murray, that the proceedings of the Scots in deposing their queen, were so extraordinary, that she could not approve them, unless they showed by very good reasons, that they could not have done otherwise. That if their queen were innocent, she thought herself bound by all sorts of considerations to protect her, and restore her to the throne, but was willing, before she came to any resolution, to hear what they had to say in vindication of their conduct. That therefore she desired the regent would send some well-informed persons to York, where she would order commissioners to hear what the Scots had to allege against their queen. That it was necessary he should in person clear himself of the crimes he was accused of. In short, she gave him to understand, she should take his refusal as an authentick proof of Mary's innocence. Elizabeth must have talked very high, to oblige the regent to take so extraordinary a step. Besides, it was no less necessary to keep by that means the queen of Scots in the belief, that Elizabeth sought only to cause her to come off honourably, for fear she should revoke the consent she had given. Elizabeth's real aim was to have a pretence to detain the queen of Scots till the affair should be cleared, well knowing she should not want means to prolong it as she pleased. Besides, how much soever she pretended not to be fully informed, she knew enough to judge that the Scots would bring good evidence against Mary, and thereby furnish her with a very natural excuse, to require a farther examination. All this was extremely agreeable to the scheme she had laid, and afforded her means to silence the French and Spanish ambassadors, who pressed her continually in behalf of the captive queen. She told them, she intended to assist Mary with all her forces, and restore her to her former dignity; but that decency required the queen

Eliz.
1568.

She becomes
umpire of
the differ-
ences be-
tween the
two parties.
Buchanan.
Camden.

She desires
the regent to
send deputies
into Eng-
land.
Buchanan.
Camden.
Anderson's
Collect.
t. iv. p. 17,
18.

Eliz. should first be cleared, in the eyes of the publick, of the crime she was charged with, and that all possible expedition was using to make her innocence appear.

The regent is determined to go himself. Buchanan, Melvil, P. 93. Camden. The earl of Murray was very much at a loss what answer he should return to Elizabeth's summons. It was dangerous for a regent of Scotland to put to arbitration an affair already decided by the parliament, and dishonourable to answer before a foreign power. But, on the other hand, he could support himself only by the assistance of England; how much less, if Elizabeth should resolve to restore Mary to the throne? Besides, he was afraid his refusal would be construed as a sign he mistrusted the justice of his cause. So, after consulting his friends upon so nice a point, he resolved to go himself to York with eleven deputies, who were appointed to assist him. These were, James Douglas earl of Morton, Adam bishop of Orkney, Robert commendator of Dumferling, and Patrick lord Lindsay. Mary nominated the lords Herries, Levingston, Boyd, Gavin commendator of Kylwynning, John Gordon of Lochcinvair, James Cockburne of Skirling, knt and the bishop of Ross. Elizabeth commissioned Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, Thomas Ratcliff earl of Suffex, and sir Ralph Sadler, to hear what both parties had to say, whether for or against. All these lords came to York on the same day the 4th of October.

Melvil, P. 93. Anderson's Collect. tom. 4. part 2. P. 34. 35. Buchanan. Camden. Spotiswood.

In order to understand fully what passed at the conference of York, and at another afterwards at Hampton-court, it will be necessary to know what is said upon the occasion in Melvil's Memoirs. Without this key, there is no comprehending any thing by Buchanan's account, and still less by Camden's, who endeavoured rather to darken than clear the affair. What Melvil relates is a secret, equally unknown to Buchanan and Camden.

Account of a private affair which passed at the conference of York. Buchanan.

Very likely the duke of Norfolk, who had lost his dutches last year, had now formed the project of marrying the queen of Scots, before he repaired to York. At least, it may be affirmed, the duke was Mary's principal friend in England. For which reason he accepted the commission of presiding at the York conference, only to hinder the success Elizabeth ex-

9 Melvil names seventeen, including no doubt all those who attended the regent. He was himself of this number. Rapin.—As were also secretary Lidington, Macgil, a famous civilian, George Buchanan. And on the queen's side, the lord Fleming, sir Robert Melvil, brother to the author of the Memoirs,

&c. See Melvil, p. 93. Rapin was mistaken in the names of the Scottish deputies, but his mistake is here rectified out of the original commissions extant in Anderson's Collect. tom. iv. part 2. p. 34, 35.

10 Chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster. Spotiswood, p. 219.

passed,

Eliz.
1568.

pected, and to break her measures. However secret the queen's project was, the duke of Norfolk, it seems, had entire knowledge of it, courtiers having usually a wonderful sagacity to discover what the prince would keep most private. Nay, it is said, he had ordered the earl of Westmoreland, his lieutenant in the presidency of the north, to kill the earl of Murray when he came upon the borders, and seize all his papers, in order to destroy the proofs he was bringing against the queen of Scots, but altering his mind, had revoked the order. In the beginning of the conference, he started several incidents to retard the conclusion of the affair in debate. But at last, perceiving all his endeavours would avail only for a delay of a few days, he opened his mind to Lidington, who, though suspected by all the king's party, had attended the regent as deputy and secretary of state. The duke told this lord, that he could not imagine what had induced the Scots to come and accuse their queen before English commissioners; that they greatly dishonoured their nation, and would one day be responsible for it. Lidington replied, he was very glad to find him of this opinion; that for his part, he had done his utmost to hinder the regent from taking this step; that Kircaldie had done the same, but to no purpose: and if he had accompanied the regent, it was only in hopes to succeed better in England, and desired him to talk with the regent, and try to dissuade him from accusing the queen. The duke of Norfolk knowing by this, the earl of Murray's proceedings were not approved by all his party, and that even remonstrances had been made to him upon this occasion, hoped by speaking to him himself to prevail with him in some measure. He talked with him therefore in private, and representing to him what he had before said to Lidington, added, he was much mistaken, if he imagined Elizabeth intended to give sentence upon the difference he and his party had with the queen of Scots; but that her sole aim was to make them subservient to her own ends: that if he desired to be convinced of this, he had only to require a promise under her own hand, to give sentence as soon as the proofs should be produced, and to support the king of Scotland's party, in case the queen his mother was found guilty. He added, the queen would never give any such promise in writing, and thereby demonstrate she sought only to amuse them. In short, he so managed the regent, that before they parted, they agreed, that when he was called upon to produce his evidences, he should demand a previous engagement from the queen, such as the duke had suggested to him. The earl

Melvil,
p. 99.
Buchanan.Melvil,
p. 94.
Buchanan.
Camden.

Spotiswood,

of

Eliz.
1568.

Melvil,
p. 95.
Buchanan.

of Murray imparted this agreement to none but Lidington and sir James Melvil, who liked it extremely ⁹.

At the next meeting, the regent being pressed to give in his proofs against the queen of Scots, replied as he had agreed with the duke of Norfolk, to the great surprize of the hearers, except those who were in the secret. It was resolved therefore to write to the queen, to inform her of this new and unexpected difficulty, and to know whether she would give the regent of Scotland the engagement he demanded. Her answer was she thought it very strange her word could not be taken, but that a writing under her own hand should be required, and prayed the earl of Murray to send two deputies to acquaint her with his reasons. The regent chose for this purpose Lidington ¹, and Macgil, to the great amazement of the rest of the deputies, who could not conceive that he should trust with such a commission secretary Lidington, of whom the whole party were so jealous.

Lesley's Ne-
gotiations.
Anderson's
Collect.
tom. iv.
part 2.
p. 97, &c.

Shortly after, the queen desired the regent to come himself to London with the other deputies ², to which he consented. When they were arrived, she appointed other commissioners to confer with them, namely, sir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil, the earl of Leicester, the lord high-admiral ³, and sir William Sadler ⁴. Probably, she suspected the duke of Norfolk of some prevarication, and this suspicion was not groundless. She earnestly wished, upon several accounts, to have in her hands the proofs intended to be used in support of the accusation against the queen of Scots. First, to silence such as murmured at her not endeavouring to restore that princess. And indeed it was manifest, if Mary were guilty of the crime laid to her charge, she was unworthy of her protection. Secondly, having these proofs in her power, she would not only have the management of the affair, but might also cause all delays to be considered as so many favours to Mary, who, in all appearance,

⁹ And in the presence of Lidington, it was agreed between the regent and the duke of Norfolk, that the regent should in no way accuse queen Mary; and that the duke should obtain to him the queen's favour, with a confirmation of the regency. Melvil, p. 95.

¹ Rapin, by mistake, calls him all along earl of Lidington, whereas he was but laird Lidington.

² The reasons of the conferences being removed to London, were a suspicion entertained by queen Elizabeth against

some of her own commissioners; as also that the Scottish deputies were over slow, and loth to enter into the grounds of the cause. Lesley's Negotiations, p. 24.

³ Edward Fynes, lord Clinton and Saye.

⁴ Together with the duke of Norfolk, and the earls of Arundel and Sussex. They met at the Painted Chamber at Westminster. Anderson's Collect. tom. ii. part 2. p. 97. Lesley's Negotiations, p. 28.

would

would not dare to press her to give sentence. Spite and jealousy might possibly be a third reason, Elizabeth being secretly pleased with her rival's shame. In the first conferences at Hampton court, the English commissioners were very urgent with the earl of Murray, to give in his proofs against the queen of Scots. He answered, it was with extreme reluctance that he could resolve to accuse the queen his sister, and should never proceed to that extremity, unless it were for the real good and welfare of all Scotland: that therefore he required the queen of England's written promise, to protect the king, in case the queen his mother were found guilty.

Eliz.
1568.
Melvil,
p. 96.
Buchanan,
Anderson,
tom. iv.
part 2.
p. 44 55.

The affair standing thus, and the earl of Murray still persisting in his demand, the earl of Morton happened to be informed of his agreement with the duke of Norfolk, by some one whom Mary had trusted with the secret *. Then it was, Morton came to know the true motive of the regent's conduct, which hitherto seemed to him incomprehensible, since he refused to accuse the queen, though he was come into England for that very purpose. He imparted the secret to some of his colleagues, and they resolved to acquaint secretary Cecil with it. What passed afterwards between Cecil and the earl of Murray is not known; but it may be conjectured by what followed, that Murray suffered himself to be prevailed with to act quite contrary to his engagement with the duke of Norfolk.

Melvil,
p. 96.
Ibid.

At the first meeting after this discovery, the English commissioners demanding that the proofs against the queen should be given in, and the regent refusing it, all the Scots, except Lidington, were for producing them. Then Wood, secretary to the regent, pretending a zeal for his master, said, it was not from a spirit of cavil, as some thought; that the regent would not give in the accusation, but because the queen of England refused the promise required: that this promise being given, he would immediately deliver the accusation and proofs which he had all ready; and with that, he took the papers out of his bosom, and showed them to every body. But whilst he was holding them up, the bishop of Orkney easily snatched them out of his hand, and gave them to the English commissioners. It is evident, Murray had been gained by Elizabeth's ministers, and took this method only to save in some manner his promise to the duke of Norfolk. With this key it will be easy to understand what Buchanan and Camden

Ibid.

* The duke of Norfolk had by a secret hand advertised the queen, and she again told it to one of her familiars, who advertised the earl of Morton thereof. Melvil, p. 56.

Eliz.
1568.

Account of
the York
conference,
according to
Camden and
Buchanan.
Spotiswood.
Lesley's
Negotiat.
Anderson's
Collect.
tom. iv. part
ii. p. 52.

Camden.

Buchanan.

Melvil,
p. 94.

say about the York conferences, which I shall but just mention, because as these two historians were ignorant of the duke of Norfolk's secret intentions, and the motives of the regent's conduct, what they have related cannot be of much service towards clearing this part of the history.

At the York conferences, Mary's deputies were heard first. They protested, that the present proceedings should not be prejudicial to the rights of Scotland, since queen Elizabeth had no power to meddle with the affairs of that kingdom. Then they set forth at large the injuries received by the queen of Scots from her own subjects, and craved Elizabeth's assistance to recover her throne. The earl of Murray answered, That Bothwell was author of the king's murder: That he carried away the queen with her own consent, and publicly married her: That afterwards she resigned the crown to the prince her son: That the resignation was confirmed by the states, and it was not in his power to alter what the states had ratified. Mary's deputies replied, That the queen's marriage with Bothwell was not a sufficient reason to depose her, because Bothwell was legally acquitted: That besides, it was manifest, Bothwell was only a pretence used by the rebels to act against the queen, since they might have taken him if they had pleased: but they let him escape, because the queen alone was what they aimed at. Then they made appear, that the resignation of the crown was extorted by force, since it was not in the queen's power to refuse it.

Both parties being heard upon these general points, the English commissioners declared, they could not admit of the protestation against the queen's being a competent judge, by reason of her right of sovereignty over the kingdom of Scotland. As to the regent's answer, they said, the queen having commissioned them to hear what the deputies of Scotland had to say against their queen, they could not allow the determination of the states to be valid, because the question was to know, whether they had just grounds to determine in the manner they had done, which could not be known till the reasons, on which their determination was built, were examined. Then they appointed the 7th of October to examine the proofs.

At this same meeting*, the duke of Norfolk, who sought only to gain time, required that the regent should do homage to the queen for the kingdom of Scotland. But Lidington

* Their protestation, dated October 7, is extant in Anderson's Collect. tom. iv. part ii. p. 49. * It was on the first day of the meeting. See Melvil, p. 94.

answered

answered for him, and affirmed, the kingdom of Scotland owed no homage to England; that if the kings of Scotland had formerly done any; it was only for the earldom of Huntingdon and some other lands, which were since fallen into the hands of the English.

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Between this and the next meeting, on the 7th of October, it was that the earl of Murray made the forementioned agreement with the duke of Norfolk. Lidington opened the session with a speech directed to the regent and deputies of Scotland, telling them, 'That whereas it appeared, by the authority granted by the queen of England to her commissioners, that her whole design was to engage the Scots to throw a blemish on the reputation of their king's mother, they would therefore do well to consider carefully beforehand, what hazard they expose themselves to, and how they would draw upon themselves the resentment of the queen, her relations, and friends, and the indignation of all Europe, should they impeach her of a crime which must stain her honour, and in so publick a manner, before the English, the professed enemies of Scotland: what account would they be able to give their king when he came of age, of a charge so bold and dishonourable to the king, to his mother, and to the whole nation? He therefore, for his part, thought it necessary to wave so scandalous an accusation; or if they would proceed, it was requisite, at least, that the queen of England should expressly engage to defend them against such as should hereafter give them any disturbance upon this account.' He concluded, with saying, 'That he thought it his duty to give them this advice, as he was secretary of Scotland.'

Camden.

It is easy to perceive, that the drift of this speech was to give the regent an excuse to drop the accusation, according to his agreement with the duke of Norfolk. He was come from Scotland on purpose to accuse the queen, being provided with all the proofs he intended to use: but by the duke of Norfolk's suggestion; had altered his mind. It was necessary therefore to find a pretence for this change, and this pretence Lidington furnished him with, by laying before him such plausible reasons. Camden and Buchanan were at a loss for the reason of the earl of Murray's sudden change. Camden would insinuate, that the engagement he demanded of Elizabeth was only a cavil, to hide his mistrust of the justice of his cause. He says, the English commissioners pressed him very

p. 424.

* He added, "The kingdom of " Peter's penny to the pope." Melvil,
" Scotland was freer than England it- p. 94.
" self had been lately, when it paid St.

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much to give proofs of the accusation, which as yet appeared to be founded only upon a few letters from the queen, so much the more suspicious, as Lidington had privately intimated, he himself had often counterfeited her hand. But I believe Camden would have been puzzled to prove, that any of the articles of the accusation were examined at York. Buchanan, who knew as little of the secret as Camden, though he was one of the Scotch deputies^b, pretends, the regent, purely out of conscience, scrupled to accuse his sister before foreigners.

Hampton-
court con-
ference.
Anderson's
Collect.
tom. iv. part
ii. p. 97, &c.

Camden.

The York conference breaking off, and being, as I said, removed to Hampton-court^c before new commissioners, the regent, or Wood his secretary, suffered the accusation, with the proofs, to be snatched out of his hand. Which done, a day was appointed for the Scots to enlarge upon their proofs. The regent agreed to it, and demanded that Mary's deputies should be present, that they might urge their objections, and matters be more fully cleared^d. But when the day came, Mary's deputies produced a formal revocation of their commission, and an exception against the English commissioners unless the French and Spanish ambassadors were joined with them. Mary demanded farther, that the earl of Murray should be sent to prison, affirming, she could convict him of being author of the king's murder.

This revocation, just at the critical time, when the proofs against Mary were going to be examined, gave occasion to

^b He was only one of those that accompanied them. See above, p. 312.

^c The conference was held at Westminster, November 25, 26, 27, 30. December 1, 6, 8, 9; and at Hampton-court December 3, 14, 15, 16. See a full and curious account of it in Anderson's Collect. tom. ii. part ii. p. 101, &c.

^d On November 6, the accusation against queen Mary was produced; and indeed it was very home and express. "It is certain, and we boldly and constantly affirm, (says the regent, and the rest of the deputies) that as James, some time earl of Bothwell, was the chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murder, perpetrate in the person of the late king Henry of good memory, father to our sovereign lord, and the queen's lawful husband; so was she of the foreknowledge, counsel, device, persuader, and com-

mander of the said murder to be done; maintainer and fortifier of the executors thereof, by impeding and stopping of the inquisition and punishment due for the same, according to the laws of the realm, and consequently by marriage with the said James, sometime earl of Bothwell, universally esteemed chief author of the abovenamed murder." To this the queen's commissioners replied, by charging that accusation with falshood; by asserting, that some of the accusers were privy to, nay, the first inventors of the conspiracy for the death of the late king, as was made manifest before ten thousand people at the execution of some of the principal offenders; and lastly, by refusing to proceed, unless queen Mary was admitted to answer for herself. See Anderson's Collect. tom. iv. part ii. p. 126, 127, 129, 130, 145, &c.

suspect,

suspect, she thought herself unable to answer to the purpose. Whilst she was made to hope that matters would not come to the producing and examining the proofs, she had left a full power with her deputies. But as soon as she found Elizabeth, instead of serving her as she expected, sought to bring to light what was capable of dishonouring her, she believed it absolutely necessary to avoid such an examination. For that reason, she revoked the commission to her deputies, excepted against the English commissioners, and required an impossible condition, knowing the French and Spanish ambassadors would not receive a commission from Elizabeth, and that the queen would not suffer them to be concerned in the affair. In short, she did not offer to prove the earl of Murray guilty of the king's death, till she had revoked the power of those who were to have accused him in her name. All these things give occasion to believe, she dreaded the event of this examination, though by her letters to Elizabeth, it should seem, the most earnestly desired to have an opportunity to make her innocence appear before her.

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Elizabeth did not much trouble herself about these acts. Her design was not to judge the queen of Scots, but to draw from her accusation and the proofs, a pretence to detain her till the affair should be fully cleared, being resolved never to think it sufficiently explained either for or against, but to testify however she should be very glad to find her innocent. I say only to testify, for certainly she was pleased to have in her hands proper proofs to show, upon occasion, that she could not justify her. She acted this part a good while.

Elizabeth's
policy.

In fine, though Mary had excepted against the English commissioners, they proceeded however to the examination of the proofs. The earl of Murray produced the confessions of those who were executed for being concerned in the king's murder. Then he read the decree of the states, confirming the queen's resignation of the crown to the king her son. After which, he produced the fatal casket, which Bothwell would have taken from the castle of Edinburgh, and showed the letters, verses, and contracts before mentioned. This is what Buchanan, who was present, attests*. But Camden, without descending to any particulars, contents himself with saying, "The earl of Murray endeavoured to prove her guilty of her husband's murder, by conjectural proofs and

Examination
of the proofs.
Decem. 3.
Buchanan,
Anderson's
Collect.
tom. iv. part
ii. p. 149,
169.
p. 150, 174-
Decem. 8.

* These letters and verses are to be found at the end of Buchanan's Detection, and in The tragical History of Mary queen of Scots, which is little more than a French translation of the Detection; together with the contracts and depositions of the witnesses. Rapin.

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" circumstances, by some few affidavits, by certain love-
 " letters and verses writ, as he affirmed, with the queen's
 " own hand. But these letters and verses were little re-
 " garded, there being no name or date to them."

p. 414.

Buchanan's History was published when Camden writ his Annals. The first attests, that in the casket were found letters containing the whole conspiracy against the king, and the queen's rape, besides the contracts. Camden insists upon some letters and verses, and even insinuates they were forged. Had he writ first, he might have supposed his assertions would not be questioned. But as he wrote forty years after Buchanan, he ought, in my opinion, either to have positively denied or explained the facts related by that historian. And therefore, as he does not confute them, it is plain he had nothing material to object to them. He farther adds, Murray gave the commissioners a book of Buchanan's, intitled, The Detection, wherein was a particular account of the king's death, with the vouchers: but that it found little credit with the commissioners, 'because the author was a mercenary writer.' As to the confessions of those that were put to death, he says in another place, that all declared the queen innocent with their last breath. Here he owns, the depositions of these same people were produced against her, but answers them not. He adds however, that Elizabeth was very well pleased that these accusations had sullied the queen of Scots reputation^f. But if the commissioners gave no credit to the proofs of the accusers, as he would insinuate, Mary's reputation could not be sullied, but on the contrary, she would have been fully cleared^g.

Elizabeth
 will not
 decide the
 matter.
 Anderson's
 Collect. tom.
 iv. part ii.
 p. 144, &c.

The examination being ended, Elizabeth forbore to decide either for or against, as she had resolved. Mean while, as Mary's friends were endeavouring to raise troubles in Scotland, and the regent's presence was necessary, Elizabeth took occasion to defer the conclusion of the affair till a more convenient time. Thus she obtained her desires, that is, a pretence to detain Mary till the affair was more fully cleared, and withal,

^f Melvil says, that Elizabeth was very well satisfied with the advantage she thereby received. First, she thought she had matter to show, wherefore she detained the queen, when she was challenged by the foreign ambassadors. Then she was glad of the queen's dishonour. She also sent immediately to the queen to comfort her, praying her to look on herself in a better case, though for a while restrained of her liberty, than to be in Scotland, among so unworthy sub-

jects, who had accused her falsely and wrongfully, as she was assured; that she would neither be judge, nor give out any sentence thereupon, nor should any part of the said false accusations be made known by her, or her council to any. Melvil, p. 97.

^g The Memoirs of the state of France in the reign of Charles IX. may be consulted upon this occasion, printed in octavo at Middleburgh, 1579. tom. i. p. 81—144.

proofs

proofs which would very probably hinder the queen and her friends from soliciting a decision. Buchanan affirms, she caused the Scotch deputies to be told, that thus far she did not see any thing blameable in the conduct of the Scots. Camden says, on the contrary, she abhorred their insolence. Melvil adds, she acquainted Mary, that she believed her wrongfully accused, and could not enough detest the insolence of her accusers; nor should the accusation be ever made public. The difference between Camden and Melvil is, that Melvil relates this only to show to what height Elizabeth carried her dissimulation; but Camden pretends to infer from thence, she believed her innocent. After all, the accounts of these three authors may be equally true, because Elizabeth's scheme was to leave the affair undetermined, and put both parties in hopes of her favour. Buchanan says, before the conference ended, Murray offered to clear himself of the king's murder before Mary's deputies: but that they thought proper to drop their accusation^b. They could hardly do otherwise, for though they might have hoped to convict him, their commission was revoked.

Though, according to Melvil, Elizabeth said she would not see the earl of Murray any more, she had however several private conferences with him. In these conferences it was, that he informed her of all that had passed between him and the duke of Norfolk¹, and showed her letters from Mary, which had been intercepted in Scotland, wherein she complained in very harsh terms, of the treatment she received since her coming to England. Moreover, she hinted to her friends, that they should not be discouraged at what had passed at York and Hampton-court, and that she expected a powerful aid from a certain place which she would not name. These letters, added to what was discovered at the same time, that the pope was labouring to raise a rebellion in England; by means of Ridolfi a Florentine merchant, and to Lidington's frequent conferences with the duke of Norfolk², who was become very suspected, obliged Elizabeth to order the queen of Scots to be removed to Tutbury-castle³.

The duke of Norfolk was so exasperated against the earl of Murray, that he had resolved to have him murdered in his

Eliz.
1568.

Camden,
p. 415.
Melvil,
p. 97.

Murray discovers to the queen what had passed between him and the duke of Norfolk; of Norfolk's complaint in very harsh terms, of the treatment she received since her coming to England. He shows some intercepted letters. Buchanan. Camden. Plots discovered.

Mary is removed to Tutbury. Camden.

^b According to Buchanan, they were compelled singly and severally to confess, that they knew nothing of themselves, why Murray, or any of his, should be accused of the king's murder, lib. 19.

¹ She had been informed of it before,

by means of the earl of Morton. Melvil, p. 97, 98.

² At York: Camden, p. 415.

³ In Staffordshire, where she was committed to the custody of George Talbot earl of Shrewsbury. Camden, p. 415.

Eliz. return to Scotland. But Throckmorton having reconciled
1568. them, the duke desisted from his design. Melvil affirms;
Murray promised Elizabeth to send her the letters the duke

Melvil,
p. 98.
Affairs of
France.
Thuanus.
Mézcriai.
Camden.

Elizabeth
assists the
Huguenots.
Camden.

Grotius.
Camden.

Abundance
of Flemings
settle in
England.
Camden.

Quarrel be-
tween Eliza-
beth and
Philip II.
Camden.

should write to him, and that he performed his promise^a.

Whilst these things passed in England, the French court was thinking of executing their design of carrying away by force the prince of Condé from his house at Noyers. The peace granted to the Huguenots was only to amuse them. Happily for the prince, he had notice of it time enough to escape to Rochelle. This stratagem failing, the persecution against the Huguenots was renewed with greater fury than ever. The king forbid them the exercise of their religion, and banished all their ministers. Whereupon they fled for aid to Elizabeth, who sent them a hundred thousand crowns of gold, with a good train of artillery. She saw plainly this was a consequence of the councils held at Bayonne, and that if she suffered the Huguenots to be oppressed, the flames would soon reach England. What confirmed her in this opinion was, that the duke of Alva proceeded in the same manner in the Low-Countries, and plainly showed, he intended utterly to destroy the protestant religion in these provinces, and make the king absolute. The prince of Orange had brought an army from Germany to try to stop the execution of this design; but for want of money to pay it, was forced to retire among the Huguenots of France. This accident compelling many Flemish families to fly to England for refuge, the queen gave them leave to settle in several good towns, where they contributed very much to cause trade to flourish.

About the close of the year an accident happened, which occasioned a quarrel between the queen, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva. The Genoa merchants, and some others of Italy, having a great sum of money in Spain, and resolving to send it into the Low-Countries^b, obtained a passport of the king of Spain, and put the money on board some vessels of Biscay. These ships being attacked in their passage by French pirates, did with great difficulty escape into Py-

^a Melvil says, that after their reconciliation, Murray discovered every thing to the queen, especially his design to marry the queen of Scots, and to give his daughter to the young king of Scotland. The duke had caused the queen to give to Murray, who was in great want of money, two thousand pounds, for which sum he became security, and was afterwards forced to pay it. Melvil, p. 99.

^b They settled at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Southampton, which turned to the great advantage of England; for they were the first that brought into the nation the art of making bays and frys, and other linnen and woollen cloths of the like kind. Camden, p. 416.

^c To raise a bank there. Camden, p. 416.

North, Falmouth, and Southampton. As soon as the queen had notice of it, she ordered the magistrates of those places to treat the Spaniards civilly, and assist them in case the pyrates attempted any thing against them. The Spanish ambassador telling her the money belonged to the king his master, obtained leave to have it landed. His design was to carry it by land to some port nearer the Low-Countries. But, at the same time, cardinal de Chatillon, who was then in England, informed the queen that the money belonged to some merchants, and that the duke of Alva was to seize it to help him to carry on the war. This was also confirmed by other people. So, to deprive the duke of Alva of this supply, she took the money by way of loan, and gave security for the payment. Some time after, the duke of Alva demanding the money, the queen replied, she would punctually return it, as soon as it appeared by good proofs that it was the king of Spain's. Upon this refusal, the duke seized the effects of the English, and sent the owners to prison; and the queen did the like by the Flemings. A few days after, she issued out a proclamation upon the occasion, which the Spanish ambassador answered in print. But this did not satisfy him; he dispersed very insolent libels, containing grating reflections upon the queen's reputation. For this he was kept under a guard for 6 day or two. The queen complained to the king of Spain of his ambassador's insolence; but could obtain no satisfaction.

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Dec. 29.
Stow.

Jan. 6.

This difference between the queen and Philip II. was quickly followed by a disturbance at court. Among all Elizabeth's ministers and counsellors, there was not one so heartily attached to his mistress's interest as Cecil, who was secretary of state. All the rest had their private views, to which they strove to adapt the queen's and the nation's interests. But Cecil minded only the queen's, and was in great favour with her. Therefore to him chiefly she imparted her most secret thoughts, with respect to the government of the state. Several privy counsellors were engaged in the queen of Scots party; that is, they wished the crown of England was secured to her,

1569.
Plot against Cecil, and the occasion thereof.
Camden.

¶ He came to England, September 23, this year. Stow, p. 662.

¶ Under the fictitious name of Amasius Orsina. Camden, p. 417.

¶ This year, a new English translation of the Bible was published at London. It was done by the bishops of Exeter, St. David's, Worcester, Winchester, Norwich, Ely, and other learned

men, and is commonly called the Bishop's Bible. See Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, and his Annals. — This year also, on December 30, died the learned Roger Ascham, who was for some time tutor to queen Elizabeth, and her secretary for the Latin tongue. Camden, p. 416.

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in case Elizabeth died without issue. They were of opinion, it was a thing agreeable to equity, justice, and the laws of the land; and pretended it was the only way to prevent the troubles which might happen after the queen's decease. But Elizabeth thought, that when they considered the publick advantages, they did not sufficiently attend to her safety. Mary did not pretend only to be Elizabeth's presumptive heir: it was well known her pretensions reached much farther, and that many were persuaded her title was preferable to the queen's. If therefore she was appointed Elizabeth's successor, it could be only in virtue of her birthright, and not in consequence of Henry VIII's will, where she was not so much as named, whereas many thought Elizabeth derived her title solely from thence. So, in taking this course, the titles of the two queens would have been put in opposition, very much to Elizabeth's disadvantage. Consequently her fear was, this nomination would increase the number of Mary's friends, and in the end endeavours would be used to set her on the throne before the time appointed. All who were displeased with the government thought the nation would get by the change. The catholicks heartily wished it, and amongst the protestants themselves, there were many to whom it was indifferent which queen was on the throne, because they made no great conscience of conforming to all the changes which might be made in religion, as was the case more than once. It was therefore of great moment to Elizabeth, to hinder Mary from being nominated to succeed her. So, she could not but have a great regard for those whom she saw sincerely attached to her private interest. Among these Cecil was the chief, and it was he also whom Mary's friends considered as her most dangerous enemy, and the rather, as he had frequently shown his inclination to the house of Suffolk, before the death of the dutchess of that name. This was the real motive of a plot laid in the beginning of the year 1569, to ruin that minister. The duke of Norfolk, the marquiss of Winchester, the earl of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester, and others*, entered this sort of conspiracy. They accused Cecil of being the cause of the queen's detaining the Spanish money, and by that of her running a manifest risk of a war with Spain, which could not but be very prejudicial to trade. They flattered themselves, that upon this charge the queen would send the secretary to prison, and then they made no question they should find ways enough to effect his ruin.

Camden.

* Particularly sir Nicholas Throckmorton. Camden, p. 427.

But

But the queen being too quick-sighted not to see into their aim and the motive of their plot, commanded them silence in such a manner, as destroyed all their hopes of success either then or for the future. We shall see presently with what view they projected to deprive the queen of this minister.

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The queen supports her minister.

The sudden quarrel between the queen and the king of Spain, obliging the English merchants to send their effects to Hamburg, the duke of Alva prohibited all commerce with England. Then he appointed certain spies in all the sea ports, to give him information of those that acted contrary to the prohibition. Of this number was one Story an English Roman catholic, who was very busy in discovering the private trade still driven by several persons with the English, notwithstanding the prohibition: but his diligence cost him dear. Some time after, being drawn on board a vessel, which he was told had brought over English goods and heretical books, he was carried to England, where he languished in prison some years, and at last was condemned to die.

Story an Englishman is carried away by force from the Low-Countries, Camden, Strype's Ann.

The English merchants met with no better treatment in Spain than in the Netherlands. Philip ordered all their effects to be seized, by way of reprisals for the money stopped in England. But this did not satisfy him. To be more fully revenged of Elizabeth, he endeavoured to bribe the duke of Norfolk to raise a rebellion in England, and the earl of Ormond to do the same in Ireland; but these two lords discovered it to the queen. On the other hand, though there was no war proclaimed between England and Spain, the English, on pretence of the injury done to their countrymen, fell upon all the merchant-ships belonging to the Spaniards. They did so much damage to Philip's subjects, by these continual cruifings, that the queen, fearing to be involved in a formal war, was forced to restrain them by proclamation.

A sort of war between England and Spain, Camden,

Whilst the English trade suffered in Spain and the Netherlands, it was like to be quite lost in Muscovy, by the avarice of the English merchants, who had angered the czar. But the queen speedily sent thither sir Thomas Randolph, who so managed the czar, that he obtained divers privileges for the Russia company. Shortly after, the czar sent an ambassador

Elizabeth makes an alliance with the czar, Camden.

Aug. 27.
to Stow.
Hollingh,

* He had practised with one Bestall, a conspirer, against the queen's life, and had given the duke of Alva directions how to invade England. Camden.

† The czar granted them an exemption from all customs, with leave to send their manufactures through his

whole dominions, and to transport them into Persia and Media by the Caspian sea, the merchants of other nations being not permitted to trade beyond Moscow. And now did the English venture to transport their goods in boats made of one entire tree, up the river Dwina,

Eliz. 1569. to the queen, to offer a personal alliance. Tho' it was a great honour to be allied with a prince so notorious for his cruelties, she thought proper however, for the benefit of her subjects, to make a treaty with him, mutually promising to afford one another refuge, in case either should be dethroned.

Project of a marriage between the duke of Norfolk and the queen of Scots.
Camden,
Lestley's
Negotiat.
Buchanan.

Whilst Elizabeth was treating with the Russian ambassador, plots were forming in England, which might have proved fatal to her, had they not been prevented. Some of the queen of Scots chief friends, the same who would have destroyed Cecil, had projected to marry her to the duke of Norfolk. The earl of Leicester himself was in the plot; but in all appearance it was only to be let into the secret, and discovered every thing to the queen. It is hardly to be doubted, that they who undertook this affair, were set to work by the duke of Norfolk himself, tho' he let his friends proceed, without appearing in it himself. The occasion or pretence of the project was this: 'twas said, Elizabeth intending never to marry, the queen of Scotland might happen to espouse a foreign prince and a papist, in which case the protestant religion would be liable to great danger, since it was not impossible that the young king her son should die before her. It was therefore necessary to think betimes of marrying Mary to a protestant husband, that she might be restrained, in case she should attempt any thing against religion, when she came to the crown of England. It was said further, no English lord was more worthy of this honour than the duke of Norfolk, who was a sincere protestant. But to curb the duke's ambition, in case he should think of carrying it too far, it was resolved he should give his daughter in marriage to the king of Scotland, that he might be concerned in the young prince's preservation. Such was the project, which did not seem to have any thing criminal, especially as it was agreed, it should not be executed without the queen's approbation. But very probably, the managers of this affair had farther views. For, if they intended only the good and welfare of the kingdom, why did they desire to hide their designs from the queen, till they had so well taken their measures, that it should be impossible for

Dwina, as far as Wologda. From thence in seven days by land to Yerslaw, and then thirty days and nights down the river to Astracan, by the Wolga, where they used to build their ships. From Astracan, they crossed the Caspian sea, and made their way through the vast deserts of Hyrcania and Bactriana,

to Teverin and Casbin, cities of Persia, in hopes at length to discover Cashy. But by reason of the war between the Turks and Persians, and the robberies committed by the Barbarians, the Londoners were discouraged from pursuing this glorious enterprize. Camden, p. 417, 418.

her

her to hinder the execution? But however, without staying to examine whether it was the earl of Murray that first inspired the duke of Norfolk with the thoughts of this marriage, as Camden affirms contrary to all appearance^v, the queen of Scots was informed of the project by the bishop of Rois, who was very diligent in all her concerns. At the same time, she was promised to be restored to the throne of Scotland, and declared presumptive heir to Elizabeth, on the following terms.

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P. 419.
Lesley's
Negotiat.

That as to the succession to the crown of England, she should attempt nothing to the prejudice of queen Elizabeth and her issue.

Terms of the
marriage.
Camden,

That she should consent to a league offensive and defensive between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

P. 420.

That she should confirm the establishment of the protestant religion in Scotland.

That she should pardon such of her subjects as had acted or appeared in arms against her.

That she should revoke the assignment of her right to the kingdom of England, which she had made to the duke of Anjou, the king of France's brother.

That she should marry the duke of Norfolk.

Mary very readily accepted the offer with the conditions annexed, all but the league, which she scrupled at a little, because she was willing, before she entered into it, to consult the French king. She denied she had made any assignment to the duke of Anjou, and yet offered to procure his renunciation, if required for the greater security.

It is easy to perceive, the proposers of these terms had taken great care to screen themselves from the law, since they seemed very just in themselves, and advantageous to both kingdoms. But they supposed the restoration of Mary to the throne of Scotland, and her nomination to succeed to the crown of England. This was to be done first, and then the execution of what she promised on her part, was left to her honour. It was in this the artifice consisted.

As soon as Mary's consent was gained, several lords and gentlemen were sounded, who not perceiving the venom of

The project
is carried out.
Camden.

^v Mebril seems to say the duke mentioned it first, p. 98.— But Lesley affirms, that the earl of Murray first set it on foot, or at least promoted it strenuously. By comparing Camden with Lesley's Ne-

gotiations, it plainly appears, that what the former relates about Mary queen of Scots, is mostly taken from the latter. See Lesley's Negotiat. p. 34, &c.

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the project, approved it, but with this proviso, that nothing should be done without the queen's consent. It was also communicated to the kings of France and Spain, who were very well pleased with it, though it be evident, they would have had no reason to be so, if they had believed the conditions would be punctually performed. The proceedings of those who had framed such a project, without consulting the queen, plainly shew, their design was to put the affair in such a state, that it should not be in her power to hinder the execution, when proposed to her. The duke of Norfolk thought himself so secure of success, that the earl of Northumberland having acquainted him, that Leonard Dacres intended to carry away the queen of Scots^x, he desired the earl to hinder it, being apprehensive she would be conducted into Spain.

Elizabeth is
informed of
it.
Camden.

This affair passing through so many hands, and being hardly any longer a secret, the duke of Norfolk justly feared the queen would be offended that she was not informed of it, and therefore, not to incense her more, he desired the earl of Leicester to speak of it to her. Leicester promised to do it the first opportunity, and yet delayed it from day to day, so that all knew it, except the queen, who, it is likely, feigned ignorance. However, she was willing to give the duke occasion to disclose his secret, by telling him one day^y, "to beware upon what pillow he laid his head;" but he pretended not to understand what she meant, chusing rather that the earl of Leicester should speak to her first, because he thought him his friend^z. But it is said, the earl had acted in this affair only to ruin him, because he considered him as a dangerous rival in the queen's favour. However, the court being at Titchfield, the earl of Leicester feigns himself very ill, and the queen going to see him, he showed signs of fear and trouble, which she easily perceiving, asked him the reason. Then begging her pardon, for having so long concealed from her a secret which he ought to have told her, he discovered all that had passed concerning the duke of Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scots. After which, the queen called the duke into a gallery, and taxing him with imprudence and rashness for attempting the marriage, without vouchsafing to impart his design to her, commanded him to desist from the

She com-
mands the
duke not to
think of the
marriage.
Camden.

^x She was then in confinement at Whinfield in Derbyshire, in the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. Camden, p. 420.—Where it seems she used to bathe herself in wine. See Strype's Ann. tom. i. p. 575.

^y At Farnham in Surry, where he was on her progress. Camden, p. 420.
^z Cecil, who was told all by Leicester, advised the duke to speak to the queen himself. Camden, p. 420.

project.

project, The duke owned such a proposal had been made to him, and he had consented to it; but showed himself so regardless of it, that he told the queen, his revenues were not much less than those of the whole kingdom of Scotland, drained by civil wars; and that when he was at his tennis court in Norwich, he thought himself as good as some kings. In short, he promised the queen to think no more of the marriage. Mean while, as afterwards he perceived she did not look upon him with the same eye as before, that the earl of Leicester was against him, and the courtiers shunned him, he withdrew from court, without taking his leave of the queen, and came to London. The same day the bishop of Ross^a, suing for the enlargement of the queen of Scots, Elizabeth in great disgust, told him, that his mistress had nothing to do but to rest satisfied, unless she had a mind to see those, on whom she most relied, shorter by the head.

He promises to desert.

This affair being entirely divulged, the queen endeavoured by all ways to get information of such particulars as might have escaped the earl of Leicester's knowledge. As she knew the duke had frequent conferences with the earl of Murray, she sent sir George Carey^b into Scotland, to desire him to acquaint her with what he knew of the matter. Mean while the duke being privately warned by a message from the earl of Leicester, that a resolution was taken to send him to the Tower, retired into Norfolk. But repenting of this hasty step, which might render him suspected, he returns to court, after writing to the queen to beg her pardon, and to his friends, to intreat them to speak to the queen in his behalf. Some days after, the queen received letters from Scotland^c, informing her of some things which had not come to her knowledge, and which made her sign a warrant to send the duke of Norfolk to the Tower. Then the bishop of Ross, who acted as the queen of Scots ambassador, was examined, and Radolfi the Florentine was delivered to the custody of sir Francis Walsingham. The lord Lumley was arrested, the earl of Pembroke was confined to his own house, and all the rest who were concerned in the project of the duke of Norfolk's marriage, were banished the court, except the earl of Leicester. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland made their submission to the earl of Suffolk, lord president of

Camden;

He returns thither again.

He is sent to the Tower, October 11. Camden. Stow. Hollingsh.

His accomplices are disgraced.

^a Camden says, it was the Spanish ambassador, p. 420.

^b The lord Hunston's son.

^c Brought by the abbot of Dunfermling; wherein she received information,

that the duke had been practising with the earl of Murray at Hampton-court, to favour and assist his marriage, &c. See Camden, p. 321.

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the north. All these lords endeavoured to excuse themselves, by declaring they had approved the project of the duke's marriage, on the express condition it should not be consummated without the queen's consent.

Conspiracy
and rebel-
lion in the
north.
Camden.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Strype's
Ann.

Elizabeth did not think fit to publish all she knew of this affair, wherein the prime lords of the kingdom were concerned. Besides, she had received, some time since, advice of a conspiracy ready to break out, and consequently it might be very dangerous to use too great a severity at such a juncture. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, both very powerful in the north, had held together several conferences, of which the queen had notice, and which caused her to order them to repair to court. They made some dilatory excuses, but the queen sent them a more express order, to put them under a necessity of relinquishing their enterprize, or engaging in an open rebellion, before they had taken proper measures. This second order produced the effect she expected. The two earls knowing themselves guilty, and not daring to trust to the queen's mercy, took up arms and drew some forces together ^d.

The rebels
publish a
manifesto.
Camden.
Strype's
Ann.
Baines.

The rebels design was to free the queen of Scots, though they mentioned her not in their manifesto. They said only, their intent was, 'To restore the religion of their forefathers, remove evil counsellors from the queen, and cause justice to be done to the duke of Norfolk, and the other lords now in prison, or under disgrace.' At the same time they writ circular letters to the catholicks, inviting them to come and join with them. But most sent the letters they received to the queen ^e, whether they were not willing to disturb the peace of the realm, or were discouraged by the duke of Norfolk's imprisonment. Mean while, the rebels coming to Durham, burn all the English Bibles and Common-Prayer books, and openly say mass. Then they marched to Clifford moor, where they took a muster, and found their army amounted to four thousand foot and six hundred horse. Their chief design was to free the queen of Scots, in order to set her at their head; but upon the first news of this rebellion, she was conveyed to Coventry ^f, a strong city in the middle of the kingdom, not to be taken without a formal siege, for

Stow.
Hollingsh.

Mary is re-
moved to
Coventry.
Camden.
Lefley's Ne-
gotiations.

^d One Nicholas Morton, a priest, was the great incendiary, who had been sent from the pope to pronounce queen Elizabeth an heretick; and therefore to have forfeited her right to her crown and kingdom. Camden, p. 422.

^e With the bearers thereof. Camden, p. 422.

^f And committed to the custody of the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon. Ibid.

which

which the rebels were by no means prepared. • Besides, in marching thither, they would have gone into a country where the inhabitants were not their friends. Eliz. 1569.

Mean time, forces were levying for the queen in several parts. The earl of Suffex had now seven thousand men^a, the lord Clinton was at the head of twelve thousand, and the earl of Cumberland, with the lord Scroop, were near Carlisle with a good body of troops, besides the garrison which they had thrown into that city. So the rebels, finding their number not increase, thought proper to retire to the borders of the north^b, where they took Bernard castle, but presently after fearing to be surrounded, dispersed themselves. The earl of Northumberland concealed himself at Harclaw in Scotland^c. The earl of Westmoreland escaped into the Netherlands, where he spent the residue of his days, living upon a slender pension allowed him by the king of Spain. The rebels being thus dispersed, some were hanged for an example^d. Forty others, who were fled out of the kingdom, were convicted of high treason and outlawed, and their sentence was confirmed by the next parliament. Of this number were, Charles Nevil earl of Westmoreland, Thomas Percy earl of Northumberland with his countess, and Egremont Ratcliff brother to the earl of Suffex^e. The queen pardoned the rest, who did not fly out of the land. Some time before this rebellion, the duke of Alva sent to the queen Ciapine Vitelli, a famous captain, to demand the money which had been stopped. But his commission was so limited, that he was forced to write to the duke of Alva for a more ample power. The real design of this embassy was to have in England an experienced leader to command the rebels, and the forces the duke of Alva was to send over. Lamothe governor of Dunkirk, disguised like a sailor, had already sounded the ports, as he himself confessed afterwards. But the queen broke all these measures by compelling the two heads of the rebels to take up arms sooner than they had resolved.

The rebels
disperse
themselves,
and the
earls fly
away.
Camden.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Lesley's
Negotiat.

Some are
punished.
Camden.
Thuanus.

Others per-
doned.
Camden.
Thuanus.

^a And was accompanied with Edward earl of Rutland his lieutenant, the lords Hunston, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham. Camden, p. 422.

^b First to Raby, the chief seat of the earl of Westmoreland, and then to Hexham, and Naworth castle. Ibid.

^c The occasion of his revolt was, a supposed wrong done him by the queen, in granting away from him a rich copper mine, found upon his estate. Ibid.

^d Threescore and six were executed at Durham, and several at York and London. Ibid. p. 433.

^e As also Edward Dacres of Morton, John Nevil of Leverfegge, J. Swinborne, Thomas Markensfeld, Christopher Nevil, Richard, Christopher, Marmaduke, and Thomas Norton, Robert and Michael Tempest, George Stafford, and about forty more of noble extraction. Ibid.

This

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Dacres's
rebellion.
Camden.
Stow,
Hollingh.

He is de-
feated, and
flies into
Flanders,
February 22.
Hollingh.

Commotions
in Ireland.
Camden.
Thuanus.

The duke of
Norfolk
remains in
prison.

This rebellion was quickly followed by another, of which Leonard Dacres, a gentleman of the north^m, was the head. He had some business at court, which he was soliciting when the first rebellion broke out. Upon the news, he went and offered his service to the queen, who accepted it, because she knew he had a great interest in the northern parts. Having received a commission from the queen to raise forces, he sent to the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, that the troops he should raise by virtue of his commission should be at their service. He even put them in hopes of foreign succours, as certain ambassadors at London had assured him. His chief design was to carry away the queen of Scots; but he was disappointed by her being sent to Coventry. So, finding himself at the head of three thousand men, after taking some castlesⁿ, he resolved to expect the lord Hunston, who was marching towards him with the garrison of Berwick^o. The battle was fought near the little river Gelt. Dacres behaved very gallantly, but being vanquished, fled into Flanders, where he died. The queen pardoned all his followers.

At the same time there were commotions in Ireland, in which it appeared the king of Spain was concerned, since he had dispatched thither Juan Mendoza, an officer, to foment them. But they were easily allayed^p.

It is uncertain whether the duke of Norfolk was concerned in the late rebellion in England. Several circumstances made against him. First, as most insurrections necessarily require some preparations, it might be thought the rebels were getting ready at the very time the duke of Norfolk and his friends were preparing every thing to obtain the queen's consent to the projected marriage. In this expectation, he had hindered Dacres from attempting to free the queen of Scots, as he had intended. Secondly, all the motions of the rebels tended to Mary's deliverance, and most of her friends were discouraged when they heard the duke of Norfolk was in the Tower.

^m Second son to William lord Dacres of Gillelland. The cause of this disgust was this: his brother's son dying young (on May 17, this year. Stow, p. 663.) a great estate fell to his nieces, who were contracted by the duke of Norfolk to their father-in-law, to two of his sons. He entered a suit against his nieces, and the cause going against him, he fell to plotting, and attempted to rescue the queen of Scots, though in vain. Cam-

den, p. 423.

ⁿ Greystock, Naworth, and other castles. Ibid.

^o Which consisted only of fifteen hundred horse and foot. Hollinghead, p. 1213.

^p They were raised by Edmund and Peter Boteler, brothers of the earl of Ormond, who, being sent over, persuaded his brothers to lay down their arms. Camden, p. 423.

Lastly,

Lastly, the rebels themselves said in their manifesto, they had taken up arms to release him. But, on the other hand, it is certain this lord was never called to an account, and the queen was contented with keeping him in prison till September the next year. Hence, it seems, it may be inferred, there was no proof against him. But perhaps the queen did not think it advisable to let the people know the first lords of the realm were concerned in the conspiracy.

I left, about the end of the last year, the earl of Murray in England, where he had acted several and very opposite parts. Upon his arrival in Scotland, he assembled all the lords of the king's party at Stirling¹, to communicate what he had done in England, and his conduct was approved.

The duke of Chateleraut was come from France to London, a little before the earl of Murray's departure. He forthwith demanded queen Elizabeth's aid and protection to obtain the regency of Scotland, being the young king's nearest relation. But the queen knew her interest too well to fall into such a snare, and to favour a lord, whose conduct had ever been very equivocal, and who, in all appearance, had not imbibed at the court of France favourable notions of the king's party. The duke not being able to obtain his desire, let the earl of Murray depart, and came not to Scotland till some time after him. He brought a patent from queen Mary, wherein it appeared, that, by a new and unheard-of right, she had adopted him for her father, and, as such, committed to him the regency of the kingdom. The earl of Murray, hearing the duke assumed the title of regent in virtue of this patent, immediately assembled an army to compel him to submit to the government, resolving no other authority but the king's should be acknowledged in Scotland. Since the queen's defeat and flight, her party was grown so weak, that the duke of Chateleraut was unable to resist. All his dependance was upon the good success of the project which was then forming in favour of the duke of Norfolk, after which he did not question to gain the advantage of the earl of Murray. But as it was not in his power to hasten the execution of the project in England, he was forced to confine himself to the endeavouring to gain time by proposing an agreement. He plainly perceived the way of arms could not be successful in his present circumstances. He set therefore his friends to talk with the regent, and it was agreed, he should come to Glasgow, acknowledge the king's authority, and re-

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Affaire of
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Anderson's
Collect.
tom. ii.
part 2.
p. 196.
Spotswood.
Thuanus.

¹ On February 12. Anderson, tom. iv. p. 196.

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nounce the queen's; for which some advantages he had required were granted him. Notwithstanding the agreement, he raised fresh difficulties to attain his end. But the regent, not being satisfied with all his evasions, began to march with his army to attack him. Then the duke having no other refuge, was constrained to go to the regent with the lord Herries. A few days after, the regent having assembled at Glasgow the lords of the king's party, it was resolved that a proclamation should be published, offering to all who had hitherto refused to own the king's authority, to receive their submissions and restore them to the enjoyment of their lands. But the earls of Argyll and Huntley would not accept of these terms, being extremely displeased at the duke of Chateleraut's putting himself into the hands of the earl of Murray. At the same time, queen Mary writ letter upon letter to her friends, exhorting them to stand firm, and giving them hopes of a speedy and happy revolution in her affairs. She was then in expectation of the success of the projects concerning her marriage with the duke of Norfolk.

The regent's proclamation not meeting with the expected success, and no one appearing to accept the offered favour, he departed for Edinburgh, carrying with him the duke of Chateleraut and the lord Herries. He had delayed thus long to press them to make their submission to the king, because he was desirous it might be a general affair. But at last, finding the queen's friends were in no haste to make their submission, he resolved to incite them by the duke of Chateleraut's example, who was the head of the party, and summoned him to perform the agreement made at Glasgow. The duke seeing himself pressed, sought excuses, saying he did not mean to treat for himself alone but for the queen's whole party, and therefore could do nothing without the concurrence of the other lords and the queen's approbation. Whereupon the regent asking him what he intended to do if the queen approved not of the agreement of Glasgow? He replied, that he believed himself bound to nothing. The circumstances of the duke of Norfolk's plot, the success whereof he expected every moment, made him think it not very dangerous to talk thus. However, the regent finding himself thus amused, sent him and the lord Herries prisoners to the castle.

The duke of
Chateleraut
sent to pri-
son.

Buchanan.
Spotiswood.

Camden,
p. 418.
Lesley's
Negotiat.

This is Buchanan's account of the occasion of the duke of Chateleraut's imprisonment, an account which the circumstances of affairs renders very probable. But Camden and his followers have been pleased to say only, the regent having summoned at Edinburgh the lords of both parties to la-
bour

hour an agreement, the duke of Chatelerault and the lord Herries first repaired thither, and were ordered to prison. In this manner has Camden maimed and disfigured the History of Scotland, to give some colour to his invectives against the earl of Murray. I am going to relate another instance, either of his prejudice or unfaithfulness. I have reserved it till now, though it be not its proper place, because it would have been impossible to convince the reader of my assertion, if he was not first informed of what has been said concerning the affairs of the queen of Scots; I hope I shall be pardoned this sort of digression.

Camden, after a very brief account of the murder of king Henry Darnly in the year 1567, and an insinuation that the earl of Murray was the real author of it, says, that Murray earnestly pressed the queen to marry the earl of Bothwell, to which she consented at last, after much difficulty. Then he immediately adds,

“ I shall willingly insert here what George earl of Huntley Camden,
 “ and the earl of Argyle, who were the principal lords of p. 404.
 “ Scotland, protested soon after, as I have taken it from an
 “ original signed with their own hands, which they sent to
 “ queen Elizabeth.”

“ Forasmuch as the earl of Murray and others, to colour Anderson's
 “ their rebellion against the queen, whose authority they usurp, Colled.
 “ do openly slander her, as guilty of the murder of her hus- tom. iv.
 “ band; we do publicly protest and witness these things fol- p. 138.
 “ lowing. In the month of December, 1566, when the queen
 “ was at Craigmillar, Murray and Lidington acknowledged
 “ before us, that Merton, Lindsay and Ruthven slew David
 “ Rizzo, with no other intent than to save Murray, who was
 “ at that very time to be proscribed. Therefore, that they
 “ might not appear ungrateful, they greatly desired, that Mor-
 “ ton and the rest who were banished for Rizzo's murder, might
 “ be recalled. But this they said could not be done, unless the
 “ queen were divorced from her husband, which they pro-
 “ mised to accomplish, would we but give our consent. After-
 “ wards Murray promised to me [Huntley] that my ancient in-
 “ heritance should be restored to me, and I should be an ever-
 “ lasting favourite with the exiles, if I would but countenance
 “ the divorce. Then we applied to Bothwell for his consent

* Or thereabouts, in the copy in Anderson, tom. iv. p. 133. Camden has very much contracted or curtailed this protestation.

“ also.

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also. And lastly, we came to the queen; and Lidington, in the name of us all, earnestly intreated her to reverse the banishment of Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven. The king's faults and offences against the queen and the realm, he aggravated with very great bitterness; and showed how much it concerned the queen and state, that the divorce should be made out of hand, it being impossible for the king and queen to live together in Scotland with safety. She answered, she had rather withdraw for a time into France, till her husband should be sensible of the errors of his youth, being unwilling any thing should be done to her son's prejudice, or her own dishonour. To this Lidington replied, We who are of your council will look to that. But I command you, says she, to do nothing that may blemish my honour, or offend my conscience. Let the thing remain as it is, till God pleases to provide a remedy from above: that which you imagine will be for my good, may, I fear, turn to my hurt. To which Lidington said, Please to leave matters to us, and you shall find nothing will be done but what is just, and what the parliament will approve of. A few days after, the king happening to be murdered in an execrable manner, we do from the inward testimonies of our consciences, hold it for certain, that Murray and Lidington were the authors, contrivers, and abettors of this regicide, whoever were the actors.

This protestation, as may be easily observed, squares exactly with Camden's design in his Annals of queen Elizabeth, namely, to clear the queen of Scots from the crime of murdering the king her husband, and to accuse the earl of Murray. But withal, it is directly contrary to the testimony of Melvil, an eye-witness, who, in his Memoirs, says not a single word which can give occasion to suspect the earl of Murray was thought guilty of the murder. If this protestation therefore be true, Melvil's Memoirs must be only a heap of fables, which no man of sense will ever believe. But to show that this writing is counterfeit, it will be proper to examine it particularly, and make some remarks which will discover the forgery.

Camden begins with saying: 'I shall willingly insert here what George earl of Huntley, and the earl of Murray, who were the principal lords of Scotland, protested soon after.'

This

This soon after must have been two whole years at least, as I shall demonstrate hereafter.

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'As I have taken it from an original signed with their own hands.'

Camden has not set these two lords hands to the writing, it may be, because he did not know in what order they were to be placed. In a certificate however, one would think the signature is a material thing.

'Which they sent to queen Elizabeth.'

Supposing the truth of this protestation, it could not be sent to queen Elizabeth till the latter end of the year 1568, at the very soonest, when the earl of Murray went to York to accuse the queen before the English commissioners. This remark discovers Camden's artifice, who designedly neglecting to date the writing, places it in his Annals the beginning of the year 1567, immediately after the king's murder, as if at that very time Murray had been accused of killing that prince; whereas it was not till after the queen's flight into England, that she thought of casting the crime upon him. It was not therefore out of pure negligence that Camden avoided dating the protestation.

'Forasmuch as the earl of Murray and others, to colour their rebellion against the queen, whose authority they usurp, do openly slander her as guilty of the murder of her husband.'

The earl of Murray cannot be said to usurp the queen's authority till after he was declared regent, or the queen to accuse him publickly of killing the king, till the York conference, or rather till that of Hampton court, that is, in Octo-

"This protestation is in Mr. Anderson's Collections, tom. iv. part 2. p. 128, &c. but it is taken from a copy, without either hands or date.—However, it is to be observed, that in the same collection there follows an answer of the earl of Murray's, to the aforesaid protestation, wherein he says, "In case any man will say and affirm, that ever I was present when any purposes were holden at Craigmillar in my audience, tending to any unlawful or dishonourable end; or that ever I subscribed any band there, or that any purpose was holden about the subscribing of any band by me to my knowledge; I avow they speak wickedly and untruly; which I will maintain against them as becomes an honest

man, to the end of my life; only thus far the subscription of bands by me is true, That indeed I subscribed a band with the earls of Huntley, Argyll, and Bothwell, at the beginning of October, in the year 1566, which was devised in sign of our reconciliation, in respect of the former grudges and displeasures that had been among us: whereunto I was constrained to make promise before I could be admitted to the queen's presence, or have any shew of her favour, and there was never any other band made of subscribed, nor yet proposed to me in any wise, before the murder of the late king." Anderson, *ibid.* p. 194, 195.

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ber or November 1568. Now at that time the two factions were both formed. Murray was head of the one, and Huntley of the other. So, supposing this writing not to be forged, what opinion can a man have of the attestation of one sworn enemy against another? As to the earl of Argyle, Buchanan affirms, he was retired a little before to his own house; so that it is not probable he should join with the earl of Huntley to frame this certificate at the time it must be supposed to be drawn. If it was dated, we might speak of it with more certainty.

‘ We do openly protest and witness these things following.
‘ In the month of December 1566.’

This way of beginning argues it was now some time since the things they are going to mention were transacted.

‘ When the queen was at Craigmillar, Murray and Lidington acknowledged before us, that Morton, Lindsay and Ruthven slew David Rizzo, with no other intent than to save Murray, who was at that very time to be proscribed.’

I have already made appear by the testimony of Melvil, that the earl of Murray, far from owning that Rizzo was killed on his account, would not join with the party of the murderers, but remained constantly attached to the queen. Besides, the earl of Argyle, author of this protestation, was then a fugitive as well as Murray, and was no less to be condemned than he. And yet he speaks here of this affair, as if he were a stranger to it, though he was the most considerable of those who were to be banished; and though Melvil affirms, it was for his and the others sake, who had taken up arms against the queen, Murray excepted, that Rizzo was murdered.

‘ Therefore, that they might not appear ungrateful, they greatly desired that Morton, and the rest who were banished for Rizzo’s murder, might be recalled.’

What has Lidington to do here, when he was never concerned in Rizzo’s affair? and wherein consisted his ingratitude, if the exiles were not recalled?

‘ But this, they said, could not be done unless the queen were divorced from her husband.’

Rizzo was killed by the king’s order, and in his presence, and solely, according to the author of the protestation, to save the earl of Murray. The point was to get the murderers recalled, who had been banished for this murder committed by the king’s order, and these exiles cannot be recalled by the queen, the only person offended, unless she is divorced from the king. Let this consequence be well examined, and it will never be thought that the earls of Huntley and Argyle

were so weak as to reason in so wretched a manner. In December 1566¹, that is, about the time of the prince's baptism, the king was looked upon as a cypher, and exposed to all sorts of insults from the queen.

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' Which they promised to accomplish, would we but give our consent.'

At that time the earl of Murray had no credit at court. It was Bothwell that ruled all. I don't know how it stood then with Lidington. However, Murray and Lidington are represented here as the persons that were to be the chief agents in accomplishing the queen's divorce, and as wanting for that purpose only the bare consent of the earls of Huntley and Argyll. This is by no means probable.

' Afterwards Murray promised to me [Huntley] that my antient inheritance should be restored to me, and I should be an everlasting favourite with the exiles, if I would but countenance the divorce.'

The author of the protestation has confounded the times. Murray having then no power, could not make any such promise to the earl of Huntley. None but Bothwell was able to make and perform it. Besides, it is not likely the queen, when she recalled the earl of Huntley, who was condemned to die, should still detain his antient inheritance which had been confiscated.

' Then we applied to Bothwell for his consent also.'

This confounds the whole history of Scotland. Murray and Lidington are made authors of the project of the queen's divorce, and the earl of Bothwell as one who is only to give his consent; though it is certain he had then an absolute sway over the queen, who married him very soon after.

' And lastly, we came to the queen, and Lidington, in the name of us all, earnestly intreated her to reverse the banishment of Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven. The king's faults and offences against the queen and the realm, he aggravated with very great bitterness; and showed how much it concerned the queen and state, that the divorce should be made out of hand, it being impossible for the king and queen to live together in Scotland with safety.'

Can it be conceived, that to induce the queen to pardon men who had killed her favourite in her presence, and by the king her husband's express order, there should be occasion to

¹ Rapin has it here and elsewhere from whom he takes this protestation. September, which, I suppose, is a mistake; King James was christened December 15, 1566.

Eliz. aggravate the king's faults, and demonstrate to the queen, that she must be divorced from him?

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'She answered, she had rather withdraw for a time into France, till her husband should be sensible of the errors of his youth, being unwilling any thing should be done to her son's prejudice, or her own dishonour.'

The author of this protestation represents the queen, in December 1566, as being under oppression, and speaking of retiring into France till the king should be pleased to amend his errors. This suffices to shew that the whole is a forgery; for it is not likely the earls of Huntley and Argyle should talk in this manner.

'To this Lidington replied, We who are of your council will look to that. But I command you, says she, to do nothing that may blemish my honour, or offend my conscience. Let the thing remain as it is, till God pleases to provide a remedy from above: that which you imagine will be for my good, may, I fear, turn to my hurt.'

The artifice of these words which the queen is made to speak, consists in this: The queen having commanded all these lords to do nothing with respect to her divorce, Murray and Lidington found no other way to get the exiles recalled, but by causing the king to be murdered. As if the king alone was an invincible obstacle to the recalling of the banished lords, who killed Rizzo by his orders, and in his presence. I confess this reasoning appears to me incomprehensible.

'A few days after, the king happening to be murdered in an execrable manner.'

What has been just related passed in December 1566, according to the protestation, and the king was killed in February 1567, that is, two months after. Now can it be supposed, that the earls of Huntley and Argyle could possibly be so mistaken, as to call two months a few days?

'We do, from the inward testimonies of our consciences, hold it for certain, that Murray and Lidington were the authors, contrivers, and abettors of this regicide.'

The inference the author of this paper would draw, that the earls of Murray and Lidington were the contrivers of the king's murder, from their having projected the queen's divorce, appearing to him without doubt liable to strong objections, he seems to give it up in part, when he grounds it wholly upon the inward testimony of Huntley's and Argyle's consciences.

'Whoever were the actors.'

It was notorious that Bothwell was the contriver of the king's murder, and Camden himself makes no scruple to own it,

it, joining however the earl of Murray with him. But the author of the protestation durst not name him, because it was giving a sensible wound to the queen's honour, who within a few months married the murderer. Eliz. 1569.

I shall only add one remark, which to me seems decisive to demonstrate the forgery of this paper. Lidington was never accused but in this writing only, of being concerned in king Henry's murder. On the other hand, so far was he from being considered as an enemy to the queen, that he was rather very much suspected by the young king's and the earl of Murray's party, and not without reason. What Melvil says of him, and of the occasion of the York and Hampton-court conferences, is a clear evidence that he continued in the regent's party, only to have opportunities to serve the queen. Buchanan confirms Melvil's testimony, in a book, intitled, *The Cameliion*, wherein he pretends to show, that Lidington betrayed the young king's party, and in his history he drops many the like expressions against him. Now, how can it be thought, that the earls of Huntley and Argyle, heads of the queen's party, should be ignorant that Lidington was privately labouring for them? If they knew it, 'tis by no means likely that at the very time when Lidington was at York or Hampton-court, and frequently conferring with the duke of Norfolk to hinder the earl of Murray from accusing the queen, these two chiefs of the party should publicly accuse their secret friend of being author of the king's murder; especially as there was not the least ground for such a charge. But very possibly, the author of the protestation was ignorant of Lidington's secret practices, and seeing him among those who attended the regent at York, imagined he might safely join them together in the same accusation.

But however, though this protestation be as true as it appears to be counterfeit, it cannot serve for proof to support what Camden advances concerning the earl of Murray, because it will be still true, that it came from one of his most mortal enemies. I return to what passed in Scotland during the year 1569.

Shortly after the duke of Chateheraut's arrest, the regent convened the chief of the nobility at Perth, to communicate The regent has adv. ce of Norfolk's designs.

"Here Rapin is mistaken. Melvil expressly says, "That captain Crawford was directed to accuse Lidington before the privy-council of Scotland of the late king's murder, and being accused of so odious a crime, he was committed to ward." p. 100. The

same is attested by Buchanan, l. 19. and Melvil, Spotiswood, p. 232. But Melvil observes, in the same page, that he and sir Buchanan, James Balfour were wrongfully pursued, only by the malice and envy of their enemies for their offices.

Eliz. 1569. to them certain letters he had received, upon which it was necessary to consult together. The first was from a friend in England, to give him notice of the conspiracy in favour of the duke of Norfolk to espouse the queen of Scots, telling him withal, the conspiracy was in such a state, that all the forces of Great Britain were not capable of preventing its success; and advising him therefore to think in time of his own affairs.

Mary desires
her marriage
with Both-
well may be
null'd.
Buchanan,
Spotiswood.

The second letter was from queen Mary, and directed to the states of Scotland. It was to desire, that the validity of her marriage with the earl of Bothwell might be examined, adding, if there appeared any essential defect in it, she would very willingly consent it should be dissolved. As Bothwell was still alive in Denmark, it was necessary his marriage with the queen should be annulled, before she could espouse the duke of Norfolk. For this reason she wanted the states of Scotland to get it dissolved, pretending only to give her consent to, though she could not proceed without it.

Queen Elizabeth's demands to the states of Scotland for Mary.
Buchanan.
Camden.
Spotiswood.

The third letter was from queen Elizabeth to the same states, to demand one of these three things in favour of Mary. The first, "That she should be restored to the throne as formerly." The second, "That she should reign jointly with the king her son." The third, "That she might live in Scotland, with such honours as should not be prejudicial to the king's authority." Camden, who agrees in this with Buchanan, will have it, that these demands of Elizabeth are to be considered as the effect of her compassion for the queen of Scots. But where was the compassion, to propose to the states three things so disproportionate, and to leave the choice to them? She knew the two first would be rejected, and though the third should be accepted, many difficulties would occur before it could be settled. Thus what Camden considers as an effect of Elizabeth's pity, was in truth only a consequence of the project she had formed to prolong the affair, under the specious colour of favouring her prisoner.

No answer
is sent to
Mary's
letter.
Buchanan.

The Scotch lords assembled at Perth, thought Mary's letter ought not to be answered, because she address'd to the states as if she was still their queen, which they would not allow. She did what she could to remove this difficulty; but all her endeavours served only to confirm them the more in their resolution. They were far from being willing to facilitate the queen's marriage with the duke of Norfolk, by causing

Bothwell's to be nulled. Mary, who did not know they were so well acquainted with her secrets, complained very much of their scrupling to dissolve a marriage, which had served them for a cloke to take up arms against her. But her complaints were little regarded.

As to Elizabeth's demands, the lords resolved to reject the two first, and accept the third, if Mary would be satisfied with it, and sent their answer to the court of England by a young gentleman. But Elizabeth, who only sought to gain time, writ to them, that she desired a person of more consideration to be sent to confer with her about so weighty an affair. For this reason the lords deputed Robert Pitcairn.

Whilst Pitcairn was on his way, the regent perceiving the queen's faction daily grew stronger, by the hopes which the duke of Norfolk's project gave the whole party, thought it necessary to secure Lidington's person. This lord, by feigning to be attached to the king's party, served the queen to the utmost of his power, and as he was a man of great sense and parts, did much more prejudice to the regent by outwardly embracing his side, than if he had openly declared for the queen. So, the regent having on some pretence drawn him to Sterling, ordered him to be apprehended, and sent prisoner to Edinburgh*. But Kircaldie coming unexpectedly with part of the garrison of the castle, rescued him†, promising to see him forth-coming when it should be required. This notable proceeding rendered Kircaldie very suspicious to the king's whole party‡.

Mean while, the duke of Norfolk being sent to the Tower, without effecting any thing of his projects, all Mary's designs, as well in Scotland as England, vanished into air. Shortly after, the earls of Huntley and Argyle were reconciled to the regent, and submitted to the king's authority. By that the queen's faction was in a manner extinguished for some time. This shows how much queen Mary and her adherents relied on the duke of Norfolk. I shall close this year with

Answer of the Scotch lords to Elizabeth. Buchanan. Thuanus.

The regent orders Lidington to be arrested; Melvil, p. 100. Buchanan. Spotswood.

who is rescued by Kircaldie. Melvil. Buchanan.

Mary's faction grows weak in Scotland. Buchanan.

* He was accused of having had a hand in the late king's murder, as is observed above. Buchanan, lib. 19.

† He counterfeited a warrant under the regent's hand, by virtue of which the laird of Grange was delivered into his hands. Buchanan; and Spotswood, p. 232.

‡ Melvil says, Kircaldie rescued Lidington, with the consent of the king's party, which is not very likely. Melvil was an intimate friend and great ad-

miration of the laird of Grange. Rapin.—Melvil says, the regent sent Grange word, the lords had forced him to take up Lidington against his will, and therefore Grange rescued him, thinking, if he was arrested against the regent's will, the regent would be glad of it. And if the regent were dissatisfied at what he had done, it would be a certain token of his dissimulation. Melvil's Mem. p. 101.

Affairs of
France.
Mezerai.
Thuanus.
P. Daniel.

Camden.

Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.
Grotius.
Strada.

1570.
The earl of
Northum-
berland is
seized in
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Camden.
Lalcy.

THE HISTORY.

a brief account of what passed in France and the Netherlands.

The war continued in France during the whole year 1569. On the 13th of March was fought the battle of Jarnac, wherein the prince of Condé was killed. D'Andelot the admiral's brother did not long survive him. Some time after, the duke of Deuxponts led an army into France to the assistance of the Huguenots, but died there in June, leaving the command of the army to count Mansfeldt, who joined the admiral. With this reinforcement the admiral laid siege to Poitiers, but was forced to raise it in September. In October, the Huguenots lost the battle of Moncontour. This defeat obliged the admiral to send for a speedy aid from Elizabeth, who lent him money upon the queen of Navarre's jewels, which were sent to her in pawn. She also permitted a company of a hundred gentlemen-volunteers to be raised, to serve in the army of the Huguenots^a. The campaign ended with the taking of St. Jean d'Angeli, which the king became master of before the end of October.

The duke of Alva still continued his oppressions in the Netherlands. He had set up the inquisition, and ordered the council of Trent to be received, as well as the new bishops, whose jurisdiction had been hitherto rejected. The bloody council still acted with fury. The privileges of the cities, universities, provinces, were delivered to the king's mercy. In a word, the duke of Alva ordered the hundredth part of the revenues to be paid to the king; after that, the twentieth part of the real, and the tenth of the personal estates, every time they were sold. Some of the magistrates of the towns having the boldness to appeal to the king from these ordinances, were severely punished. In short, these provinces being now considered by the Spaniards but as a conquered country, all were driven to despair^b.

The beginning of the next year, 1570, the earl of Murray having notice that the earl of Northumberland was concealed in Scotland, found means to seize him, and committed him

^a They were commanded by Henry Champernoon, with this motto on his colours, "Finem det mihi virtus." Amongst the volunteers was Walter Raleigh, a very young man, who now first began to be taken notice of. Camden, p. 423.

^b This year, in September, died Edmund Boner, late bishop of London, and was buried on September 3, in St. George's church-yard in Southwark. He

is commonly reported to have been a bastard; but Mr. Strype affirms, that he was assured in 1695, by the late baron Lechmere, that Boner was born at Hanley in Worcestershire, of one Boner, an honest poor man, in a house called Boner's Place to this day, a little cottage of about five pounds a year, purchased of bishop Boner by the said baron's great grandfather. See Strype's Ann. tom. i. p. 574 to 575.

to prison at Lochleven. Camden says, he offered to deliver this lord to Elizabeth, in exchange for the queen of Scots; but this is not likely. Mary was better guarded in England than she could be in Scotland, and Murray was not ignorant of Elizabeth's reasons never to release her.

A few days after, Murray was shot through the body by one of the family of Hamilton, who pretended it to be only in revenge of a private injury. But it soon appeared to be by the direction of the queen's faction. On the morrow, the Scots and the Carrs, great friends of the queen, entered England in arms, and destroyed the borders with fire and sword. As they had no private reason to make this incursion, it is easy to perceive, they were encouraged by the heads of the queen's faction, who were willing to try to give a new turn to affairs. Their scheme was this.

The queen's faction was ruined, and without any likelihood of being ever able to rise again, because the earl of Murray could be always sure of assistance from England in case of necessity. Wherefore the heads of that faction, who had submitted to the king against their wills, formed new projects. They considered the strict union between England

The earl of Murray is assassinated. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 108. Thuanus. Some Scots ravage the English borders. Buchanan. Spotiswood. Camden.

Motives of this invasion. Buchanan. Thuanus.

^c It was done by James Hamilton, nephew to the archbishop of St. Andrew's, who, after the battle of Langside, had been sentenced to be hanged. But escaping, by surrendering his estate, which he endeavoured in vain to recover, he vowed revenge, which he accomplished at Linlithgow, on the 23d of January 1570, upon the regent, who was most innocent, and had restored him to liberty. The regent, it seems, was told of it, and yet would not be at the pains to search the house. The murderer escaped into France, where, it is said, he was offered a great reward to assassinate admiral Coligni, but refused to do it, saying, though he had, to his sorrow, revenged his own just grievances, he would never commit murder for reward. Buchanan. Thuanus, lib. 46. Melvil, p. 103.—Thus fell the regent, "the good regent," as Melvil calls him, who adds, "for so he was, and will ever deservedly be called. He was at first of a gentle nature, well inclined, good, wise, and stout. In his first uprising, his hap was to fight upon the best sort of company. He was religiously educated, and devoutly inclined." So that Buchanan re-

lates, he caused always, after dinner and supper, a chapter of the Bible to be read in his house. "Above all his virtues, which were not a few, he shined in piety towards God, ordering himself and his family in such sort, as it did more resemble a church than a court," says Spotiswood; p. 253. Melvil, p. 103. Thuanus highly extols him for his courage, justice, humanity, and other virtues, in these words,—*Dum viveret, scisso factionibus regno, sinistris rumoribus ab aemulis laceratus, sed postquam mortuus est, veris laudibus etiam ab inimicis laudatus, qui & presentiam animi in periculis, felicitatem in praeliis, in jure dicundo aequitatem, morem gravitatem cum liberalitate & humanitate summa conjunctam praeedicabant*, lib. 46.

^d Walter Scott, and Thomas Carr, or Ker, of Farniheth, entering England, the next night after the earl of Murray's murder, ravaged all places with greater cruelty than was used in former times, on purpose to engage the two kingdoms in a war. Buchanan, lib. 28. Spotiswood, p. 234.

^e The Hamiltonians, particularly the bishop of St. Andrew's. Buchanan.

and

Eliz. party resolved to meet at Linlithgow^b, by the name of the
1570. states, since, there being no regent, they thought they had
 as much right to convene the states as the other party. In this
 assembly they vainly sought means to engage England to break
 with the whole Scottish nation. Elizabeth was too much
 upon her guard to be easily surprized. At last perceiving they
 could not succeed, they believed it necessary for their safety to
 try to become masters of Edinburgh. But as this could not
 be effected by force, they desired the magistrates of Edinburgh
 to permit them to hold their assembly in the city. This
 was readily granted; but the inhabitants kept so strict a watch,
 that the project of the queen's adherents was frustrated. Mean
 time, there were sundry negotiations between the two parties
 which came to nothing.

Mary's party
 holds an as-
 sembly of the
 states, and
 try in vain to
 take Edin-
 burgh.
 March.
 Buchanan.
 Spotiswood.

The English
 army ap-
 proaches.
 Buchanan.
 Spotiswood.
 Elizabeth
 accepts of
 being umpire
 between the
 two parties,
 Camden,
 saving how-
 ever the pu-
 nishment of
 the authors
 of the in-
 vasion.

Elizabeth's
 designs.
 Melvil,
 p. 105.
 p. 106.

The earl of
 Suffex enters
 Scotland.
 April 17.
 He punishes
 the violators
 of the peace.
 Camden.
 Melvil,
 p. 104, 105.
 Buchanan.
 Stow.
 Hollingh.

Presently after, upon news of the earl of Suffex's being
 come to Berwick, the assembly of Edinburgh broke up. The
 heads had now sent deputies to Elizabeth, to try to divert the
 impending storm, and to gain time till the arrival of the French
 succours. They even offered to make her umpire, and were
 so well seconded by the French ambassadors, that she readily
 consented to be mediatrix between the two parties. But she
 pretended, the affair for which she sent an army into Scotland,
 had no relation to the differences between the two parties, for
 it was only to chastise the violators of the peace, who were
 owned by neither party, without however either being able to
 procure her any satisfaction. So the earl of Suffex received no
 counter-orders. When that general was come to Berwick,
 the duke of Chateleraut sent Melvil to know whether he in-
 tended to join one of the parties, or endeavour their reconci-
 liation. Melvil says in his Memoirs, that in his conferences
 with the earl of Suffex, he found the earl had orders indeed
 to favour the king's party, but would not quite discourage the
 queen's¹. He infers that his chief aim was to continue the
 troubles in Scotland, which is very likely.

The English army entering Scotland in April, ravaged the
 lands of the Scots and Carrs, and of those who were con-
 cerned in the late incursion into England^k. Camden says, in
 this expedition were burnt above three hundred houses, and
 about fifty castles. Melvil adds, the earl of Suffex assaulted

^b On April 9. Buchanan.

¹ He also declared to Melvil, that he
 looked upon the queen of Scotland and
 the prince her son, as true heirs to the
 crown of England. Melvil, p. 105.

^k The lord Scroope, warden of the

West-marches, entering also Scotland,
 April 18, burnt and destroyed as far as
 Dunfrise. There was razed, overthrown,
 and burnt by the English, in this expe-
 dition, above three hundred towns and
 villages, says Stow, p. 666.

Eliz.
1570.

and took the castles of Hume and Falst, belonging to the lord Hume, to oblige him, who had hitherto remained in a sort of neutrality, to declare for Mary's party, lest the balance should incline too much to the king's side. This conjecture is grounded upon the project formed by the queen's faction, to unite all Scotland, and upon Elizabeth's interest to prevent such an union.

The beginning of May, the states summoned in the king's name met at Edinburgh. Their chief care was to depute Robert Pitcairn to Elizabeth to bespeak her favour, and acquaint her, they were ready to chuse a regent to her liking.

The states called in the king's name meet.
Buchanan.

Whilst Pitcairn was on his way, Mary's adherents besieged the castle of Glasgow, which made a braver defence than they expected. The earl of Suffex having notice of it, detached sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, with a thousand foot and two hundred horse. At their approach, the besiegers retired, and dispersed themselves in the mountains. Mean while, Drury being joined by a body of Scotch royalists, ravaged the lands of the Hamiltons, and took the castle of that name, belonging to the duke of Chateleraut.

Siege of Glasgow.
Buchanan.
Spotiswood.
Hollingsh.
Camden.

In the mean time, Pitcairn returning from England, reported to the states, that Elizabeth thought it very strange, that since Murray's death she had not been informed of the posture of affairs in Scotland; that her ignorance in that respect had kept her in suspense, concerning the course she was to take: that at length, tired with continual solicitations, she had consented that a conference should be held between the two parties, wherein she was very willing to act as a mediatrix, provided they would both refrain from violent methods, and leave things as they were: that she desired therefore the states to observe this condition, and defer the election of a regent till the success of the conference should be known. This demand very much embarrassed the states. They could remain no longer without a head, and yet durst not disoblige the queen of England, who alone was able to support them. Wherefore they resolved to elect an Inter-rex, who could be revoked without any consequence, and the choice fell upon the earl of Lenox, then in England. Shortly after, they received a letter from Elizabeth, acquainting them with her consent that they might chuse a regent, and recommending to them the earl of Lenox, who was instantly chosen.

Elizabeth requires a suspension of arms.
Buchanan.

Mean while, the earl of Huntley receiving from Spain money and ammunition, took the field, and stored the castle of Brechin. Shortly after, the earl of Lenox arrived in Scotland, and when the states broke up, resolved to recover that

The states chuse an Inter-rex.
The earl of Lenox is made regent.
Buchanan.
Camden.

The regent takes Brechin, and disperses Huntley's troops.
castle, Camden.

Eliz.
1570.

Melvil,
p. 107.
Spotiswood.

castle, which was of so great importance. He assembled for that purpose his forces at Linlithgow, and demanded artillery and ammunition of Grange, governor of the castle of Edinburgh, who refused them, on pretence he would not be instrumental in shedding the blood of his countrymen. Grange was properly of the queen's party, but had other views than the rest of her friends. His project was to set himself at the head of a third party, with which he pretended the other two should join, to restore the queen to the crown upon certain terms. This was the cause of his ruin, as will hereafter appear. Sir James Melvil, author of the *Memoirs* so often quoted, was in the same sentiments, as he discovers in several places, but probably waited for a more favourable opportunity to declare.

Buchanan.
Thuanus.
Lesley's Ne-
gotiations.

Grange's refusal hindered not the regent from becoming master of Brechin, and compelling the earl of Huntley to fly to the mountains, where it was not easy to pursue him. Not long after, the queen's party obtained a truce¹, at queen Elizabeth's instance, who sought only to prolong the affair; as on their part, the queen's adherents tried to gain time, to wait the effects of the duke of Alva's promises. Some time before, they had sent the lord Seaton to him to desire aid, and he had promised them ten thousand men. But the disorders which unexpectedly arose in the Netherlands, hindered him from performing his promise².

Act. Pub.
xv. p. 687.
Camden.
Buchanan.

Plots in Eng-
land to free
queen Mary.
Camden.
Thuanus.

Whilst these things passed in Scotland, several plots were forming in England to free the captive queen. Monluc bishop of Valence came to London, and very earnestly solicited the queen of Scots liberty. The Spanish ambassador was no less urgent for the same. The queen was the more jealous of the zeal of France and Spain for Mary, as at the same time pope Pius V. caused a bull, dated the last year, to be fixed up in the night in several places in London³, whereby he excommunicated Elizabeth, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance. On the other hand, it was discovered that some Norfolk gentlemen had resolved to take up arms and raise a rebellion in that country⁴. The conspi-

Bull set up
at London
against the
queen.
Speed.
Camden.
Conspiracy
discovered.
Lesley's
Negotiat.
Camden.

¹ The reader may see the articles of this truce in Lesley's *Negotiat.* p. 91, &c. 96.

² However, he sent then ten thousand crowns. See Lesley's *Negotiat.* p. 108. Hamilton, rector of Dunbar, had, some time before, privately procured out of the Netherlands, great store of arms and powder, seven great guns, and some

money, for Huntley, the queen's lieutenant in Scotland. Camden, p. 426.

³ This bull is dated February 25, 1569, and may be seen in Speed, p. 842, and in Camden, p. 427. It was fixed on the bishop of London's palace-gate. Camden, *ibid.*

⁴ Their design was to set the duke of Norfolk at liberty. *Ibid.* p. 423.

racy being discovered, the authors were apprehended. But Eliz. the queen pardoned all but three, two of whom were John Throckmorton and Felton, who posted up the bull. Shortly after, she heard also that two of the earl of Derby's sons had plotted to free the queen of Scots. As John Lesley bishop of Ross, who acted as Mary's ambassador, was the chief promoter of all these plots, it was thought fit to confine him again to the bishop of London's palace. He was but lately released; having been arrested for being deeply concerned in the earl of Northumberland's conspiracy. Notwithstanding the just suspicions which all these machinations might raise in the queen of the duke of Norfolk, who was considered as the head of Mary's party, he was discharged from the Tower. But it was not till after he had expressed great sorrow for his fault, and protested by word of mouth and under his hand, that he would never more think of marrying the queen of Scots.

Lesley's
Negotiat.

The duke of
Norfolk is
released.
Lesley,
Camden.
Thuanus.

It was not difficult for Elizabeth to perceive, that the queen of Scots was the sole cause of all these embarrassments. If repose would have followed upon her release, she would have willingly freed her. But though Mary's adherents, and those who solicited in her behalf, pretended they acted only from a motive of compassion, and exclaimed against the injustice of detaining her in prison, Elizabeth was not ignorant that their views extended much farther. The pope, Spain, the house of Lorraine, the duke of Alva, the English, Scotch, and Irish catholicks, confined not themselves to the freeing the unhappy queen from captivity: their aim was to set her on the throne of England. Consequently it was more dangerous for Elizabeth to release her than to keep her confined. But she did not think proper to disclose her thoughts, as on their part her enemies were extremely careful to conceal their designs. She continued therefore to feign, that she desired nothing more earnestly than to find means to restore Mary to the throne of Scotland, provided it could be done without

Elizabeth's
reasons to
detain Mary
in prison.

Lesley's
Negotiat.

^p John Felton was not one of the three Norfolk rebels; but he was executed for setting up the bull. He would not fly, but boldly owned the fact; for which he was arraigned and hanged in Aldergate-street, near the bishop's palace. However, he got hereby the empty repute of a glorious martyrdom. Camden, p. 428. Thuanus, lib. 46.

^q Sir Thomas and sir Edward Stanley, the earl of Derby's younger sons by

the duke of Norfolk's daughter. Their accomplices were, Thomas Gerard, Rolleston, Hall, &c. Rolleston's son, one of the band of the gentlemen pensioners, discovered the plot. Camden, p. 429.

^r Where the plague, which then raged in London, was got, and he was remitted to his own house, the Charterhouse, where he lived under the easy confinement of sir Henry Nevill. Camden, p. 429.

Eliz.: danger to England. To that end she sent Cecil^a to make her some captious proposals, tending only to dazzle the publick. Mary hearing the proposals, returned a general answer, declining to give a particular reply to each article, without the consent of the heads of her party in Scotland, to whom she desired they should be communicated, that they might answer them as they should think proper. The proposals with the answers were to this effect:

Camden.
Thuanus.

Lestry's
Negotiat.
Camden,
p. 429.
Thuanus.

I. The queen of Scots shall ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and renounce her claim to the crown of England, during the life of queen Elizabeth and her issue.

Answer. Agreed.

II. She shall not make nor renew alliance with any power whatever against England.

Answer. By renouncing the alliance of France, the queen will forfeit her dowry, and the Scotch nation be great losers. Wherefore the queen of England must make amends for these things some other way.

III. She shall admit no foreign troops into Scotland.

Answer. Agreed, with this restriction, unless she is not able with her own forces to suppress the rebellions of her subjects.

IV. She shall hold no intelligence with the English or Irish, without the queen of England's knowledge.

Answer. Agreed, provided the queen of England will hold none with the Scots.

V. She shall deliver up the English and Irish rebels.

Answer. If there are any English or Irish rebels in Scotland, they must be demanded of those who have taken up arms against their queen.

VI. She shall make the English borderers amends for the losses sustained in the late invasion.

Answer. Commissioners on both sides shall be appointed to examine the damages which were done.

VII. She shall prosecute, and punish according to law, the murderers of king Henry and of the earl of Murray.

Answer. Agreed.

VIII. She shall give her son for hostage.

Answer. Her son is not in her power.

IX. She shall not marry any Englishman without the queen of England's knowledge, nor any other without the consent of the states of Scotland.

^a And sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the Exchequer, in October. The queen of Scots was then at Chattesworth in Derbyshire. Camden, p. 429. Lestry's Negotiat. p. 100.

Answer. To be tied to these terms is a thing unworthy of a queen. Eliz.
1570.

X. The Scots shall not pass into Ireland without the queen of England's permission.

Answer. Agreed, provided the Irish be not suffered to pass into Scotland without the queen of Scots leave.

XI. She shall give six hostages of the queen of England's naming.

Answer. Agreed, provided the duke of Chateauraut, the earls of Huntley, Argyle and Athol be excepted.

XII. If she attempt any thing against queen Elizabeth, she shall forfeit the right she claims to the crown of England.

Answer. Agreed, on condition that in the like case the queen of England will be liable to some equivalent penalty.

XIII. The castles of Hume and Falst shall be three years in the possession of the English.

Answer. This cannot be granted: on the contrary, the queen of England is required to restore these castles to the lord Hume.

XIV. Some places on the borders of Galloway or Cantyre shall be put into the hands of the English, to hinder the Scots from infesting Ireland.

Answer. To deliver such places to the English would be creating a perpetual war in Scotland.

All these articles shall be confirmed and ratified by the states.

There is no answer to this article.

It would be very easy, in examining of these proposals, to show that some were only to create a belief of Elizabeth's acting with moderation and sincerity; that others were but snares to surprize the queen of Scots: and that some there were, the execution whereof was impracticable. Elizabeth's design therefore was only to amuse.

On the other hand, the answers were as little proper to procure an agreement between the two queens. They who drew the answers pretended, that Mary should treat Elizabeth upon equal terms, as she might have done, had she been on her throne at Edinburgh: but the English meant no such thing. Mary was prisoner in England, and the point was to release and restore her to her throne. She accepted the conditions to obtain these two great advantages; but withal she is made to say, that she expected Elizabeth should be bound to the like or equivalent terms. This was as much as to say, that otherwise she would not accept what was offered her.

Eliz.

1570.

Nothing could be more grateful to Elizabeth, since it was a certain means to prolong the negotiation. Had Mary accepted the proposals without any restriction, she would perhaps have embarrassed Elizabeth's council. At least they would have been forced to seek means to obstruct the execution, and thereby the fault would manifestly have been on the side of the court of England.

Melvil,
p. 60, 63,
68, &c.

Elizabeth, it is certain, had no desire to release her prisoner on any terms whatever. She was a very dangerous rival even when in prison, how much more had she been at liberty? From her return to Scotland, upon the death of her first husband, she had never ceased holding intelligence in England, to try to excite the English to rebellion. This is what very evidently appears in Melvil's Memoirs. Her misfortune to fall into the hands of Elizabeth did not make her discontinue her practices. On the other hand, the project of her marriage with the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Northumberland's conspiracy, and the correspondence of her adherents with foreign courts, tended only to raise her to the throne of England, even in queen Elizabeth's life-time. In short, it was manifest the pope, the king of Spain, the princes of Lorraine, the English catholics, all the Irish, and part of the Scots, were labouring to accomplish this design. How imprudent would it have been to release her, that she might the better prosecute her pretensions? It is true, after the death of Francis II. she quitted the title of queen of England, and protested she claimed not the crown of England till after Elizabeth and her posterity. But, that a bare protestation may serve for security, the sincerity of the person protesting must be first well established. Here was quite the contrary, all Mary's proceedings having shown she desisted not from her claim. So her bare protestation was only her word, on which it was very dangerous to rely. Certainly Mary was unhappy only in having too zealous adherents, who, by all their proceedings, pushed her continually towards her destruction: but this is no wonder. They acted not for her sake, but for their own ends, and the interest of the Romish religion, to which she served for pretence. Sir James Melvil, who was not Mary's enemy, observes in his Memoirs, that both parties equally hurt her; the one in acting directly against her, the other in serving her with too much zeal. He adds, the queen's party groundlessly flattered themselves with ruining their adversaries, who were supported by England. The

Melvil,
p. 112.

Disposition
of the French
court as to
Mary.

reason he gives is very strong, namely, there was no likelihood that the queen's party would ever receive great assistance from

from the court of France, which dreaded nothing so much as to see the two crowns of England and Scotland upon the same head. He relates upon this occasion a particular, which may be of great service to discover the situation of Mary's affairs. Sir Robert Melvil, at his return from his embassy to England, gave queen Mary a paper, signed by five and twenty English earls and lords, promising to set her on the throne of England. Mary sent the paper to the cardinal of Lorrain her uncle, desiring withal the assistance necessary to execute that design. But the cardinal himself dissuaded queen Catherine de Medici from thinking of such an enterprise, demonstrating the prejudice France would receive by the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland: Nay, to hinder the thing from being effected by other means, they gave notice thereof to queen Elizabeth, who always feigned ignorance of what she was told by the court of France. Melvil affirms, he had this from the queen of Scots own mouth, at a time when she was dissatisfied with the cardinal. It is evident then, that the eagerness of Mary's friends was prejudicial to her: but especially they who continued the war in Scotland, only helped to secure Elizabeth's affairs, who thereby was sheltered from the quarter she had most to fear, whereas the Scots by their union would have been more considerable, and doubtless Elizabeth would have had more confidence for her prisoner. Upon this principle it was, that Grange and Melvil laboured to procure an agreement between the two parties, wherein they endeavoured to serve Mary effectually. But it was not easy to bring passionate men to sacrifice their passions and interests to the good of the publick. The council of England improving these dispositions, never ceased fomenting the troubles of Scotland, under colour of appeasing them, till it should be Elizabeth's interest to end them. This Melvil plainly shows in his *Memoirs*; Melvil, but it would be too long to alledge the proofs. Thus Mary P. 29, &c. was in a wretched condition by the ill counsels which were given her, and which she was so unwise as to follow with ardour. The bishop of Ross, her agent at London, a great zealot for his religion, but whose views were not very extensive, did her infinite damage by his passion and pains to check the discontent of the English catholicks. As Elizabeth had good spies, she was not ignorant that this pretended ambassador was concerned in all the plots laid against her, from whence she could not but infer, that he acted agreeably to his mistress's inclinations and orders. As soon as this prelate had the articles proposed to Mary, he sent copies to the pope,

1570.

The bishop of Ross solicits in vain the potentates in Mary's behalf. Lesley's Negotiat. Camden.

Eliz.
1570.

The affairs
of the Ne-
therlands.
Grotius.
Strada.
Camden.

to the kings of France and Spain, to the duke of Alva, intimating to all these potentates, that Mary would be at length constrained to accept them, if some vigorous effort were not made in her favour. But his solicitations were fruitless. The king of Spain being then employed in his marriage with Ann of Austria his niece^t, daughter of the emperor Maximilian, left to the duke of Alva the care of assisting the queen of Scots; but the duke was himself employed in the Netherlands. The city of Brussels refusing to pay the hundredth penny, gallows were now prepared to punish the disobedient, when he heard the prince of Orange was levying an army in Germany. So, instead of aiding the queen of Scots, he was preparing for the war which he saw ready to kindle in the Low-Countries, and wherein probably he would have to deal with the inhabitants of these provinces, as well as the Germans,

Project of
the French
court against
the Hugue-
nots.
Thuanus.

As for the court of France, besides that they never really intended to set the crown of England on the head of the queen of Scots, but only to create Elizabeth troubles, they began to form projects, which suffered them not openly to espouse Mary's cause. Though the king had gained several victories over the Huguenots, he saw with grief there was no end of the affair; and that these people chusing to die sword in hand rather than at the stake or the gallows, it would be very difficult to destroy them by open force. He resolved therefore in order to attain his ends more easily, to amuse them with a peace, which he granted them in August this year. From that time his sole care was to dissemble his sentiments, and make them believe they had nothing more to fear from him.

Proposals of
marriage to
Elizabeth.
Digges's
Ambassy.
Camden.

To convince them the better that the design of extirpating them was entirely relinquished, Catherine de Medici proposed a marriage between the king her son and Elizabeth, who complied in two words, that he was too Great and too Little. This project failing, Catherine proposed her second son the duke of Anjou as a more suitable match. This was therefore no favourable juncture for the queen of Scotland, since the court of France could undertake nothing openly in her behalf without breaking their own measures^u.

^t Q. Elizabeth sent Charles Howard, with a fleet, in which were several noblemen, to convoy her from Zealand to Spain. Camden, p. 430.

^u This year, on March 16, died William Herbert earl of Pembroke, at Hampton-court, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral, April 18. Stow. p. 669.

—This year also died Henry Clifford, the second earl of Cumberland of the name; and sir Nicholas Throckmorton. Camden, p. 430. — On the 1st of October, there was a terrible tempest, which did an incredible damage in several places. See an account of it in Hallingh. p. 1222, 1223.

Secretary Cecil was created baron of Burleigh the beginning of the year 1571. No man had better deserved than he to receive this mark of distinction, which was very considerable in the reign of a queen who conferred honours with great circumspection.

Eliz.
1571.

Cecil made
lord Bur-
leigh.
Feb. 25.
Dugdale.
Camden.

I have several times observed, that Elizabeth was resolved not to declare publicly for either of the Scotch factions, but to prolong the negotiation as much as possible, that she might never want a pretence to detain Mary in prison. We are going to see an effect of this resolution in the course she pursued during the year 1571. Though in June the last year, she had agreed to a conference between the two parties, of which she was to be mediatrix, six months were passed, and nothing more said of it. At last, Elizabeth resolving to negotiate her marriage with the duke of Anjou, did not question but on that occasion the French court would strongly solicit her in behalf of the queen of Scots. To be provided therefore with an evasion, she caused at length the conference to be held in the months of February and March, that she might be able to say to the king of France, the affair of the queen of Scots was upon terms of agreement, fully bent however to manage it so that the conference should be without effect.

The earl of Morton, Pitcairn, and others *, were sent from Scotland to the conference, which was to be held at London, to maintain the king's cause. For Mary, appeared the bishops of Ross and Galloway, with the lord Levingston; and the queen appointed seven of her privy counsellors † to hear the reasons of both parties. They immediately required the earl of Morton, and his colleagues, to declare plainly the inducement of the Scots to depose their queen, and give the crown to the prince her son. The Scotch deputies delivered a large remonstrance in writing, wherein they took for granted that the queen was privy to the king her husband's death, and afterwards married the earl of Bothwell the murderer: that to justify their conduct with regard to the queen, there were two points to be examined, the one of fact, the other of right. For the first, they stood to the proofs given by the earl of Murray at Hampton-court before the English commissioners, and which the queen of England had in her hands: that the earl had so evidently proved Mary guilty of the crime laid to

Conference
at London
between the
two Scotch
factions.
Buchanan.
Lesley.
Feb. 20.

Feb. 21.

* James Macgil. Buchanan.
† Namely, the earls of Leicester and
Suffex, Nicholas Bacon lord keeper, the
earl of Oxford lord chamberlain, Wil-

liam lord Burleigh, sir Walter Mild-
may, and sir Francis Knolles. Spotis-
wood, p. 248.

Eliz.
1571.

her charge, that they thought it needless to repeat the same things, which besides they could not without great reluctance. As to the point of right, which consisted in knowing whether the Scots had power to depose their sovereigns when they became unworthy of the throne, they maintained it was an undoubted right enjoyed by the Scotch nation, ever since the beginning of their monarchy. They supported this principle with divers instances drawn from the history of Scotland and of other countries, as Spain and Denmark.

Elizabeth
spins out the
affair.
March 1.

Elizabeth still pursuing her scheme, not to declare herself, briefly answered to the Scots remonstrance, which was communicated to her, that she was not thoroughly convinced of the justice of their proceedings, and desired them to confer with her ministers, in order to find some expedient to adjust the affair. But they replied, it was needless to search for expedients, since they had no power to agree to the diminution of the king's authority. Whereupon Elizabeth ordered a thing to be proposed to Mary's agents, which she knew they would not accept; and this was, to give her the chief lords of their party in hostage, with some places in Scotland.

March 3.
Camden.
Lesley.

March 20.

Camden.

And indeed they boldly rejected it, and made other offers which the English commissioners rejected in their turn. At last, they demanded of the Scots to give the young king of Scotland in hostage to the queen; to which they answered, they had not power to promise any such thing. Camden says here, that Mary's agents made a jest of this evasion, affirming, 'the deputies wanted not power, since the same crime renders all the complices equal.'

Buchanan.
April 4.

At last, Elizabeth admitting the Scotch deputies to an audience, agreed with them that the affair could not be determined but by the states of the kingdom. Then she desired them to order it so, that another conference should be held in Scotland during the session of the parliament, which was to meet in May. She detained them however some time longer, being willing to know, before their departure, whether the queen of Scots would consent to the conference. But so far was she from agreeing to it, that she complained very much of her deputies suffering her right to be called in question, and revoked their powers. She ordered however the bishop of Ross to reside still at London, as her ambassador. This gave Elizabeth great suspicion, being sensible the

The conference breaks
up.
Buchanan.
Lesley's
Negotiat.
Camden.

⁷ The lords demanded, were the duke of Châteleraut, the earls of Huntley and Argyll, the lord Humes, the lord Herries, and another; and the places required were the castles of Dunbarton and Humes, for three years. Camden, p. 431. Lesley's Negotiat. p. 127.

bishop

bishop was the chief promoter of the plots against her; but she durst not refuse him, for fear of giving occasion to say, she did not own Mary for queen, and thereby wound herself pretended impartiality. At length, the Scotch deputies departed the 8th of April, after a six weeks stay in London to no purpose. Wherefore it was not Elizabeth's intention that this conference should produce an agreement. Though this did not evidently appear in her whole conduct, it might easily be seen in a letter of Cecil to Walsingham, then ambassador in France, wherein he told him plainly, that the sole aim in that conference was to gain time. Another letter to Walsingham from the earl of Leicester about the same thing, manifestly discovers Elizabeth's policy. The earl told him, the queen agreed that Mary was unworthy to sway the scepter, but could hardly believe her subjects had power to depose her. That therefore she remained in suspense, not being able to determine either to restore queen Mary, or defend the cause of the Scots, because she did not think it entirely just. During this pretended uncertainty, Mary remained still in prison.

Eliz.

1571.

Buchanan.

Elizabeth's
policy.
Walsingham.
Negotiat.

The truce between the two Scotch factions being expired, during the conference at London or shortly after, the earl of Lenox took the town of Dunbarton by surprize, which had till then been in the hands of the queen's adherents. Verac the French ambassador was taken there, and sent to St. Andrew's, from whence he was readily suffered to make his escape. But the case was otherwise with James Hamilton archbishop of St. Andrew's, who being also taken prisoner upon the same occasion and sent to Stirling, was condemned to be hanged. He was accused of being a complice in the murder of the late king by a priest^z, who was brought face to face, of whom, instead of defending himself, he demanded, what those priests deserved who revealed the secrets of confessions? 'Tis said, Cardan going to Scotland to cure him of a dropsy, told him, when he had restored him to health, that he had by the help of his medicines freed him from the present danger, but it was not in his power to prevent his dying on the gallows.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Dunbarton
surprised.
Buchanan.
Lesley's
Negotiat.
Thuanus.
Hollingh.
Archbishop
of St. An-
drew's
hanged.
Buchanan.

Elizabeth was not wholly taken up with the affairs of Scotland. There was another which gave her no less trouble by reason of its difficulties, and the consequences it might be attended with. Her ministers, knowing her enemies were in

Elizabeth's
ministers en-
gage her to
negotiate
her marriage
with the
duke of
Anjou.
Walsingham.
Negotiat.
per-
p. 32, 53.

^z John Hamilton, one of the chief whole matter to his confessor, who re-
ason in this murder, discovered the vealed it to others. Buchanan, l. 20.

THE HISTORY

perpetual motion, and when one plot failed, were immediately forming another, were afraid her prudence would in the end be defeated. In Walsingham's negotiations, there is a letter from the secretary of state, telling him, that whilst the affair of the queen of Scots was in hand, her friends were thinking of carrying her away, of which the court had some dark intimations. The earl of Leicester wrote to the same ambassador, that Mary's adherents were more bold than ever, which in all appearance proceeded from their hopes of the success of some fresh attempt. The ministers therefore believed nothing but a marriage could secure the queen from so many conspiracies which were daily renewed. An alliance with some powerful prince would naturally produce a good effect, by reason of the succours which might be thence received upon occasion; besides that it would strike a dread into the queen's enemies. On the other hand, they imagined, if it pleased God to bless the marriage, the birth of a prince would deprive the queen of Scots of great part of her adherents. Wherefore they never ceased to represent to Elizabeth the reasons which ought to determine her to marry. At last, whether she yielded to these reasons, or to be freed from their importunities, she told them, that nothing hindered her but the difficulty of finding a suitable match; and indeed it was not easy to make a fit choice: she must take either a protestant or a popish prince. But as two principal inducements prompted her to marry, namely, to make a strong alliance, and to have a successor; in chusing a protestant, the first of these inducements would not be answered, because there was no prince of the reformed religion, whose alliance could be very advantageous to England. In resolving upon a catholic, there was no choice, since the duke of Anjou, the king of France's brother, was the only fit person. But this project had its difficulties. The queen gave to understand, that in marrying she did not mean to give herself a master, or even an equal, since she was resolved to hold the reins of the government, alone, and communicate to her spouse the external honours of royalty only. In the second place, she did not pretend the English catholics should reap any advantage from her marriage with a prince of their religion. But there was no likelihood the duke of Anjou would submit to what the queen desired, or dissemble his religion to enjoy the bare title of king, which was not sufficient to satisfy his ambition. Mean while, the ministers were so urgent with the queen to marry, that at length they obtained her consent to treat with France upon that subject. But very probably she gave her

her consent only because she imagined it would be in her power to break off the negotiation whenever she pleased, by the difficulties she should start. She concealed her sentiments however from her ministers: Burleigh thought her sincere for some time; the earl of Leicester was not entirely of that opinion, but knew not what to think. Be this as it will, the queen was told that Catherine de Medici, having plainly perceived the reasons which moved her to reject the proposals of a marriage with Charles IX. had intimated that the duke of Anjou would be more proper for her. It was also hinted to her, that the young prince was by no means a bigot, and might possibly be brought to communicate with the church of England. The only thing therefore was so to manage it that the French court should make the first advances, after which the treaty might begin. To that end, in August 1570, Norris was recalled from his embassy in France, to make room for sir Francis Walsingham, who was doubtless thought more proper to manage the affair, being also a creature of the lord Burleigh, who was extremely desirous of the marriage.

Camden.

Walsingham is sent ambassador to France. Walsing. Negotiat. p. 12.

Walsingham stayed all the rest of the year, and part of the next at Paris, without any overture being made, and yet the marriage was much talked of. He informed the court of England of it, and presently after received instructions from Burleigh, importing, that if any person of distinction should speak to him of the marriage, he might answer, that upon the report he had taken care to enquire how the queen stood inclined in that respect, and found, as the good of her people was her chief view, she had resolved to marry if she could meet with a suitable match. Shortly after the lord Buckhurst being sent to Paris^a, as ambassador extraordinary, king Charles and his mother queen Catherine opened their minds to him upon that subject, and a negotiation was begun. But as this project was not executed, I shall content myself, without descending to particulars, to show here the real causes of the breaking off the negotiation.

The marriage begins to be negotiated. Walsing. Negotiat. Stow.

It is almost certain neither Elizabeth nor the court of France had any desire to conclude the marriage, though it seemed to be seriously negotiated on both sides. Elizabeth found a double advantage in this feigned negotiation. First, she amused her own ministers, who pressed her earnestly to marry. Secondly, her enemies, believing the marriage was really going to be concluded, would of course remain quiet. And indeed it was not likely they should think of attacking

Charles IX. and Elizabeth equally dissimble. Elizabeth's reasons.

^a He went over in February, and came back a little before Easter. Stow, p. 669.

her,

Eliz.

1571.

her, when they saw her upon the point of being strictly united with France. It was requisite therefore, the better to amuse those who might have formed plots against her, to show some earnestness for the marriage, lest, if she acted with indifference in the affair, her most secret thoughts should be discovered.

Reasons of
Charles IX.

On the other side, the court of France proposed the marriage only to amuse Elizabeth, and with her all the protectants of Europe, but particularly the Huguenots. In all likelihood, Charles IX. had now formed the barbarous plot which broke out the next year. But this was only the beginning of a greater project, which was to destroy all the protestants in general, and suddenly attack Elizabeth herself. The pope and the king of Spain were engaged in the design, and pretended to be alarmed at what was negotiating at Paris, to ensnare the more easily those they intended to surprise. Wherefore, it was necessary for the court of France to appear very desirous of the match, and to yield as far as possible, but without concluding any thing in point of religion. So the difficulties started by Elizabeth in the negotiation were extremely subservient to the designs of the French, as they gave them room to make advances capable of deceiving the publick, and causing it to be thought they had no ill design against the protestant religion. By this means they removed all sorts of suspicion both from the court of England and the Huguenots. Indeed it was hardly possible to conjecture, that when the king and his mother testified such a zeal to accomplish the proposed marriage, they were thinking of extirpating all the Huguenots in the kingdom. Nay, they were extremely careful to remove this suspicion by their great dissimulation towards them, pretending to lend an ear to the leaders of the Huguenots, and place entire confidence in them. But, notwithstanding all their care to conceal their designs, the French court made Elizabeth very jealous during the whole negotiation, by their pressing and repeated instances for the queen of Scots liberty. Elizabeth could not understand this way of proceeding. The king of France, as she thought, having proposed the marriage with the duke of Anjou, and a strict alliance between the two crowns, should have been entirely in her interest; whereas she saw him concerned for Mary's, which was directly contrary. Nay, she discovered at that time, that France privately favoured Mary's projects, which could not be reconciled with the design of the marriage and alliance. For this reason she frequently intimated to the king and his mother, that she was offended at their conduct. But she

Lesley's Ne-
gotiations.
Walsingh.
Negotiat.

She was answered with protestations of friendship, esteem, and regard, and with excuses, that Mary being queen dowager of France, less could not be done than to solicit in her behalf. Charles did not even scruple to own privately, that what he did was only for form's sake, that he might not appear entirely to forsake the unfortunate queen. Perhaps it will be thought strange, that Charles should not carry his dissimulation so far as to declare openly, he would not concern himself any more about Mary; but this policy would have spoiled all. The design of the league of religion was to extirpate the Huguenots at once, that being freed from the fear of any diversion in France, the catholicks might carry their arms into England. If therefore Mary's restoration to the throne of Scotland could have been obtained, whether by treaty or solicitation, or any other way, England might have been invaded with much greater ease, whilst insurrections were raised within the kingdom. This was the scheme which had been formed from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. To invade England by sea, would necessarily have been very expensive, besides that such an undertaking was liable to greater inconveniencies, as Philip II. afterwards experienced. Scotland therefore alone could afford a passage, but to that end the kingdom was to be governed by persons well affected to the catholick religion. This was the aim of all the intrigues, publick and private, for the queen of Scots restoration. I am persuaded that they who have intimated that compassion for queen Mary made her friends act for her, had no just idea of the incessant and extraordinary pains in her favour. I do not however deny, that among those who served her, some acted from that motive; but that was not the thought of those who managed affairs. In the intention of those, Mary's restoration was only a means to execute greater projects.

It is therefore certain the court of France never seriously thought of concluding the marriage; and, in all appearance, the queen herself was as little inclined to it, though her ministers did all they could to persuade her. As she had declared at first by Walsingham, that she would not allow the duke of Anjou the exercise of his religion, the court of France imagined there would be no great danger in making some advances with respect to that point, since they were almost sure of finding in it an occasion of rupture, as well as a continual pretence to prolong the treaty as they pleased. The duke of Anjou came therefore by degrees to be satisfied with a little chapel in some private corner of the palace, and the French ambassador had orders to protest, that the duke could not be

They cannot agree upon the article of religion. Digges's Complete Ambassad. p. 82—108.

contented

Eliz.

1571.

Digges's
Complete
Ambassad.
p. 100.
Walsingham.
Negotiat.
p. 97.

contented with less, and to demand a positive answer in ten days. Hitherto the queen had refused to agree that the duke should have the exercise of his religion at all; nay, had pretended he should accompany her when she went to chapel, and be present at divine service. The business then was to answer the duke's proposal, which probably was to be the last. But whilst she was deliberating, the French ambassador showed to some person of distinction at court, letters from Paris, whereby it appeared, the court of France did not insist upon that article so strenuously as some would have insinuated. On the other hand, the lord Burleigh was informed by a Frenchman of note, that if the queen stood her ground, the court of France would give way in the end. Moreover Walsingham writ from Paris, that the duke of Montmorency had given his opinion in council, that it would be best not to mention religion at all in the treaty of marriage, which was the same thing as leaving this article entirely to the queen. All these insinuations were so many snares laid for the queen by the court of France, to induce her to refuse a thing which seemed so reasonable, and that it might appear the rupture proceeded not from the duke. She suffered herself to be surprised, and in her answer desisted not from her pretensions.

Camden.

Elizabeth's obstinacy convincing the king of France he might venture to proceed one step farther, he offered to leave the article of religion undetermined. But Elizabeth would not agree to it, saying, it would be an infallible means to sow discord between her and her spouse. In short, the court of France went so far, as to be satisfied with the queen's promise in writing, that the duke of Anjou should not be prosecuted according to the laws of England, if he secretly exercised his religion in a private chapel. Whereupon Elizabeth, with great difficulty, agreed at length to this:

Camden,
p. 433.

‘ That if the duke of Anjou would promise to accompany
‘ the queen when she went to chapel, and would not refuse to
‘ hear and learn the principles of the church of England, she
‘ would agree that neither himself nor his family should be
‘ compelled against their conscience to conform to the English
‘ church, till they should be otherwise persuaded. Moreover,
‘ that neither himself nor his domesticks, the number of whom
‘ should be agreed upon, should be disturbed in the use of any
‘ rites and ceremonies different from those established by law,
‘ provided they were not repugnant to the word of God, and
‘ on condition it were done in a private place, for the satisfy-
‘ ing their consciences, and so as the people might not take oc-
‘ casion from thence to violate the established laws of the land.’

It

It was with much difficulty that the French ambassador got the term, "repugnant to the word of God," to be changed into these, "repugnant to the church of God." Eliz. 1571.

It is easy to perceive, that when Elizabeth seemed to relax a little on this article, she added restrictions which required explication, and which left a door to recede, in case she had been taken at her word. Hence therefore it may be inferred, that she did insist so much upon the article of religion, only because she thought it serviceable to break off the negotiation. Accordingly we find in Walsingham's Memoirs, that the earl of Leiceſter and the lord Burleigh were convinced at last, she had no mind to marry.

The affair standing thus, Charles IX. told the queen, by La Mothe Fenelon his ambassador, that he thought her answer very hard, and desired her to send some trusty person to settle with him every thing relating to the marriage. Elizabeth replied, she could not proceed to any other article, without knowing first, whether the king and the duke intended to allow what she had proposed, with respect to religion. So, the business stopped there. Charles still feigned to expect the trusty person he had demanded, and the queen pretended she ſaid for the court of France's consent to the article concerning religion, as she had sent it. The negotiation lasted from March till September, and the rupture altered not the good understanding between the two courts. On the contrary, Charles thanked the queen for dealing so freely with him, and without saying any more of the marriage, desired to make a defensive league with her. Elizabeth readily consented. As she had no ally, it was her interest to unite with France, as well to disengage that crown from the queen of Scots interest, as to discourage the pope, the king of Spain, and the English catholics, by the alliance. But she knew not that Charles's aim was only to amuse both her and the Huguenots, whose destruction was determined, though he affected to careſs and make use of them, to execute his pretended projects against Spain. However this be, Elizabeth sent secretary Smith into France, to negotiate the league jointly with Walsingham.

Whilst the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou was treating at Paris, and both sides affected to publish it would to Spain, soon be concluded, the queen of Scots was in a grievous condition, because she plainly saw she was going to lose France. This obliged her without doubt to turn towards Spain, and try to obtain from thence the assistance she wanted. To that purpose, she dispatched Ridolpho to the pope and the king of Spain, to inform them of the state of her affairs. At the same time she employed Ridolpho the Florentine. Lesley's Negotiat. Camden. Thuanus.

Eliz.
1571.

same time she writ to the duke of Norfolk, and sent him in cypher the copy of her letters to Rome and Madrid, recommending to him Ridolpho, as a trusty person, to whom she desired him to give letters of credit. Upon the receipt of these letters, the duke ordered Higford his secretary, who had the key, to decypher them, and then bid him throw them into the fire. But whether Higford was already gained by the court, or designed to betray his master, he hid all these papers under a matt in his bed-chamber.

The duke of
Norfolk is
engaged
again in
Mary's in-
terest.
Lesley's
Negotiat.
Camden.
Thuanus.

Ridolpho, who was the pope's private agent, did all he could to persuade the duke of Norfolk to undertake the queen of Scots defence. He represented to him, there were in England many malecontents, who would be glad to see him at their head, and by that means he might revenge the injuries he had received, and the long imprisonment he had endured. He put him in hopes of powerful succours from the pope^b and the king of Spain^c, adding, that in this he would do no wrong to Elizabeth, since it was only to obtain her consent to marry the queen of Scots, and oblige her to tolerate the catholick religion in England. At the same time, the bishop of Ross frequently told the duke by Barker, one of his confidants, that by the help of his friends, who were very numerous, it would be easy for him to seize the queen, become master of her person, and detain her in custody, till he had married the queen of Scots, and provided for the security of the catholick religion. But the duke rejected the bishop of Ross's project, and even refused to give Ridolpho the letters of credit, which he desired for the courts of Rome and Madrid, and for the duke of Alva. But though all the duke of Norfolk's proceedings in this affair are not particularly known, 'tis however certain, he engaged in it too far, in expectation of espousing the queen of Scots. But it cannot well be conceived, how he intended to accomplish his enterprize, or what he designed to do after marrying the queen of Scots. However, it is easy to conjecture that the pope and the king of Spain, who set Ridolpho and the bishop of Ross to work, would never have thought of employing the duke of Norfolk, if they had not had some assurances from him, that he would comply with their intentions.

The duke
acts with
caution, but
resumes the
project of
marrying
queen Mary.
Lesley's
Negotiat.
Camden.

^b Who had laid down, the last year, when the bull was published, a hundred thousand crowns, whereof twelve thousand had been distributed by Ridolpho himself, among the English fugitives in Flanders. Lesley's Negotiat. p. 154.

^c Affirming, that the king of Spain

would furnish him with four thousand horse, and six hundred foot, which might be transported to Harwich in Essex, and without the least suspicion, in the beginning of summer, when the duke of Medina-Celi was coming in the Netherlands with a fleet. Ibid.

Ridol-

Ridolphi, having conferred with the pope and the duke of Alva, informed one Bailly, a Fleming, the queen of Scots servant, of what he had negotiated; and as this man was to go into England, gave him several letters for the queen of Scots, the Spanish ambassador, the bishop of Ross, and the duke of Norfolk^d. Bailly was no sooner landed at Dover, but he was seized. His packet was taken from him, and sent to the lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque-ports. But the bishop of Ross being informed of the accident, so artfully managed the lord Cobham, the duke of Norfolk's secret friend, that the letters were changed, and others put in their place, containing nothing criminal or of moment, which were delivered to the council. However, Bailly was put to the rack, and confessed the true letters were in the bishop of Ross's hands. But the bishop had taken care to send all the papers which might hurt him beyond sea with his secretary. So nothing was found in his house, and yet he was arrested and committed to the custody of the bishop of Ely^e.

Eliz.
1571.

Ridolpho's
intrigues are
partly disco-
vered.
Lesley's Ne-
gotiations.
Camden.
Thuanus.

Lesley's
Negotiat.
Spotiswood.

Shortly after, the court made a new discovery, which proved fatal to the duke of Norfolk. The French ambassador intending to distribute some money in Scotland among the queen's friends^f, applied to the duke of Norfolk, who caused him to be put into the hands of Higford and Barker, to deliver it to one Brown of Shrewsbury, who was to convey it to Lowther and Banister, and these were ordered to send it to the lord Hennis. Brown, who was not in the secret, receiving the money well packed up, and finding by the weight it was gold, whereas he had been told it was silver, carried it to the secretary of state. The packet being opened, there was found a letter in cypher from La Mothe Fenelon to Verac the French ambassador in Scotland. Whereupon Higford, the duke of Norfolk's secretary, being arrested, presently confessed, that the money was returned by the French ambassador. He discovered likewise where he had hid the queen of Scots papers, which the duke his master had ordered him to decypher and transcribe. This was sufficient to cause the duke of Norfolk to be apprehended, and sent to the Tower the 7th of September. There was found upon him a long memorial in

The court
discovers
Norfolk's
designs.
Lesley's
Negotiat.
Camden.
Digges's
Ambasf.
P. 134-135.

Stow.
Hollingsh.
Digges's
Ambasf.
P. 139.

^d And the lord Lumley. Camden, P. 434.

^e And conveyed a while after to the isle of Ely. Sir Thomas Stanley, and Sir Thomas Gerard, and Rolston, were sent to the Tower. And Henry Howard, who had aspired to the archbishoprick of York, was, upon suspicion, committed

to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury. Ibid.

^f Two thousand crowns. Camden says, the money was sent by queen Mary to the French ambassador, to be by him conveyed to her party in Scotland, p. 434.

Eliz.
1571.

cypher, dated the 7th of February this year, wherein the queen of Scotland told him, she was advised to retire to Spain rather than France, by reason of the duke of Anjou's marriage with Elizabeth, which was much talked of. She added, when she should be in Spain, she would feign a desire to marry Don John of Austria; but that the duke should not be alarmed at it, because she reserved herself for him. Finally, after speaking of Elizabeth in very injurious terms, she desired the duke to dispatch Ridolpho to Rome with instructions ^z.

The duke
confesses
part of
what he is
accused of.
Oct. 10, 11.
Lesley's
Negotiat.
Camden.

The duke of Norfolk being examined, confessed that about a year since he received four letters in cypher from the queen of Scots, and had answered them; but said, it was only to thank her for her good will, and to persuade her to rely entirely on the queen. He said farther, that the bishop of Ross having pressed him to write to the duke of Alba by Ridolpho, he had refused it, neither would he give him any instructions about the affair for which he went to Rome. He confessed also, he had helped to convey to Verac a letter from the French ambassador residing at London. As to the papers he had received from the queen of Scots by Ridolpho, he said, they were burnt, as he really believed. Then his house was searched, and the cypher which the queen of Scots and he used, was found with the papers hid by the secretary. Some of the complices who were apprehended, confessed all they knew, without being put to the rack.

Confel-
tations about
the bishop
of Ross.
Octob. 24.
Lesley's
Negotiat.
Camden.
Thuanus.
Lesley's
Negotiat.
Camden.

Whilst proofs were collecting against the duke of Norfolk, in order to form his process, the council debated on what was to be done with the bishop of Ross. He assumed the character of the queen of Scots ambassador, and probably had been acknowledged for such, Elizabeth not having thought proper to deny Mary the title of queen, or openly to own she was a prisoner. So the case being uncommon, some learned civilians were consulted upon three queries ^b. First, whether an

^g This memorial, according to Camden, was not found about the duke, but being sent to him by queen Mary, with the copy of her letters to Rome and Madrid, he ordered it to be burnt with the rest of the papers. But Higford, upon his being taken up, discovered to the council where it was hid, with the letters. It was a draught of queen Mary's designs, which the duke of Norfolk imagining Higford had burnt, denied at first every thing that Higford had confessed; but when the council produced Higford's and others' confessions, together with the draughts and letters,

to the duke's face, he was amazed, thinking they had been burnt. The earls of Arundel and Southampton, the lords Lumley and Cobham, Thomas Brooke, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powell, Goodyer, Banister, &c. were taken up also, who all confessed what they knew. Camden, p. 434, 435.

^h Rapin, by mistake, says, the judges were consulted, but it was not their business. The civilians were, Daniel Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Dray, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones. Camden.

ambas-

ambassador, convicted of conspiring against the prince to whom he is sent, ought to enjoy the privileges of an ambassador? The civilians replied, such an ambassador, by the law of nations, forfeits his privileges. Secondly, whether a prince deposed can give his minister or agent the title of ambassador? The answer was, the right of sending ambassadors belonged only to sovereigns, and a prince lawfully deposed cannot confer that title. It must be observed, Elizabeth had not owned that Mary was lawfully deposed. Thirdly, whether a prince who comes into another prince's dominions, and is there kept prisoner, can have an agent? And whether that agent may be reputed an ambassador, though it be notified to him that he shall be no longer acknowledged for such? It was answered, if such a prince has not forfeited his royalty, he may have an agent; but whether that agent may be reputed an ambassador, depended upon the authority of his commission. And a prince may forbid an ambassador his dominions, if he does not keep himself within the bounds of his office; but however, the privileges of ambassadors are not to be violated¹.

These queries being thus answered, the bishop of Ross was brought before the council², and charged with attempting to disturb the peace of the kingdom. He refused at first to answer, insisting on the privileges of an ambassador. But at length, seeing this defence was little regarded, and witnesses began to be produced against him, he said, that by an inviolable custom, grown into a law, the English and Scots could not be witnesses one against another. Whereupon it was examined, whether this custom was to take place any where but on the borders, especially in a case where the safety of the queen and kingdom was concerned. In short, the bishop was sent to the Tower, and some time after examined³ upon three and twenty articles, to each of which he answered in particular: but Camden has not thought fit to give us either the examination or the answers. He says only in general, that the bishop excused the queen his mistress, for that being a prisoner, and in the flower of her age, it was no wonder she should use her endeavours to escape: that the project of her marriage was formed by the advice of several English lords, some of whom were privy-counsellors: that indeed the duke

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1571.

He is brought before the council.

Octob. 24. Lesley's Negotiat.

His answer, Camden.

Octob. 26;

P. 433.

¹ The answer to the first part of the query being omitted by Rapin, is supplied from Camden, and placed between brackets.

² He was brought before the earl of Bedford, Clinton lord admiral, the lord Burleigh, sir Francis Knolles, and sir

Thomas Smith, with the queen's attorney and solicitor, at the lord-mayor's house. Lesley's Negotiat. p. 129.

³ By the lord Burghley, sir Francis Knolles, and sir Thomas Smith. Lesley's Negotiat. p. 197.

Eliz.

1571.

of Norfolk had promised to think no more of the affair; but his promise was not capable of breaking a prior engagement: lastly, he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, for that being an ambassador, he was obliged to serve the queen his mistress to the utmost of his power: adding, that he proposed the design of seizing the queen to the duke of Norfolk, only to try him; and he refused to name the great men who had promised to assist him in the attempt. But he confessed, that by the orders of the queen his mistress, he had consulted the earl of Arundel, Lumley, Throckmorton, and the lord viscount Montague, about the queen of England's demand, that the king of Scotland should be put into her hands. This is all Camden says of the bishop of Ross's defence. But it is not unlikely, the fear of death with which he was threatened, made him discover some things which Camden has not been pleased to publish, as will appear in the sequel.

The queen informs the court of France of the duke of Norfolk's affair. Digges's Ambass. p. 147.

The duke of Norfolk's imprisonment making a great noise in France and elsewhere, Elizabeth caused the reasons to be imparted to Charles IX. by Killebrew, whom she sent to Paris to ease Walsingham who was sick. The new ambassador told the queen mother, that it was now two years since the queen of Scots, without acquainting his mistress with it, had designed to marry the duke of Norfolk, and therefore he was sent to the Tower, without however being deprived of the enjoyment of his estate: that afterwards, the duke swore to think of that marriage no more, and the queen of Scots, both by letters and agents, promised the like: that nevertheless they had still continued their intrigues, as it was easy to prove by their own letters; and under colour of freeing the queen of Scots, had projected to set her on the throne of England, by raising a rebellion in the kingdom, and calling in foreign troops, which evidently appeared by their letters and the confessions of their complices: that the queen of Scots had expressly ordered her agents to conceal her designs from the court of France, because she was entirely devoted to Spain, having even resolved to convey her son thither, and marry Don John of Austria.

An act to maintain the queen's title.

D'ewes, p. 136, &c. Statut. Camden.

In the present situation of the French court, Elizabeth's complaints against the queen of Scots were not much regarded. But the parliament of England^a took the queen's interest extremely

^m If Bothwell lived ten years in Denmark, as Camden says in another place, it is not to be conceived how queen Mary could promise with an oath to

marry the duke of Norfolk in 1570, seeing Bothwell was then alive. *Rapin.*

^a This parliament met at Westminster April 2, and was dissolved May 24. *The*

tre mely to heart, and to prevent the dangers to which she was exposed by these plots, passed a very remarkable act. It was provided, "that if any man should attempt the personal hurt of the queen, or the depriving her of any part of sovereignty; raise war, or stir up others to war against her: if any one should dare to give out that another person has a juster title than she to the crown; or should say she is an heretick, schismatick or infidel; or should usurp her right and title during her life; or should affirm the parliament has not power to settle and limit the succession to the crown, every such person should be guilty of high treason." It was also enacted, "That whosoever, by bulls or other mandates of the pope, should reconcile any man to the church of Rome, and those who should be so reconciled, should be guilty of treason: that whosoever should relieve such reconcilers, or should bring into England any Agnus Dei's, Grains, or other things consecrated by the pope, should incur the penalty of a præmunire, loss of goods, and perpetual imprisonment." It was provided also, "That all the fugitives should within such a time, under forfeiture of their estates, return and submit themselves to the government, and that all the fraudulent conveyances of their lands should be void." It was likewise moved, That if for the future the queen of Scots should be concerned in any conspiracy, she should be proceeded against by law, as the wife of an English peer. But the queen hindered this bill from passing, being satisfied with letting her prisoner see to what she would be exposed, if she continued her practices P.

Eliz.
1571.

Before

The clergy granted a subsidy of six shillings to be paid in three years; and the lords and commons two fifteenths and tenths, and a subsidy of two shillings and eight-pence in the pound. D'ewes. Stow, p. 669.

o The act goes on: "And if any one during the queen's life, should by book written or printed, maintain that any person is or ought to be the queen's heir and successor, except the natural issue of her body," &c. Some looked upon this as too severe, thinking the naming of an heir would tend to the establishing the quiet of the nation. But it seems, abundance of jests were passed upon the clause, "except the natural issue of her body," since, in law, those children are called natural

which are begotten out of wedlock. So that Camden says, being then a young man, he himself often heard people say, that the word natural was inserted into the act by Leicester, with a design, one time or other, to impose some bastard son of his upon the English for the queen's natural issue. Camden, p. 436.

P The other acts made in this parliament were these: 1. That fraudulent deeds made to avoid the debts of others shall be void. 2. That fraudulent conveyances or deeds made by spiritual persons, to defeat their successors of remedy for dilapidations, shall be void. 3. That no ecclesiastical person shall be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he be twenty-three years of age at least; and shall

Eliz.

1571.

Continuation of the affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 113. Spetiswood. Camden.

Buchanan. Melvil, p. 113.

The earl of Lenox is killed, and the earl of Mar chosen regent. Buchanan. Melvil.

Remarks on the factions of Scotland.

Before we see what followed upon the late discoveries, it will be necessary to run over what passed in Scotland, after the earl of Morton's return. The beginning of May, the queen's party became master of Edinburgh, by the assistance of the laird of Grange, who favoured them, though he pretended to keep the castle for the king. This done, the heads of that party convened the states belonging to their faction; and at the same time, the earl of Lenox assembled the states of the king's party in the suburbs of the same city. These two assemblies did nothing but mutually condemn each other, and as if they had given one another the word, they resolved each apart to meet again in August, the king's lords at Sterling, and the queen's at Edinburgh. These resolutions being executed at the time appointed, the lords at Edinburgh formed the project of carrying away by force the lords of the contrary party, who were at Sterling without any precaution. Melvil says, his friend Grange was the author, contriver, and manager of this enterprize. He would have headed them himself; but his friends would not suffer him to be exposed to the danger. This is the same Grange, whom Melvil represents as a neutral person, and aiming only at the good of his country. The project was executed with so much conduct and success, that the regent and the earl of Morton were presently made prisoners. In all appearance, few of the king's lords would have escaped, had not the victorious soldiers fallen to plundering. But whilst they were dispersed about the town, the earl of Mar sallied out of the castle with the garrison, and compelled them to retire. In the disorder, the earl of Morton fortunately escaped, but the regent was carried away, and murdered on the road in cold blood by one hired to do it, in spite of David Spence, the officer who guarded him. A few days after, John Erskin earl of Mar was chosen regent, to the great mortification of the earl of Morton, who aspired to that dignity, and was supported by the English ambassador.

To understand the situation of the affairs of Scotland, it is necessary to consider that though there seemed to be but two parties in the kingdom, namely, the king's and the queen's, there were however five, because there were so many different

shall first subscribe the articles of religion in presence of the ordinary; and within two months after induction, read the same in his parish church, in the time of common-prayer; and declare his unfeigned assent thereto; and all this upon pain of deprivation. That no person shall retain a benefice with cure;

being under the age of twenty-one years, or not being a deacon at least. That none shall be admitted to preach or administer the sacraments under the age of twenty-four years; nor without a testimonial of his honest life; nor unless he is able to render to the ordinary an account of his faith in Latin.

opinions

opinions in both, which occasioned that all of the same party did not tend to the same end. Some were wholly attached to the queen, and their chief view was to restore the catholic religion. Others earnestly adhered to the king's party and the protestant religion. The new regent, like his predecessor, was desirous to unite the two factions, and laboured to bring all to the obedience of the king, which he hoped to accomplish, by granting to the queen's adherents all the favours they could reasonably expect. Grange and his friends had formed the same design of uniting the two parties, but in such a manner as that the kingdom should be governed in the queen's name. In fine, the earl of Morton, who was pensioner to the court of England, was at the head of a fifth party, who, though outwardly for the king, sought only to cross those that endeavoured to unite the two factions. This was properly Elizabeth's party, or at least the party she favoured most, though she affected a neutrality. Her ambassador Randolph, a man of a great genius, and very fit for his office, was the instrument she made use of to strengthen it. Nothing could be more prejudicial to England than the union of the two parties, which was endeavouring at any rate. It was to be feared, that after the union queen Mary's friends would grow too powerful in the parliament, and procure resolutions destructive of the interests of Elizabeth and England. Thus discord among the Scots was yet for Elizabeth's advantage, till affairs should take another face. But as the earl of Mar, the new regent, was not to be managed as she wished, she laid her measures beforehand, to procure the earl of Morton a party, capable of being opposed to the regent, if occasion required. Such was the state of the affairs of Scotland in the year 1571. We must now see what passed in France.

Eliz.
1571.

Melvil,
p. 109.

All this year the court of France used the highest dissimulation to draw the Huguenots into their snares. There were no favours at court but for them. The king pretended to fear his brother the duke of Anjou, and to be displeased with the Guises, who, as he said, kept him in a shameful captivity. Besides this, he made use of two very effectual means to deceive the admiral. The first was, to feign a real intention to wage war with Spain, and to trust him with the management of it. The second was, to conclude the marriage of his sister the princess Margaret with the king of Navarre. After that the admiral and the Huguenots no longer questioned the king's good will towards them, especially, as they saw him very intent upon the marriage of the duke of Anjou with the queen

Affairs of
France.
Mezerai.
Dissimula-
tion of
Charles IX.
Thuanus.

Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.
Grotius.
Strada.

Camden.

of England,*and as compliant as possible with respect to religion.

At the same time, the prince of Orange was striving to put the Netherlands in motion, having resolved to make some attempt, whilst the king of Spain's arms were employed against the infidels. The kings of Sweden and Denmark refusing to assist him, he applied to Elizabeth, who durst not give him assistance, though she was not ignorant of the correspondence held by the duke of Alva in Scotland and England with Mary's adherents. She even forbid the ships of Holland and Zealand, which acted against Spain, to enter her ports. In this extremity, the prince of Orange sent his brother count Lewis to king Charles IX, who loaded him with caresses, and even imparted to him the false secret of his pretended design to make war upon Philip. But all this was only to deceive him. In the mean time, the count de la Mark, with four and twenty ships, did the Spaniards all the damage he could. This was all the prince of Orange could effect during this year⁹.

1572.
The duke of
Norfolk is
condemned to
die.
State Trials.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The 16th of January the duke of Norfolk was brought to his trial before the peers of the realm^r. His accusation ran:
1. That he had attempted to deprive the queen of her crown and life, and seize the throne himself by the help of foreigners. 2. That, unknown to the queen, he had treated of a marriage with the queen of Scots, though he knew she had usurped the title and arms of England. 3. That he had lent her a great sum of money. 4. That he had supplied with money the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland who were banished the kingdom and declared enemies of their country. 5. That he had writ to the pope, the king of Spain, the duke of Alva, desiring aid to free the queen of Scots, and restore the popish religion in England. 6. Lastly, That he had sent supplies to the lord Harris and other the queen's enemies in Scotland.

⁹ The English having, since the year 1552, carried on a gainful trade for gold with the negroes on the coast of Guinea, wherein they had often been disturbed by the Portuguese, who laid claim to that country, as the first discoverers of it; at last, all differences between the two nations were adjusted, by a treaty concluded this year. Camden, p. 437.
— The Exchange having been some time finished, namely, ever since November 1567, queen Elizabeth came,

January 23, this year, to see it, and by sound of trumpet, her herald named it, The Royal Exchange. Stow, p. 668. Camden, p. 431.—On September 22, died the learned John Jewell, bishop of Salisbury. Stow, p. 670. This year also died William Parr marquis of Northampton. Camden, p. 437.

^r George Talbot earl of Shrewsbury was constituted lord high steward of England for that day, and with him sat twenty-five peers, Camden.

It may be said in general, the duke made a very weak defence to most of these articles. But it was not easy for him to deny what his own letters, and the confessions of his servants and complices, proved against him. Besides, an intercepted letter from the bishop of Ross in prison, to the queen of Scots, clearly showed the duke had formed pernicious designs against the government. Camden did not think fit to relate the contents of the bishop's letter. It is probable however, it was very much to the purpose, since the duke desired to see whether it was the bishop's own hand. When he was convinced of it by his own eyes, he made the same defence as the bishop had done, namely, that the testimony of a Scot against an Englishman was not valid. In this they both pretended, without ground, to take advantage of a custom introduced on the borders of the two kingdoms, where, in cases of depredation, the evidence of one nation against the other was not admitted, because they were parties. But this custom was not become so general as to be of service to the duke in his cause. The strength of his defence was, that his design to marry the queen of Scots could not be reckoned high treason, neither could it be thence inferred that he intended to seize the throne. The queen's attorney replied, that all the circumstances of the affair, and all the duke's proceedings, evidently showed he aimed at something more than barely to marry a deposed and imprisoned queen; for, by the measures he would have taken with the foreign powers, it plainly appeared, that in espousing the queen of Scots, he designed to assert her claim to the crown of England. At last, after a long examination, he was condemned by his peers as guilty of high treason: but the sentence was not executed till June.

In the mean while, the queen made Walter d'Evreux earl of Essex. He was descended by the great grandmother's side from the noble family of Bourchier, which had long borne that title. At the same time the lord Clinton high-admiral was created earl of Lincoln, and four new barons were summoned to the next parliament.

The parliament hearing plots were formed to free the duke of Norfolk, passed an act, whereby it was made death to attempt to deliver a prisoner condemned for high treason. By the same act, it was perpetual imprisonment and forfeiture of

Eliz.

1572.

Creation of peers.

May 4.

Camden.

Dugdale.

Stow.

Act on occasion of the

duke of

Norfolk.

* Namely, John Powlet of Basing, Compton, Henry Cheney, and Henry the marquis of Winchester's son; Henry Norris. Camden, p. 440.

Eliz.
1572.

estate, if the prisoner was only accused of high treason, tho' not condemned^t.

The duke is
executed.
State-Trials.
Camden.
Hollingsh.

At length the queen, after having been long in suspense, signed a warrant for the execution of the duke of Norfolk, the 2d of June. He confessed part of his faults, excused himself as to the rest, and in general owned he was justly condemned: but he declared he never had any thoughts of restoring the popish religion in England, and that he died a protestant^u. He was son to the earl of Surrey, beheaded in the latter part of Henry the Eighth's reign for quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor with his own, without the king's licence. All of that family had firmly adhered to the catholick religion, except this duke, who embraced the protestant in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign. Since he declared that he died in the reformed religion, I don't see how his sincerity can justly be questioned. But who can tell how far his ambition might have carried him, if he had found his projects more practicable? At least, it cannot be denied that they who put him in motion, thought they had reason to rely on him. After all, if any one doubted that the end of this conspiracy was to restore the popish religion in England, he might be satisfied by the testimony of Hieronymo Catena, in the life of Pius V. Instead of clearing the pope, the author makes him glory in having been the promoter of this design, and in having sent Ridolpho into England to excite the English to rebel against Elizabeth.

The queen
of Scots is
examined.
Camden.
Thuanus.

Ten days after the duke of Norfolk's death, Elizabeth sent two privy-counsellors to the queen of Scots^v, not to accuse her criminally, as Camden affirms^x, but to inform her of what she had been charged with in the trial of the duke of Norfolk and his complices, and to tell her, the queen would be extremely glad she could justify herself. This was chiefly to let her know, that her practices were discovered, and therefore she had been more closely confined and reduced to a smaller number of domesticks. Elizabeth was also well pleased to let her see she had good spies, and knew that it was not barely to obtain her liberty, that so many powers used their

^t Before arraignment, forfeiture of estate during life, and imprisonment during the queen's pleasure. If arraigned, death: if condemned, the penalty of high treason was to be incurred. This was only during the queen's life.

^u He was attended on the scaffold by Alexander Nowel dean of St. Paul's, and was buried in the Tower chapel.

Camden, p. 440. State-Trials, vol. i.

^v The persons sent to expostulate with the queen of Scots, were, William lord de la Ware, sir Ralph Sadler, doctor Wilfon, and Thomas Bromley. Camden, p. 442. Rapin, by mistake, says there were but two.

^x Camden's words are, "to expostulate with her by way of accusation."

interest

interest for her, but rather to set her on the throne of England. Wherefore the two privy-counsellors represented to her, 1. That she had assumed the title of queen of England, and afterwards refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, whereby she had engaged to renounce it. 2. That she would have married the duke of Norfolk without the queen's knowledge; and there was reason to believe it was with design to dethrone her, since she would have used foreign troops to set the duke free. 3. That she was deeply concerned in the northern rebellion. 4. That she had relieved the rebels in Scotland and Flanders. 5. That she had sent Ridolpho to the pope and the king of Spain, to solicit them to invade England. 6. That she had received letters from the pope, wherein he assured her of his protection. 7. That she had procured the pope's bull to absolve the queen's subjects from their oath of allegiance. 8. Lastly, That she had suffered her agents in foreign parts to stile her publicly Queen of England. All these facts were but too true; however, as it was not easy to convict her, that she had acted with the intention ascribed to her, she therefore boldly made her defence to this effect:

That if she had taken the title of Queen of England, it was by command of the king of France her husband, and she had quitted it after his death; nay, she had declared, and still did declare, she would not claim it so long as Elizabeth or her children lived: That in desiring to marry the duke of Norfolk, she had no design to hurt Elizabeth, but rather was of opinion, the marriage would be advantageous to England: That if she had not renounced the marriage, it was because she was contracted to the duke. That she thought herself obliged by conjugal love to warn him of the danger, and persuade him to make his escape: That she was accessary to no rebellion, but, on the contrary, was always ready to discover whatever came to her knowledge, if Elizabeth would have vouchsafed to see and hear her: That she had never relieved the English rebels, but only recommended the countess of Northumberland to the duke of Alva: That hearing Ridolpho was in the pope's favour, she made use of him in concerns no way relating to England: That she had employed no person to free her, but had willingly hearkened to such as offered their service for that purpose, and with that view had given her cypher to Rolston and Hall: That the letters she had received from the pope, contained only matters

¶ Since Bothwell was alive, how could she be contracted to the duke of Norfolk? Rapin.

Eliz.
1572.

of piety and consolation: That she was ~~not~~ the procurer of the bull, and had only seen a copy of it, which when she had read she threw into the fire: That if any in foreign parts stiled her Queen of England, she could not help it: That she had never desired aid of the pope, or the king of Spain, to invade England, but implored their assistance to restore her to her kingdom: Lastly, That in case she was to be tried, she desired it might be before the parliament, as a princess of the blood-royal of England.

These answers show that Mary did not deny the facts, but only the intention ascribed to her. But on the other hand, though this intention could not be fully proved, her bare denial was not sufficient to show she never had it, or to efface the suspicions entertained of her. However, as there was no design to bring her to a trial, the affair rested there; but Elizabeth was still persuaded that the end of Mary's and her friends intrigues was to dethrone her.

Negotiation
of the defen-
sive league
with France.
Walsing-
ham's Ne-
gotiat. in
Digges's
Com Amb.

Difficulties
of the nego-
tiation.
First.
Ibid. p. 155,
191.

The negotiation of the defensive league between France and England was still continued at Paris, with great dissimulation on Charles's side. He insisted upon difficulties which ought not to have caused any delay, since his sole aim was to make use of this league to surprise the Huguenots; but this served the better to conceal his designs. He pretended to be much afraid of the power of Spain, and therefore was obliged to join with England. The difficulties of the league consisted in two things. First, Elizabeth required that both parties should mutually promise to assist one another, in case either should be attacked, though on account of religion. But Charles said, he could not admit of that clause, for fear of offending his subjects and all the catholick powers. He was willing however to agree, that the article should be expressed in more general terms, which should have the same meaning, namely, that the two parties should mutually defend one another, if either was attacked upon any account whatsoever. The English ambassadors objected that England feared no attack, but only on account of religion, whereas France had numberless quarrels with other states, and therefore the condition would not be equal. To remove this difficulty, Charles offered to write to Elizabeth a letter with his own hand, wherein he would declare, that he understood the cause of religion to be included in the general clause. But the English not being satisfied with this security, required at least a private article under the great seals of France and England. Whereupon Charles exclaimed against the injury done him, in believing him capable of breaking his word,
and

and said, he preferred his honour to his life. Walsingham, Eliz. one of the English plenipotentiaries, was so biased in favour 1572. of Charles, that he thought him a perfect honest man. He even writ to the lord Burleigh, that he did not doubt that the security was sufficient. In short, after many debates, Elizabeth was contented with the letter offered by Charles. P. 173, 180.

The second difficulty consisted, in that the king of France would positively include the queen of Scots in the treaty, to which Elizabeth would not consent. She thought it very strange that the king of France should so heartily espouse the queen of Scots interests at such a juncture. Mary was using her utmost endeavours to dethrone her. The design of the league between France and England was for a mutual defence against the attacks of their enemies, and at the same time France earnestly laboured to have the queen of Scots released, that is, to enable her to execute her designs. Elizabeth could not understand this proceeding, and it gave her great suspicion. However, as she believed the league necessary for her safety, she overlooked many things which gave her cause to mistrust the king of France's sincerity. There was no way found to surmount this difficulty, but by inserting in the treaty a doubtful clause to this effect, 'That both parties shall maintain the present laws of Scotland.' Elizabeth meant the present and actual government of that kingdom, under the king's authority; and Charles understood the preceding government, under the queen's authority, considering the present as unlawful. But withal, he intimated that he desired those terms which were capable of a double meaning, to be used only to avoid the blame of abandoning the queen of Scots. Elizabeth imagined it a great advantage that Mary was not mentioned in the treaty. These two difficulties being removed, the league was signed at Blois, April 11. The substance whereof was as follows :

Charles and Elizabeth shall mutually assist one another against all persons who shall attack them under any pretence whatsoever. Articles of the league between France and England. Camden, P. 443.

The league shall remain in full force till a year after the death of either party.

The party requested shall be bound to send to the party requiring, an aid of six thousand foot, or of five hundred lances, making up, with others, fifteen hundred horse, at his choice, with eight ships of war, manned with twelve hundred soldiers, the whole at the expence of the party requiring.

There

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There shall be no innovations made in Scotland, but both princes shall endeavour to preserve the peace of that kingdom, according to the present laws, without suffering the arrival of any foreign troops.

Mutual
ambassies.
Camden.
Walsing.
Negotiat.
p. 206, &c.
214.
Stow.
Camden.

Some time after, Elizabeth sent the earl of Lincoln into France^a, to see the treaty sworn; and the marshal de Montmorency came to London upon the same account. Elizabeth swore to the league the 17th of June, and honoured the marshal with the order of the garter. Whilst Montmorency was at the court of England, he never ceased strongly to solicit for the queen of Scots liberty, to whom this eagerness did more hurt than good. On the other hand, the queen ordered the earl of Lincoln to show the king of France the intercepted letter from the queen of Scots to the duke of Alva, wherein it appeared that she put herself entirely under the king of Spain's protection. Montmorency would likewise have resumed the affair of the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou, but did not much insist upon it. Probably he had no orders to press it very strenuously, considering what happened in France immediately after his return; I mean the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, wherein admiral Chatillon, and all the Huguenots were butchered^a, who had been drawn to court, under colour of the nuptials of the king of Navarre with the princess Margaret, king Charles's sister. It is needless to expatiate on this horrible massacre, so universally known. It suffices to observe, in a word, it demonstrated to persons of the least penetration, that the court of France was then the most perfidious in the world.

Massacre of
Paris.
Mezerai.
Walsing.
Negotiat.
p. 246, 251.
Thuanus.
Camden.
P. Daniel.

Conse-
quences of
the massa-
cre.
Walsing.
Ib. p. 301.
Du Maurier.

This massacre threw all the protestants in Europe into the utmost consternation, especially when they knew it was openly approved of at Rome^b. The protestant princes of Germany began to prepare for their defence, believing it was only the beginning of a combination to destroy their religion throughout all christendom, and the Switzers resolved in a diet to lend France no more troops. But the court of England reflected on it particularly, not questioning it was an effect of

^a He set out, May 26, with a great train of nobility, among whom were the lords Dacres, Rich, Talbot, Sandes, &c. Camden, p. 444. Stow, p. 672.

^a About three thousand. See P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 730. Others say, ten thousand. See Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 158.

^b There were medals struck in me-

mory of this horrible fact, having on one side the king sitting on a throne, and treading on dead bodies, with this motto, Virtus in Rebellis: and on the reverse, the arms of France crowned between two columns, and Pietas excitavit Justitiam 24 Augusti 1572. See a print of this medal in P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 786.

the league of Bayonne, and that the storm would quickly fall upon England. Walsingham, who had expressed so great an esteem for Charles IX. wrote letter after letter, to give warning, that he was no longer to be trusted, though he should repeat his protestations of friendship to the queen, and his assurances punctually to observe the late treaty ^{Eliz. 1572.}

It was not without reason that Charles still desired to keep fair with Elizabeth. Though he had massacred an infinite number of his Huguenot subjects, he saw the rest ready to take up arms to screen themselves from his barbarity. The city of Rochelle, which was as their bulwark, had refused to open her gates to the king's forces. Some were already in arms in Languedoc and other provinces, and probably Charles was going to enter into a new war where he would have to deal with desperate people. Apprehensive as he was, that Elizabeth would aid the Huguenots with all her forces, there was no dissimulation but what he practised to divert her from it. When she told him by her ambassador, that after the late massacre, she could no longer place any confidence in him, he endeavoured to excuse himself in the best manner he could. One while he said, it was done without his knowledge; another while, that he was forced to it, in order to prevent a conspiracy formed by the admiral against him, the queen his mother, and his brothers. However, at the very time he showed the greatest desire to live in a good understanding with Elizabeth, he was taking private measures to raise her disturbances both in England and Scotland. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, the pope sent a legate into France. The duke of Savoy, a great friend to Spain, was come to Paris, and Charles's pretended dread of Philip's design was entirely vanished. Nay, there was a strict union between the two kings. On the other side, Walsingham gave frequent notice, that the duke of Guise had private conferences with the Scots, and the queen-mother frequently sent for the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador, to her house at unreasonable hours. These things were plain indications to Elizabeth and her council, that the friendship of France was not to be relied on, though it had been earnestly sought. ^{Charles IX. shows great regard for Elizabeth. Walsingham. Negotiat. P. 269, 275, 280, 283, 289.}

Affairs being in this situation, it was not easy for the queen to determine what course she should take. She suspected some ^{Elizabeth's mistrust. Ib. p. 259, 265, 268,}

* In one of his letters to sir Thomas Smith, he informs him, that all the Huguenot lands, which would amount to many millions, were to be sold, and

employed in the conquest of countries; &c. and if so, England was in no small danger. See Digges's Compl. Ambas. p. 245.

Eliz.
1572.

Charles and
Elizabeth
equally dif-
femble.
Walsing.
Negotiat.
p. 257.

Charles of-
fers to renew
the league,
and the
marriage of
the duke of
Alençon
with Eliza-
beth.
He desires
her to be
godmother
to his
daughter.
The queen's
answer.
1b. p. 277,
&c. 283,
287, &c.
297.

plot was formed against her, but was not sure ^d. On one hand, she was afraid France and Spain were in league against her; but she could not conceive how it was possible for them to agree, their interests being directly contrary. She considered however, that Charles IX. was governed by the Lorrain princes, who had different views from his, and who regarded their own private interest more than the welfare of France. Besides, an excessive religious zeal might cause him to overlook his true interest. In this state of uncertainty, she thought it most advisable to stand upon her guard, and make preparations as if she was to be speedily invaded, and to equal the king of France in dissimulation, letting him know however, it would not be easy to deceive her. So each playing the hypocrite, never were there so strong and so frequent protestations of friendship between Charles and Elizabeth, as in the first months after the massacre of St. Bartholomew's. Both said, they desired above all things to keep the league inviolably, though Charles had no occasion for Elizabeth's aid, and Elizabeth could no longer depend upon the amity of such an ally. It was hardly possible for them to love one another. Charles looked upon Elizabeth as the protectress of the religion he was endeavouring to extirpate, and Elizabeth could consider him but as a prince without honour or honesty, and as a sworn enemy to the religion she professed. Notwithstanding all this, Charles offered to renew the league with a fresh oath, and proposed a marriage between Elizabeth and his younger brother, the duke of Alençon. In short, to give Elizabeth a sensible mark of his pretended friendship, he desired her to stand godmother to a princess his queen was delivered of in October. Elizabeth answered to the first proposal, that the treaty of Blois not having been violated on her part, she did not see any necessity to renew it, or swear to it again. As to the marriage of the duke of Alençon, she expressed herself in such a manner, that she left it undetermined, whether she would accept or refuse it. As to the king's requesting her to be godmother to the princess his daughter, she replied, Though her own subjects and several foreign princes dissuaded her from being spiritually allied to a sworn enemy to the protestant religion, she was willing however to give him a proof of her desire to preserve their mutual alliance, as far as lay in her power. Thus it was all dissimulation on both sides. But I don't know whether

^d There was for some considerable time a large French fleet stationed between Rochel and Bourdeaux, which caused her no small uneasiness. See Digges's Ambaf. p. 259—265.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth can be justified for not having refused this last article, in order to show at least her detestation of the deed Charles had lately committed. However, all the rest of the year was spent in reciprocal protestations of a sincere friendship, but withal in a mutual distrust. Charles was afraid Elizabeth would assist the Huguenots, and thereby all his measures be broken. Elizabeth had a mind, before she came to any resolution, to see a little farther into the designs of her enemies, and to that purpose it was necessary for her to keep, at least outwardly, some correspondence with king Charles. Mean while, the Huguenots knew not what to think of her. They saw themselves upon the brink of destruction, considering the great forces with which the king was preparing to attack them; and at the same time they saw Elizabeth, who was their sole refuge, stand godmother to the child of their persecutor and executioner. But the interest of the Huguenots was not the thing she had chiefly in view. Her zeal for the protestant religion was always subordinate to her private interest.

Eliz.

1572.

Elizabeth's dissimulation.

Walsing.

Negotiat.

p. 279, &c.

Opinion of the Huguenots upon her account.

The earl of Northumberland, who, after his being seized in Scotland, had been delivered to the queen, was beheaded in this juncture; wherein the queen thought she could not take too many precautions to provide for her safety.*

I must now mention the affairs of Scotland, to which the queen had always an eye. The discovery of the duke of Norfolk's plot had much weakened Mary's party. Some had forsaken it, and others were ready to do the like. If they still adhered to it, it was only to obtain advantageous terms for quitting it. Grange, governor of Edinburgh castle, Lidington, the lord Hume, Robert Melvil, and some others, who were in the castle, still affected a sort of neutrality, and a great zeal for the good of their country. But they made this good to consist in a certain union of the two factions, which should not be prejudicial to the captive queen. That is, they would have

The earl of Northumberland is beheaded. Stow.

Affairs of Scotland. Melvil, p. 110, &c.

* Thomas Percy earl of Northumberland was for a sum of money delivered to the lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, by Morton, who had been extremely beholden to the earl during his exile in England. He was beheaded at York, on August 22. Stow, p. 673.—This year died also two great men in an advanced age; William Powlet, lord treasurer of England (in which he was succeeded by Cecil lord Burleigh) marquis of Winchester, earl of Wiltshire, and baron of St. John of Basing. He died March 10, in the

97th year of his age, and lived to see a hundred and three persons descended from him.—The other was sir William Petre, secretary to Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth. He was a great benefactor to Exeter college in Oxford, wherein he was educated; and left in lands to the value of one hundred pounds a year. He died January 13.—This year also, on November 24, died Edward Stanley earl of Derby, lord Stanley and Strange, of Knocking. Camden, p. 445. Stow, p. 673, 673.

Eliz. the king's authority to be annulled; and if it could not be
1572. agreed, that the state should be governed in the queen's name,

as indeed it was very difficult to gain that point, at least that the administration of affairs should be put into the hands of a certain number of regents chosen by the two parties, without any mention of queen or king. By this means they would have preserved the queen's rights entire, and broken the measures of the contrary party. Probably, James Melvil author of the Memoirs was in the same sentiments, though he desired to be looked upon as neuter, and as such was employed on both sides, to serve for mediator. The men of this party durst not however fully discover their minds; but flattered themselves, that being masters of Edinburgh castle, with the help of very few succours, they should be able to support their pretensions. They spent the whole winter of the year 1572 in several negotiations in France and the Netherlands, to obtain the succours they wanted. They were made to hope for assistance from both places; but it was only empty promises without any effect. The court of France durst not pull off the mask for fear of obstructing the grand design, which was executed within a few months. For that reason, they consented at length that the queen of Scots should not be mentioned in the treaty of Blois. They were contented to agree with the English ambassadors, that the two crowns should send plenipotentiaries into Scotland, to adjust the differences between the Scots, or compel them to lay down their arms. And indeed Charles IX. nominated du Crocq, who had been often sent into Scotland, to endeavour this agreement, ordering him to pass through England, and strongly solicit Elizabeth to send the queen of Scots into France. He gave him moreover certain instructions, which he was to impart by word of mouth to the captive queen. Elizabeth thought this proceeding very extraordinary, just as the treaty of league was going to be concluded. So, suspecting some mystery in this conduct, she plainly refused du Crocq leave to see Mary, and even to pursue his journey to Scotland till the league was signed.

The court of France is suspected by Elizabeth with respect to Scotland. Walsing. Negotiat. p. 165, 177. 181.

Elizabeth's suspicions increase. Walsing. Negotiat. p. 177, 181. Ib. p. 181. Camden.

A few days after, she made a discovery which much increased her suspicions. The lord Seaton, a Scotchman, who called himself Mary's ambassador to the duke of Alva, had taken a journey to Paris, and there held several conferences with the king and the queen-mother. Then he returned to Brussels, and shortly after departed for Scotland. But the stormy weather compelling him to land at Harwich, he disguised himself like a sailor, and before it was known who he was, crossed England, and came to Edinburgh, where he frequently

quently conferred with Grange, and the other lords in the Eliz. castle. But as he had not been able to carry away his papers, 1572. they were found in the ship, whereby it was discovered he had orders to encourage the lords in the castle of Edinburgh to hold out, and to give them hopes of a speedy assistance. It was also known, he was commissioned some time before by the Scots of the queen's party, to tell the duke of Alva, that with a little aid it would be easy to carry away the young king, and send him into Spain. In short, Elizabeth heard that p. 282. Grange and his companions, who had begun to treat of an accommodation with the earl of Mar, would hear no more of it, since they had seen the lord Seaton. All this, added to the Crocq's instances for the queen of Scots liberty, and for leave to speak with her, made Elizabeth and her council judge this envoy was not sent into Scotland to appease, but rather to foment the troubles. This was the more credible, as he had said himself, that his instructions reached no farther than to exhort the Scots to peace. It would therefore have been imprudent to suffer him to confer with Mary, or to pursue his journey into Scotland.

I observed before, that the court of England was no less She takes forward than that of France to perpetuate the troubles of new measures with Scotland; and this was true, during the regency of the earl regard to of Lenox, because the queen's party was then very strong, Scotland. Melvil, and it was to be feared the two factions would be united, to P. 215. be great detriment of England. But after the duke of Norfolk's death the case was altered. The queen's party being considerably weakened, the council of England thought it time to end the troubles of Scotland, by giving some content to those in the castle of Edinburgh, in order to induce them to submit to the king, and deliver up the place. To that end, the earl of Mar, with Elizabeth's consent, had begun with those of the castle a negotiation, interrupted by the arrival of the lord Seaton.

The league between France and England being concluded Negotiations shortly after, the earl of Mar thought it a favourable opportunity of the regent of Scotland with the queen's party. Melvil, to that purpose offered them by James Melvil very advantageous terms. Melvil insinuates, that the regent's inducement P. 217. to this accommodation was only to free Scotland from the yoke of the English. He adds farther, that Grange scrupling to demand any terms for restoring peace to the kingdom, left it to the regent's discretion, who privately swore to the peace, in the presence of two or three persons only. But Walsingham's Memoirs show that Melvil was not well informed,

Eliz. since this agreement was made with Elizabeth's approbation, 1572. and even some articles were signed, whereof secretary Smith sent a copy to Walsingham at Paris.

Death of
the regent,
Octob. 29.
Walsingh.
Negotiat.
p. 283.
Melvil,
p. 118.

This project was defeated by the death of the earl of Mar. He went to Edinburgh with design to have the private treaty approved, and the earl of Morton was the chief person to be prevailed with to sign it. To that end, he made him a visit at Dalkeith, where he was honourably received, and treated magnificently. But before the banquet was over^f, he felt himself seized with a violent illness, which hardly suffered him to ride to Edinburgh, where he died^g. Many suspected he was poisoned. However, on the 24th of November, the earl of Morton was chosen regent, by the interest of Elizabeth's friends in Scotland.

Morton is
chosen re-
gent.

He is devoted to Eng-
land.

The court of
France tries
to ruin him.
Walsingh.
Negotiat.
p. 296.

Nothing could be more advantageous to Elizabeth, than to see the regency of Scotland in the hands of a man who depended upon her, and whom she could manage almost as she pleased. But on the other side, the court of France, where the Guises then ruled, finding that by the earl of Morton's promotion, they were going entirely to lose Scotland, resolved to do their utmost to ruin the new regent, and support those who still held the castle of Edinburgh. Indeed, that was their only way to have still any influence upon the kingdom. The duke of Guise, who managed every thing, plainly saw, if the earl of Morton was left unmolested, he would not fail, with the help of the English, to crush the queen's party entirely, and shut out the French from Scotland for ever. He resolved therefore to send Verac thither with money to supply the occasions of those in the castle, under colour of labouring to appease the troubles. But Verac not being ready soon enough, the money was put into the hands of Grange's brother, who had been sent into France to solicit aid. At the same time, great pains were taken to gain the earls of Argyle and Athol; and the duke of Chateleraut was told, if Grange could hold out till Whitsuntide, he would be strongly assisted by the pope, Spain, and France. This was what Walsingham, who had good spies at Paris, had frequently writ to the court of England. It was therefore no longer Elizabeth's interest to continue discord among the Scots. On the contrary, it was necessary the queen's faction should be destroyed, before the measures which were taking in France and Flanders could have their effect. We shall see presently that she neglected not her interest.

Ib. p. 292,
302.

^f Melvil says, it was shortly after, ^g He rode to Sterling. Melvil, p. 118.

During all this year, the queen of Scots and her adherents Eliz. relied much upon the duke of Alva's assistance, and yet they 1572: had nothing to hope from thence. From the beginning of the year to the time of the massacre of Paris, the duke had been so employed, that it was not possible for him to think seriously of the queen of Scots concerns, though he did not want a good will to annoy Elizabeth. The count de la Mark, whom the queen had driven from her ports for not breaking with Spain, had taken the Briel in Holland, and by that unexpected blow revived the courage of those who wished to be freed from the dominion of the Spaniards. Shortly after, the whole province of Holland threw off their yoke, and Flushing, with some other towns in Zealand, followed that example. The duke of Medina-Celi, sent afterwards from Spain with a fleet, was defeated by the confederates, and most of his ships taken. In a word, whilst the duke of Alva was employed in reducing the revolted towns in Holland, the news of the city of Mons being surprized by count Lewis of Nassau, obliged him to quit Holland, in order to attempt the recovery of that place. Mean while, the prince of Orange entered the Netherlands at the head of an army raised in Germany^b. On the other hand, Charles IX. sent the count of Nassau five thousand foot and five hundred horse, commanded by Genlis, which were defeated by the duke of Alva, to whom the king himself had sent notice of the march of this aid, designed only to amuse the Huguenots. The tragedy which was acted in France shortly after, having opened the prince of Orange's eyes, he was forced to disband his army, finding the king of France, who promised to help to maintain it, would not keep his word. In the mean time, the duke of Alva was taken up with the siege of Mons, which surrendered not till the 19th of September. After the siege, his troops under the command of Frederico de Toledo his son, were employed in taking Zutphen, Naerden, and other places. Hence it appears, that during the course of this year, the duke of Alva was not able to send an army into Scotland, tho' Mary's friends were still in hopes of it. Mary's expectation of assistance from Spain was very prejudicial to her, because, when her practices were discovered, Elizabeth was more intent upon ending the troubles of Scotland. Besides,

Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.
Grotius.
Camden.

^b He received also succours from England; for Thomas Morgan carried over three hundred men to Flushing; and afterwards procured nine companies more, which were commanded by sir Humphrey Gilbert. Camden, p. 443.

Eliz.
1572.

1573.
Charles's
and Eliza-
beth's diffi-
cultation.
Walsingh.
Negotiat.
p. 304, 307,
315, 318,
&c.
Stow.
Jan. 18.

Marriage of
the duke of
Alençon
proposed
again.
Camden.
Walsingh.
Negotiat.
p. 305, 448,
&c.

Elizabeth's
answer.

Complaints
of France
about the
succours
given to
Rochelle,
Walsingh.
Negotiat.
evaded by
the queen.
Camden.

the king of France grew a little cool, when he found queen Mary threw herself into the arms of the Spaniard ¹.

Though Charles IX. and Elizabeth were very jealous of each other, they kept however a strict correspondence, capable of deceiving those who knew not the interests of the two courts. Nothing passed on both sides but protestations and assurances of observing inviolably the treaty of Blois. The beginning of the year 1573, Elizabeth sent William Somerset earl of Worcester to Paris, to stand in her stead to the princess, Charles's daughter ^k, who was named Elizabeth. She had ordered her ambassador not to be persuaded to be present at the mass in the ceremony of the baptism, and in case it was insisted upon, to desire the queen of Navarre to stand in his room.

A little before, queen Catherine had sent to Elizabeth the earl of Rais her confident, to propose once more the marriage of the duke of Alençon her third son. But this was not the sole motive of his coming. The earl had orders to observe what passed in England, where the earl of Montgomery and some other French refugees were equipping a fleet to relieve Rochelle, which, after a long blockade, was at length besieged in form. The duke of Anjou commanded at the siege, having with him the duke of Alençon his brother, and all the catholick nobles of France. Elizabeth answered concerning the proposal of the marriage, that she was very willing to begin a treaty about it, provided the article of religion was first settled, else it was in vain to say any more of it.

About the same time, Montgomery failing to the relief of Rochelle, the French ambassador complained that he was suffered to depart, and that the English merchants had supplied the besieged with provisions. Answer was made, that the persons who were sailed out of the ports of England were not owned, and carried counterfeit flags, and if they could be

¹ This year queen Elizabeth had the small-pox. After her recovery, she ordered Portsmouth to be strengthened with new fortifications, her navy to be increased, musters to be observed in every county, &c. Camden, p. 445.—July 13, William lord Howard baron of Effingham, was made privy-seal. Thomas Ratcliff earl of Sussex, lord chamberlain; sir Thomas Smith, principal secretary of state; and Christopher Hatton, esq; captain of the guard. Stow, p. 673.—This year, on May 8, a new parliament was held at Westminster,

and was prorogued June 30. The acts made now, were these: 1. An act, making the coining or counterfeiting of foreign coin, misprison of treason. 2. That justices of peace, at the quarter-sessions, shall rate every parish within the shire to which they belong, for the relief of the prisoners in the common goal.

^k He carried with him a font of gold weighing 326 ounces. Stow, p. 679. He came back to England, February 17. Hollingsh. p. 1257.

taken,

taken, should be severely punished. As for the merchants, they were men who followed their gain where-ever they hoped to find it; and not being able to send their commodities to any other port of France, since the people were left to butcher whom they pleased, it was no wonder they should send them to Rochelle, where they could vend them with safety. Probably, the court of England had connived at Montgomery's armament, which however had no effect, and at sending provisions to the Rochellers. This was all the assistance she gave the Huguenots in their wretched condition. She had resolved to avoid a breach with the French, whether she hoped to gain them to her interests, or make the world believe there was a greater union between her and king Charles than there was in reality. This was doubtless to render her enemies both at home and abroad less eager to form plots against her.

We are going at length to see an end put to the troubles of Scotland. The earl of Morton the new regent having good intelligence of what passed at the court of France, and knowing it was resolved to assist powerfully the queen's faction after the taking of Rochelle, believed he ought to improve this interval to prevent their designs. He proposed therefore to Grange by James Melvil, to renew the negotiation begun before the earl of Mar's death. Grange and his companions made some scruple at first, because they expected the French succours promised them by the lord Seaton. However, not to give occasion to say they were entirely against a peace, and to try to gain time till Whitsuntide, Grange replied, he was willing to accept the same terms as had been offered by the earl of Mar, provided the queen's whole party were included in the treaty. The regent, who was better informed than Grange imagined, easily judged this answer tended only to prolong the agreement, by the difficulties of contenting every one. He refused therefore to treat with the whole party, and offered to give Grange and his companions all the satisfaction they could reasonably expect; but his offer was rejected. Whereupon he turned to the duke of Chateleauraut, and the earls of Huntley and Argyle, who were not so scrupulous as those of the castle of Edinburgh. They treated for themselves and dependents, that is, for almost all the rest of the queen's party, without regarding the concerns of Grange and his associates. They perceived they could no longer rely on the assistance of France, which was too remote, and withal very uncertain, considering the civil war which afflicted that kingdom. The treaty which they made with the regent,

End of the war in Scotland.

Melvil, p. 118.

Walfring. Negotiat. p. 333. &c. Spotswood.

Melvil, p. 118, 120.

p. 120.

assisted by Drury and Killegrew, the English ambassadors, was to this effect:

Camden,
p. 44.
Spotiswood.

That they should submit to the king, and conform to the established religion. That if any person should violate this article, he should be declared a traitor.

That the sentences pronounced against the Hamiltons and Gordons should be repealed, excepting such however as concerned the murders of the earls of Murray and Lenox, which should be left to the queen of England's decision.

That the queen of England should bind herself by some publick instrument, that the Hamiltons and Gordons should not be prosecuted for the murder of the earls of Murray and Lenox, without her express consent.

The estates of the kingdom meeting shortly after, confirmed this agreement by their authority.

Melvil,
p. 119, 120.
Spotiswood.

As soon as Grange heard of the agreement which was negotiating between the regent and the heads of the queen's party, he endeavoured to obstruct it, by offering to surrender the castle of Edinburgh in six months. But as the regent was better informed than Grange imagined, it was easy for him to perceive, this offer tended only to gain time, till the French succours should arrive¹. At last, when Grange knew the heads of the queen's party were upon the point of signing their treaty, he offered to deliver the castle immediately, provided he might put it into the hands of the earl of Rothes. But the regent did not think fit to place in that fortress a governor of Grange's chusing. Besides, all the proceedings of those of the castle, and the evasions they used to avoid surrendering the place, plainly showed they were not heartily inclined to an accommodation. So, without farther ceremony, he declared them traitors, and prepared in good earnest to besiege them. Melvil says upon this occasion, that he knows not what rage possessed the regent, to desire to have by way of siege a place which was offered to be surrendered voluntarily

p. 120.

¹ The following project was formed between the court of France and queen Mary's party: That the marquis de Maine should land at Air, with one thousand shot, and, after joining the queen's party, repair to Edinburgh, whose castle Lidington and Grange had promised to deliver to the French, and in consideration thereof were to receive a pension, or some other livelihood, in

France; after which they were to fortify themselves in Loughbretan, Brochy, Dundee, and Aymourh. And then the duke of Guise was to come over with forces to deliver the queen of Scots; and at the same time, her friends in England, who were very numerous, were to rise in arms, and deliver her in spite of queen Elizabeth. See Digges's Compl. Ambas. p. 314.

and instantly ^m. It is indeed little probable the earl of Morton should desire to expose himself to the difficulties of such a siege, if he could otherwise have had the place. But what Melvil ascribes to the regent's rage, may with much more likelihood be imputed to the cavils of those of the castle, who strove to prolong the time till the promised succours should arrive. In Walsingham's Negotiations there are several letters from the queen, the lord Burleigh, secretary Smith, blaming Grange and his companions for their foolish presumption and invincible obstinacy, in attempting alone to continue the troubles in Scotland. Melvil, Grange's intimate friend, gives quite another turn to this affair, and lays the whole blame upon the regent ⁿ.

Eliz.
1573.

Digger's
Ambas.

However, the earl of Morton having but few troops, and wanting artillery and ammunition, by reason the publick magazine was in the castle of Edinburgh, applied to queen Elizabeth. I have already shown of what consequence it was to England, that the troubles of Scotland should be ended before France could interpose. For this reason, Elizabeth immediately made a treaty with the regent, which, among others, contained the following articles:

Camden.
Spotswood.

Elizabeth shall send to the regent, men, ordnance, and ammunition, for the besieging the castle of Edinburgh jointly with the Scots.

Elizabeth's
treaty with
the regent.
Camden.

No capitulation shall be granted to the besieged, without the mutual consent of the regent and the English general.

If the castle be taken by the English, it shall be delivered to the king of Scotland.

^m To which he adds, "seeing he might have obtained his intent without the help of England, having all Scotland at his devotion, saving that few number without the castle, who would likewise have agreed upon any reasonable condition." p. 120.

ⁿ Melvil says, that having told the regent, Grange, for his honour's sake, was resolved to agree for the whole party, the regent answered, he would not agree with all, because then their faction would be as strong as ever; and besides, as the troubles had occasioned great wrongs and extortions, he chose rather that the crimes should be laid upon the Hamiltons, &c. because their estates were greater than those of Grange, and the rest in the castle, and consequently more land would escheat to him

as the reward of his labours. Melvil telling Grange the regent's resolution, he insisted upon agreeing with all; and Morton hearing of it, pretended to like him the better for standing upon his reputation and honour, and seemed as if he had been resolved to agree with those in the castle. He thanked Melvil for the trouble he had been at, desiring him to go home, and in the mean time he would propose the matter to the rest of the noblemen of his side, who, he doubted not, would be very well satisfied with his proceedings, and then he would send for him again, and put the form of the agreement in writing. But he took immediately another course, and sent and offered an accommodation to the Hamiltons, &c. who accepted of it as above. Melvil, p. 122—120.

THE HISTORY

The prisoners, after the taking of the castle, shall be detained so be proceeded against according to law, the queen of England being first acquainted therewith.

Camden.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Pursuant to this treaty, Elizabeth ordered sir William Drury, marshal of Berwick, to march into Scotland with fifteen hundred men, and a train of artillery, which was a manifest breach of the treaty of Blois, which ran, 'That no foreign troops should be suffered to enter Scotland.' But as she had discovered by the lord Seaton's papers, that France intended to violate the same article, she believed doubtless, it would be simplicity to suffer herself to be prevented. However, the castle was invested, and the besieged defended themselves a whole month like men in despair. But at last their water failing, they were forced to surrender at discretion, if we may believe the English and Scots of the king's party. Melvil affirms on the contrary, that they capitulated, but the capitulation was not kept. Thus much is certain, the laird of Grange, James Kirkcaldie his brother, and some others, were condemned to be hanged, and the sentence was executed accordingly^o. Lidington died in prison, having himself, according to some, hastened his death by poison. The lord Hume and sir Robert Melvil were released^p. Thus ended the civil wars in Scotland, and thus Elizabeth's enemies lost all hopes of invading her from that quarter. From what has been hitherto said, it may be easily perceived of what consequence the transactions in Scotland were to Elizabeth. Accordingly she was ever very intent upon the affairs of that kingdom, where she successfully managed her interests with the most refined policy.

Siege and
taking of
Edinburgh-
castle.
Melvil,
p. 120, 121.

Grange is
hanged.
Camden,
Melvil,
p. 122.
Spottiswood.

Verac is ar-
rested at
Scarborough
and sent to
London.
Walsingham.
Neposidat.
p. 334.

At the time the heads of queen Mary's party were about to sign their treaty, Verac, who was sent into Scotland to encourage the party to stand their ground, was forced by a storm into Scarborough. The president of the northern marches having notice of it, ordered him to be conveyed to London, without hearkening to the reasons he alledged against it, taken

^o Melvil gives Grange an extraordinary character. He says he heard Henry II. of France say, (pointing to him) "yonder is one of the most valiant men of our age." The great constable of France would never speak to him uncovered. Camden says, a hundred of the family of the Kirkcaldies, offered to be vassals for ever to the regent, to pay a yearly pension of three thousand marks, and two thousand pounds Scottish in

hand, if he would spare his life. He was (says Melvil) gentle and meek, like a lamb in the house, but like a lion in the field. King James, when he came of age, took up his bones, and buried them honourably, restoring his heirs. p. 122, 123.

^p The lord Hume died shortly after in Edinburgh-castle, where he was confined. Melvil, p. 122.

from

from his character. It was known afterwards, that the moment he was seized he burnt all his papers. The French ambassador made great noise that Verac was hindered from going to Scotland. But he was told, the queen had no advice of the sending of this ambassador, and if she had known it, would have taken care he should have been treated with the respect due to his character. That he had been conducted to London, by the general order which the president of the north had, to deal thus by all foreigners who should land in those parts, unless they were known to be merchants.

The ambassador was not very well pleased with the answer; but he had still less reason to be so with that he received shortly after to his urgent request, for leave to speak with the queen of Scots in private. This request had been often repeated to no purpose. At last the queen, tired with his importunities, told him plainly, she was not ignorant of the practices of the king of France, and the queen-mother, in favour of Mary, and how they stood affected to England: That however, she had always inviolably observed the late treaty¹, and would still observe it, chusing rather the rupture should come from France than from her: That in case of a breach, she did not question, she should be able to defend herself, being well assured of the affection of her subjects: That she could hardly restrain some who offered to relieve Rochelle at their own expence, and maintain six months in Gasconne an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse.

Eliz.

1573.

Elizabeth
speaks
roundly to
the French
ambassador.
Walsingham.
Negotiat.
p. 335.

Upon the ambassador's demanding leave for Verac to pursue his journey to Scotland, the queen agreed to it, after some affected delays. But whilst she was putting obstacles in his way, she caused a letter to be sent from the earl of Morton, telling her, that Verac's coming to Scotland would be very displeasing to him, as well as to the duke of Chateleraut and the earl of Huntley, with whom he was in perfect friendship: That therefore he believed, the envoy would do well to save himself the trouble of the journey. Whilst they were debating at London about this affair, the castle of Edinburgh surrendered, and so Verac's journey became entirely needless.

Queen Catherine de Medici, politick as she was, could not help making a false step in discovering to Walsingham, that the French court's design was to foment the troubles of Scotland. Upon the ambassador's warm complaints of the in-

Queen Catherine discovers herself before she is aware.
Walsingham.
Negotiat.
p. 342.

¹ Probably she had some evasion to excuse the sending of her troops into Scotland. Rapin.

Eliz.

1573.

trigues of France with respect to Scotland, she protested, the king her son and herself knew not what he meant, and 'that their intention was only to persuade the Scots to agree, and acknowledge queen Mary for their sovereign.' That's the very thing, replied the ambassador, the queen my mistress complains of, since it is a direct breach of the treaty of Blois. The queen perceiving she had said too much, turned the discourse, and complained of Verac's being detained in England; to which Walsingham made the same answer as had been given to La Mothe at London.

Elizabeth is
in great
tranquillity.
Camden.
Strada.

Scotland being in peace, under the authority of the young king and of a regent devoted to England, Elizabeth was freed from a great uneasiness. The recalling the duke of Alva from the government of the Low-Countries, was a farther increase of her happiness. The commander of Requesens, who succeeded the duke of Alva, finding he had full employment, refused to meddle with the affairs of England and Scotland, and so Elizabeth had nothing to fear from that side. Her enemies having no longer admittance into Scotland, and England being safe from all attacks but by sea, she lived some years in great tranquillity. Besides, France was not in condition to make any considerable attempt upon her, as well for want of naval forces, as because of the civil wars which laid waste the kingdom.

The bishop
of Ross is
driven away.
Novemb.
Lesley's
Negotiat.
Camden.

Mean while, Elizabeth, being desirous also to secure herself from all domestick attempts, commanded the bishop of Ross, author and promoter of all the plots against her, to depart England. He thought himself happy in coming off so easily, and withdrawing into France, continued his secret practices, though to little purpose. He writ there a history of Scotland, from the beginning to the year 1561. What he says of the earl of Murray towards the end of his history, speaking of the first troubles of Scotland, and which Camden has taken care to copy, plainly shows, what might have been expected from him, had he continued it to the end of the war.

France
protes the
queen about
the mar-
riage.
Camden.

Though Elizabeth had said, in her answer to the proposal concerning her marriage with the duke of Alençon, that the article of religion was first to be settled, Catherine de Medici did not fail however to solicit her upon that subject. She said, the court of France would yield in that point, but did not say how far. Moreover, she caused the duke of Alençon, who was then at the siege of Rochelle, to send her letters, expressing his eager desire to have the marriage succeed. At last, she was solicited so much to permit the duke to come

and see her, that she consented, provided he would not take ill in case he was obliged to return without any thing done. But the siege of Rochelle holding longer than was imagined, hindered the duke from paying his visit.

This siege, which had lasted so long, was at length raised on the 25th of June, after the city had withstood thirty thousand cannon balls, nine great assaults, besides twenty lesser ones, and the effects of sixty mines. The duke of Anjou lost above twelve thousand men. The news of his being chosen king of Poland, and of the Polish ambassadors being on their way to offer him the crown, afforded him a pretence to relinquish his enterprize, which perhaps would not have ended to his honour; and the raising the siege brought with it peace to the Huguenots, who were hardly able to support themselves. Charles IX. was afraid of the duke his brother, and the queen-mother loved him tenderly. This bred between the king and the queen his mother a dissention, which 'tis likely proved fatal to the king. He thought it long till his brother was gone to Poland, and the queen still found some fresh excuse to hinder his departure. At last, Charles grew so suspicious of all these delays, that he could not forbear threatening the queen his mother, who was forced at length to suffer her beloved son to depart, and the king was pleased to accompany him part of the way. But he could not go so far as he had resolved, by reason of a distemper wherewith he was seized, and of which he never recovered. Elizabeth hearing the king of Poland was gone, and Charles taken ill, did not think proper to receive the duke of Alençon's visit, before she had a fuller knowledge of the affairs of the royal family of France. She writ to him therefore to desire him to defer his journey, and gave him for reason, that the English would not look with a good eye upon a prince coming from the siege of Rochelle, and wearing a sword dyed with the blood of their brethren.

This year Walter d'Evereux earl of Essex had leave to go into Ireland, to conquer the country of Clandeboy at his own expence. But his enterprize was not crowned with success, because he was privately hindered by the earl of Leicester his enemy.

Elizabeth.
1573.

Siege of Rochelle raised.
Thuanus.
Mezerai.

The duke of Anjou chosen king of Poland.

Peace granted to the Huguenots.
Affairs of France.
Mezerai.

Camden.

Elizabeth refuses Alençon's visit.

The earl of Essex goes into Ireland.
Camden.
Stow.

Queen

* In the beginning of the year 1573, viz. January 12, died William lord Howard of Effingham, lord privy-seal, son of Thomas Howard, the martial duke of Norfolk, by his second wife, Agnes Tilney. He was made lord high

admiral by queen Mary, and afterwards lord chamberlain, in which post he served queen Elizabeth, and was succeeded by his son Charles, who a while after was made lord chamberlain, and also high admiral. — Not long after,

on

Eliz.

1574.

The duke of
Alençon is
taken up.
Mezerai.

Death of
Charles IX.
Mezerai.
Thuanes.

Henry III.
succeeds.

Marriage of
the earl of
Lenox.
Camden.

Queen Elizabeth's letter to the duke of Alençon not being capable of discouraging him, he made fresh instances for leave to come into England, to which the queen at length yielding, sent him a safe-conduct. But in the mean time, the queen his mother suspecting him of a design to supplant the king of Poland his brother, in case the king happened to die, ordered it so that the king set a guard over him as well as the king of Navarre, who was accused of suggesting this design to him. However, the queen-mother perceiving the king near his end, thought fit to take this precaution, to secure the crown to the king of Poland, who was absent. And indeed Charles IX. died the 30th of May, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. The manner of his death was so uncommon, that it gave occasion not only to the protestants but the catholics themselves to consider it as an effect of the divine vengeance for the horrible massacre committed by his orders. The blood gushed out of all the passages of his body, and even spouted through his pores. The queen-mother took her measures so well, that causing the dying king to confer on her the regency of the kingdom, she kept all quiet till the arrival of the king of Poland, who succeeded his brother by the name of Henry III. He arrived in France the 5th of September, but came not to Paris till about the middle of February the next year.

Nothing memorable passed in England during the year 1574*. The only thing Camden has remarked in his An-

on March 17, died also Reginald Grey earl of Kent, whom the queen, the year before, raised from a private man to the dignity of earl of Kent, after the title had lain dormant fifty years. His brother Henry succeeded him in his honour. — John Caius, a famous physician, born at Norwich, and bred up at Padua and Cambridge, died about this time, and lies buried in Gonvil and Caius college, to which he was a great benefactor, with this inscription on his tomb, F U I C A I U S. — The commerce between England and the Netherlands, which had been prohibited ever since 1568, was renewed in January, this year, and the articles agreed upon at Bristol concerning it, were ratified by the king of Spain. — This year also queen Elizabeth renewed and confirmed the charters of the city of London. Camden, p. 446, 449. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 701, 719.

* This year, in order to avoid excess in apparel, which had spread itself all over England, the queen, by proclamation, commanded that every one should within fourteen days were cloaths of such a fashion, which she herself began to wear in her own court. Sumptuous buildings crept in also about this time; and, as Camden observes, to the great ornament of the kingdom, but to a great decay of hospitality, p. 452. — On April 3, the queen granted a commission to the lord Burleigh high treasurer of England, and to sir Walter Mildmay chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer, to manumise and enfranchise bondmen and bondwomen, or, as they are now called, copyholders, regardant and appertaining to the royal manors and possessions, within the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 731.

nals, is the marriage of Charles earl of Lenox, uncle to the king of Scotland, with Elizabeth Cavendish the countess of Shrewsbury's daughter. As this marriage was made unknown to the queen, she imprisoned the mothers of the new-married couple. Eliz. 1574.

In the Netherlands, the confederates took Middleburgh in Zeeland. But on the other hand, Lewis count of Nassau, who was leading an army to his brother the prince of Orange, lost a battle upon Moker-heath, near Nimeguen, and was himself slain, with his brother Henry and Christopher count Palatine¹. This same year, the Spanish troops mutinying, surprised and plundered Antwerp, where they made an immense booty. The governor of the Low-Countries, to avoid greater mischiefs, was forced to pardon them. Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius. Strada. Strype's Ann. t. ii. p. 395.

As soon as Henry III. was arrived in France, it was resolved in his council, to wage war with the Huguenots, though they had given no occasion, and presently after hostilities were renewed against them. Mean while, as Henry was afraid the queen of England would assist those whom he designed to extirpate, his first care was to renew with her the league of Blois, after moving the question to her, Whether the mutual defence against all men, mentioned in that league, did include the cause of religion? Elizabeth answered, it did, as she could prove by a letter from the late king which she had by her. Adding, if he were attacked on account of religion, and required her aid in virtue of the treaty, she should be always ready to give it. Indeed she ran no great risk in making that offer, being fully persuaded the French king would not use English troops against the Huguenots. Besides, by the terms of the league, she was not bound to send him any troops, since instead of being attacked he was himself the aggressor. However, Elizabeth's answer to Henry might have given the Huguenots ill notions of her, if she had not privately supplied the prince of Condé with money to pay the army prince Casimir count Palatine was levying for them in Switzerland and Germany. 1575. Affairs of France. Mezerai. Camden.

England was pretty quiet during the year 1575. There happened only an accident on the borders of Scotland, where sir John Forster, warden of the Middle March², and Carmichel, warden of Liddefdale in Scotland, holding a conference, A tumult on the borders of Scotland. July. Camden.

¹ Whereupon the prince of Orange began to think of applying to the French, but Elizabeth sent Daniel Rogers to dissuade him from it; which not being able to do, the queen sent Henry Cobham to the king of Spain, to inform him of the prince of Orange's designs. Camden, p. 453.

² And governor of Berwick. Camden, p. 454.

THE HISTORY

rence, each at the head of a troop of his own nation, quarrelled and fought. The English were worsted, sir George Heron, warden of Tindale, lost his life, and Forster being taken prisoner, was conducted to the earl of Morton, who treated him very civilly, but detained him some time, for fear if he were presently dismissed, he would in his heat attempt revenge. At last, having released him, he made him promise to appear in Scotland at a set day. Elizabeth thought the regent of Scotland's proceeding very strange, and at first took the affair very heinously; but Morton found means to appease her, by making all the submissions she was pleased to require. This year died the duke of Chateleraut.*

1576.

Death of the
earl of Essex
in Ireland.
Sept. 21.
Camden.

The year 1576, affords as little matter for the History of England as the foregoing. We only find that the earl of Essex died in Ireland, and the earl of Leicester privately married his widow, unknown to the queen, though he was suspected of having caused the husband to be poisoned. He was always in the queen's good graces, who was so biased in his favour, that no man durst tell her his thoughts of him. It was one of queen Elizabeth's greatest failings to place her esteem upon a person who so little deserved it.

As it is necessary for the sequel of the history to know what passed in the countries near England, I must make a short digression, not so much to inform the reader of things which are well known, as to refresh his memory.

* With Francis Russel, son of the earl of Bedford, and son-in-law to Forster, Cuthbert Collingwood, James Ogle, Henry Fenwick, &c. Camden, p. 454.

* James Hamilton duke of Chateleraut, and earl of Arran, was great grandson to James II. of Scotland by his daughter. He was appointed tutor to Mary queen of Scots, and governor and presumptive heir of the kingdom during her minority. Upon his delivering her to the French, he was made duke of Chatel-Heraut in France. Camden, p. 454.—This year also, on May 17, died the learned Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury. Strype, Stow, p. 679.

† Being constrained to give over his enterprise in Ireland, he returned into England, having much wasted his estate, where openly threatening Leicester, whom he suspected to have done him ill offices, he was by his cunning countricks sent back into Ireland, with the insignificant title of earl marshal of Ireland; where grief and sorrow throwing

him into a bloody-flux, he died Sept. 22, 1576, in the 36th year of his age. Upon which, Leicester putting away Douglas Sheffield (whether his wife or mistress is not known) he made love to Essex's widow, daughter to sir Francis Knolles, to whom he was afterwards doubly married; first privately, and then publicly, for sir Francis's satisfaction, who doubted of the private marriage. Camden, p. 455, 457.

* This year the parliament met, by prorogation, at Westminster, on February 8, and was prorogued again to March 15. The lords and commons granted two fifteenths and tenths, and a subsidy; and the clergy gave a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. See Statut. The acts now made, were, 1. That all persons which by any means whatsoever impair, diminish, or falsify the coins of the realm, shall be guilty of treason. 2. An additional act to those already made for the repairing of highways, &c. See Statut. 18 Eliz.

Lewis

Lewis de Zuniga, commander of Requens, and governor of the Low-Countries, died this year. After his death, the council of state administered alone the affairs of the Netherlands till a new governor should arrive. The council consisted of natives and Spaniards. Shortly after, the Spanish troops happened to mutiny, and resolved to plunder Brussels. The magistrates alarmed at the danger, applied to the council of state, who declared the mutineers rebels, though several of the counsellors favoured the seditions. And indeed, presently after the little town of Alost was sacked, and the council of state took no care to punish the authors of that outrage, or prevent the like misfortune which threatened the other towns. For that reason some lords of Brabant drew together at Brussels some of the citizens, and investing the place where the council of state held their sessions, expelled such of the members as were suspected to countenance the mutineers, and put in their room persons better affected to the good of their country. The new council of state, thus composed, joined the confederates, who were now in arms in defence of their liberties, and they entered together into a league to free themselves from the Spanish forces. Then Hieronymo de Roda, a Spaniard, one of those who were expelled the council, headed the rebels, and sent for the Spanish troops which were in Holland, with whom the Germans joined. This body, grown very considerable, plundered Maastricht and Antwerp, without any possibility of preventing them.

Eliz.
1576.

Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.
Grotius,
Strada.
Camden.

The prince of Orange, who was in Holland, seeing the affairs of the Netherlands reduced to this point, offered the council of state his troops, his person, and the assistance of the provinces of Holland and Zealand, which began to make a separate state under his government. Upon this offer, the council of state resolved to enter into treaty with Holland and Zealand. The conferences were held at Ghent, where with an unanimous consent, Luxemburgh excepted, was formed the union of the provinces of the Low-Countries, called the Union or Pacification of Ghent, for the defence of their laws and liberties. Notwithstanding this, they were still willing to own the king of Spain's authority, provided he would govern according to the antient laws. This union being thus formed, the fortresses raised by the duke of Alva to keep the Netherlands in subjection, were demolished every-where. Some time after, the association was sworn by the clergy and nobility, solemnly approved by the council of state, and published at Brussels. By that, Philip II. lost almost all his authority in the

Pacification
of Ghent.

Eliz.
1576.

Affairs of
France.
Mescrai.
Thuanus.
P. Daniel.

the Low-Countries, having only the bare title of sovereign, unless he would confine himself to the rights enjoyed by his predecessors, which was very far from his thoughts.

France was not more quiet than the Low-Countries. The duke of Alençon had assembled an army against the king in favour of the Huguenots. On the other hand, the prince of Condé, with the forces levied by prince Casimir in Germany, entered France and joined the duke of Alençon. Thus the Huguenots, whom the court had determined to extirpate, were in a condition to sell their lives dear, having at their head the king's brother, the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, with an army of thirty thousand men. But the queen-mother had the address to break all their measures. She sent them offers of peace, and, during the negotiation, found means to sow jealousy among them, and win from them the duke of Alençon and prince Casimir. In short, she caused them to agree to a peace, which, for all its seeming advantages, proved fatal to them, as it disunited their forces. The treaty was concluded the 9th of May, and enrolled six months after by the parliament of Paris. The Huguenots had never obtained so advantageous a peace since the beginning of the troubles. In October the duke of Alençon came to court, where the queen his mother disengaged him entirely from the side of the Huguenots. Then it was that he assumed the title of Duke of Anjou, borne by the king his brother before he ascended the throne.

The peace was no sooner signed, than, according to the sincerity some time since professed by the court of France, they took new measures to ruin the Huguenots. Treaties and oaths went then for nothing, and were considered only as lawful snares to surprise hereticks. The cardinal of Este the pope's legate, and Don John of Austria, who was going to take possession of the government of the Low-Countries, came to the court of France, and had several conferences upon the occasion with the king, the queen mother, and the duke of Guise. Guise was looked upon as the head of the catholick party, and for that reason the legate took with him measures of which the king was not fully informed. The most proper means in their opinion, to attain their end, was to unite several associations, made in divers provinces by the zealous catholicks, and form one general association against the enemies of the antient religion. This is what was called the Holy Union, or simply, the League. Humieres was the first that signed it in Picardy, from whence it spread afterwards over the kingdom. The pope was the chief promoter of it, the
king

Maimbourg
Hist. de la
Ligue.

king of Spain gloried in being called its protector, and the duke of Guise, who aimed at being declared the head, supported it to the utmost of his power. The queen-mother willingly came into it, not from a religious zeal, but because the Huguenots had threatened to call her to an account for her administration during her regency. In fine, the king himself, seduced by ill counsels and his own supineness, was carried away with the torrent, and suffered the mischief to increase, which was one day to prove his ruin.

When the late peace was negotiated, the Huguenots earnestly solicited a general meeting of the states, imagining, besides a great many deputies of their religion, they should have for them the duke of Alençon's party, and many others who were not pleased with the government. But when the deputies came to be elected, the duke of Alençon had now changed sides. Besides, the court by intrigues and money found means to procure a great number of deputies to be chosen who were against the Huguenots. So the states meeting at Blois, instead of moving any thing in favour of the reformed religion, were going to demand of the king the confirmation of the league, and request him to appoint the duke of Guise for head. But the king, who was now grown extremely jealous of the duke of Guise, resolved to prevent it. To that end, he declared himself head of the league, and signing it first with his own hand, caused the great men of his court to subscribe it, and sent it into the provinces that every one might do the same. Shortly after, the states having sent to pray him that he would not allow any religion in the kingdom but the catholick, he answered, "it was his intention; and if he was under a necessity of promising the contrary, even with an oath, he would keep his word only till he had forces sufficient to enable him to break it. Thus the Huguenots were forced to defend themselves to the last drop of their blood, without the least hopes of seeing an end to their calamities by a treaty, since the king himself declared he would never make any with them, but only to deceive them."

Don

^a This year, on June 11, died Sir Anthony Cook, of Gyddy-hall in Essex, one of the tutors to king Edward VI. One of his daughters married William lord Burghley, and another Sir Nicholas Bacon lord keeper. Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 467. — This year, on June 15, Martin Frobisher sailed from England, with two small barks and one

pinnace, with design to go upon the discovery of a passage to Cathay and China by the north parts of America. On the 20th of July, he discovered a high land, which he called Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, and afterwards those straits which bear his name. He proceeded sixty leagues further, and went on shore, where he caught one of the natives, whom

Eliz.

1577.

Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.
Grotius.
Strada.
Camden,
p. 438.

Don John of Austria came into the Low-Countries the beginning of the year 1577, full of vast projects. He was a prince of a great genius, and of an ambition suitable to his birth. The condition of a subject was a burthen of which he would have been glad to be eased. All his views tended to sovereignty. His first project was to make himself king of Tunis; that failing, he thought of marrying the queen of Scots, and becoming sovereign of all Great-Britain. Camden affirms, he had this from the mouth of Antonio Perez, who told him moreover, that the project was imparted to pope Gregory XIII. who approved it, but was concealed from king Philip. This was probably the subject of Don John's conferences at Paris with the duke of Guise. So Don John, when he arrived in the Low-Countries, had two grand designs in his head: First, to subdue the Netherlands entirely: Secondly, to become master of England and Scotland. Elizabeth was not ignorant of the first, but the second was still a secret to her.

Grotius.
Strada.

Feb. 17.

The pacification of Ghent was communicated to the Spanish court, and Philip giving way to the times, thought proper to confirm it by an edict. So when Don John of Austria came to the Netherlands, he was forced to sign it before he was owned for governor. This was followed by an assembly held at Marche en Famine, where it was resolved to publish a perpetual edict (as they called it) for driving the Spanish troops out of the Low-Countries, pursuant to the pacification of Ghent. Philip approving also this edict, the Spaniards were sent into Italy, all the places remaining in the hands of the states. Hitherto Don John had been forced to dissemble; but some time after, he took off the mask and surprised the castle of Namur. At the same time he solicited the German troops, who were waiting in that country for their arrears, to surrender the places where they were garrisoned; but he was prevented by the states, who found means to gain those troops before him. The states imputed the rupture to Don John's ambition, and carried their complaints to the king, to whom Don John also writ, that the cabals of the prince of Orange had constrained him to provide for his own safety. Be this as it will, the states of Brabant called the prince of Orange to their relief, and gave him the superintendency of their country by conferring on him the title of

whom he brought to England, when he next year; and a third in 1558. Stow, returned thither in August. He made p. 680, 681, 685. a second voyage to the same place the

Ruut

Ruart ^b. This proceeding raised the jealousy of the duke of Aricot, and some other Brabant lords, who, to ruin the prince of Orange's credit, proposed to the United Provinces the electing a governor-general, under colour they should all have the same head. The prince of Orange perceived he was aimed at, but not to give occasion to a fatal division of the forces of the confederates, opposed not the election. The choice fell upon the archduke Matthias, brother to the emperor Rodolphus II. and the prince of Orange was declared his lieutenant. In the archduke's patent however were inserted certain conditions, which, giving him the title and honour of governor, left the whole authority to the states. This done, Matthias stealing away, as it was pretended, from his brother the emperor's court, came into the Low-Countries, where he was put in possession of his post. Then the states proclaimed war with Don John, who had taken care to be prepared, by sending for troops from Italy, which were now on their way.

Eliz.

1577.

Strada, l. 9.

Matthias chosen governor of the Low-Countries.

The states declare war with Don John.

Then, and not before, Elizabeth perceived she must have an eye to what passed in the Netherlands, because at the same time the prince of Orange informed her of Don John's design to marry the queen of Scots, and the states sent ambassadors ^c to desire her assistance. So, finding the designs of the governor of the Low-Countries reached farther than she imagined, she immediately lent the states a hundred thousand pounds sterling, which they desired of her ^d. Camden speaks here of a treaty whereby the queen engaged to assist the states with a thousand horse well mounted, and five thousand foot, on condition the general or commander, being an Englishman, should be admitted into the council of state, and nothing determined without his consent. But Grotius does not mention this treaty in his Annals of the Low-Countries. He says only, from that time Elizabeth concerned herself so far with the affairs of the United Provinces, that she did not suffer the states to come to any important resolution without giving her notice ^e. Indeed it was very much her interest to order

Embassy of the states to Elizabeth, Don John's designs.

Grotius. Strada. Camden. Elizabeth lends the states money. Camden, P. 458.

It is her interest to aid the Low-Countries.

^a An office answering to that of dictator among the Romans. Strada, l. 9.

^c The marquis of Hauree, and Adolph Metkirk. Camden, p. 466.

^d For eight months. She told the ambassadors, that if they could borrow the sum of money any where, she and the city of London would become security for it, on condition that certain towns in the Netherlands, which she should name, would become bound to

repay the money within a year. She had sent them 20,000*l.* last year, and exhorted them at the same time not to change their religion nor their prince, and not to receive the French into the Netherlands. Ibid. p. 456, 458.

^e Queen Elizabeth concluded, on January 7, this year, a league offensive and defensive with the states, which in effect contained no more than this. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 784.

Eliz.

1577.

Strada.

Her letter to
Philip II.
Grotius.
Camden.
Stow,
p. 632, &c.

Continua-
tion of the
affairs of
France.
Mezerai.
Thuanus.
P. Daniel.

1578.

The pope's
and Philip's
designs upon
Ireland.
Camden.
Walsingham.
Negotiat.
p. 58—93.
Strype's
Ann.
tom. ii.
p. 8.—10.

it so, that the war now beginning in the Low-Countries should be continued in such a manner, as to disable Don John of Austria to execute his projects upon England. These projects were not the inventions of the prince of Orange, to engage Elizabeth in the defence of the Netherlands. Famianus Strada positively mentions them in his History. He even says, Gregory XIII. sent a nuntio to Don John with the sum of fifty thousand crowns, to be employed in the expedition projected against England, but that he was forced to use it in his war with the states. Mean while, at the very time Elizabeth lent money to Philip II's enemies, she writ to him^r, that she by no means intended to break the antient alliance between England and the house of Burgundy: that, on the contrary, she supplied the confederates with money, only to secure these provinces to him, and hinder them from desperately throwing themselves into the arms of France. It is likely Philip was not very well pleased with these reasons, but feigned to be so, not to induce Elizabeth to do more.

At this time the affairs of France were in a sad situation. The transactions of the states at Blois could not but raise a civil war in the kingdom. The Huguenots finding a resolution was taken to extirpate them, made a counter-league, whereof the king of Navarre was declared general, and the prince of Condé appointed for his lieutenant. The former edict of pacification being revoked, as had been resolved by the states, hostilities were renewed on both sides, but with great disadvantage to the Huguenots, who were very weak. However, as the war gave the duke of Guise too much credit, of whose power the king was extremely jealous, Henry thought it his interest to grant a peace to the Huguenots. From thenceforward he plunged himself into pleasures, and lived at so expensive a rate, that he forfeited the love and esteem of his subjects. The prince of Lorraine knew how to improve the advantages which the king's conduct procured him, as will hereafter appear.

Whilst Elizabeth assisted the confederates of the Low-Countries, under colour of hindering them from submitting to France, Philip returned the favour, by endeavouring to raise a rebellion in Ireland. The project was formed some time before on account of pope Gregory XIII. who wanted to procure for his son Jacomo Boncompagno the crown of that kingdom. Thomas Stukely, an English fugitive, was

f By Thomas Wilks, whom she dispatched to him. Camden, p. 466.

g This year died the learned sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state. 1b d. p. 462.

the

the first author of it, and Philip II. undertook to supply whatever was necessary to accomplish it. In the year 1570, Stukely went to Pius V, and persuaded him, it would be very easy to burn the English fleet, and then conquer Ireland; and to that purpose he desired the command of some ships and three thousand Italians. The project, which could not then be executed, was resumed under the pontificate of Gregory XIII. who was allured with the hopes of procuring the crown of Ireland for his bastard son. As Stukely knew that, besides the navy-royal, Elizabeth could, upon occasion, equip a good number of other ships, he proposed the freighting of as many English vessels as possible, by the Flemings, French, Spaniards, Italians, and the sending them some long voyage. After that, he was to attack the royal navy, which was then very weak, and try to burn the ships in the several harbours where they lay. Which done, he intended to make a descent in Ireland, where he did not question the native Irish would join him; and after the expulsion of the English, he was to cause the pope's son to be proclaimed king. It is not very likely Philip II. depended upon the success of this enterprize; but he hoped, no doubt, to cause a diversion, which should hinder Elizabeth from assisting the rebels of the Low-Countries, or at least convince her she ought to pay him more regard. However, the pope having conferred on Stukely several honourable titles ^a taken from the kingdom of Ireland, as if he had been in possession, gave him some ships and eight hundred Italian soldiers, paid by the king of Spain. Stukely sailed from Civita Vecchia, and safely arrived at Lisbon, with intent to pursue his voyage and undertaking. But Don Sebastian king of Portugal, being then going into Africa to war upon the Moors, persuaded him to accompany him in his expedition, and obtained Philip's leave. Shortly after they both perished in the battle of Alcazar, and Philip relinquished the project of conquering Ireland for that of securing the crown of Portugal, after the death of the old cardinal Henry, who succeeded Don Sebastian.

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The war commencing in the Netherlands, several companies of volunteers were formed in England, who went to serve the states with the queen's consent, or at least conni-

Continuation of the
affairs of
Flanders.
Camden.
Grotius.
Strada.

^a The pope made him marquis of Lemster, earl of Wexford and Caterlough, viscount Morough, and baron of Rofs. This Stukely was a profuse bragging man, who, after spending his estate, fled into Ireland, where being disappointed

ed of the hopes he had of being steward of Wexford, he vented many scurrilous things against the queen, and then made his escape from Ireland into Italy to Pius V. Camden, p. 452.

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1578.

vance¹. On the other hand, part of the Spanish troops, disbanded at the arrival of Don John of Austria, were now returned, to the Low-Countries, and moreover, Alexander Farnese, son of Octavio, had brought Don John a considerable body of Italians. With these forces, Don John gained at Gemblours a signal victory over the army of the states, which was followed with the taking of several places. Some time after, Philip II. offered a peace to the states; but as it was upon terms very different from the pacification of Ghent, and as he did not talk of recalling Don John of Austria, his offer was rejected.

Dissentions
in the Low-
Countries.
Grotius.
Strada.

The affairs of the states were however in an ill situation. The jealousies among the great men, and the diversity of religions, bred very dangerous troubles in the rising commonwealth. The duke of Anjou and prince Casimir equally offered their assistance to the states, who knew not which way to turn. But at this very time a fortunate and unexpected accident happened. The city of Amsterdam, which hitherto had been for the king, resolved to join the confederates, and by that considerably strengthened their party. On the other hand, what passed soon after in the same city, very much increased the suspicion and distrust of the catholicks. They who had been banished on account of religion being recalled, found means to expel the magistrates, and put the government of the city into the hands of the reformed. The same thing was done at Haerlem, Utrecht, and other places; and this gave the catholicks reason to suspect that, under colour of maintaining the cause of liberty, there was a design to abolish the antient religion, contrary to the pacification of Ghent. And therefore, to prevent the execution of this project, the catholicks proposed to give the government of the state to the duke of Anjou, a prince attached to his religion, and over whom they hoped the prince of Orange would not have the same influence as over Matthias. The prince of Orange not thinking proper to oppose the motion, for fear of confirming the suspicions of the catholicks, the duke of Anjou was declared by the states, Protector of the Belgick liberties.

The duke of
Anjou is
chosen pro-
tector of the
Belgick
liberties.

The divi-
sions con-
tinue.

Mean while, the reformed fearing the duke of Anjou's arrival would produce some change prejudicial to their religion, presented a petition to the states, desiring to be admitted to

¹ The chief were John North, the lord North's eldest son; John Norris, the lord Norris's second son; Henry Caverdish and Thomas Morgan, colo- nels. Norris, general of the English, in the first battle fought stoutly, having three horses killed under him. Camden, p. 46a.

the exercises of the publick offices, as well as the catholicks. This request was granted, on condition the catholicks should enjoy the same privilege in Holland and Zealand; but these two provinces, without directly opposing this resolution, found means however to evade the condition annexed. Thence arose great divisions among the confederates. The catholicks would yield nothing in the provinces where they were masters, since Holland and Zealand did not perform what was ordained, and the reformed would seize by force what was granted them by the states.

Whilst these differences sensibly lessened the union of the confederate provinces, it happened that the inhabitants of Ghent expelled the city all the Romish priests, and without obeying the archduke and the prince of Orange, who commanded them to recall them, prepared for their defence, in case they should be compelled to submit. On the other hand, the people of Artois and Hainault refused to suffer the reformed in their territories, and even pretended that the Gantois ought to be reduced to their duty by force. But the prince of Orange stoutly opposed all violent methods, by reason of the manifest danger of turning the arms of the confederates against themselves, at a time when Don John of Austria was preparing to do his utmost to destroy them. And indeed, shortly after he attempted to force the army of the states, which was strongly intrenched, but was bravely repulsed. This attempt failing contrary to his expectation, he made fresh offers of peace, to amuse the states till the arrival of a considerable body of troops which were coming to him. For the same reason, the states readily entered into treaty to gain time, because they expected prince Casimir with an army, and the duke of Anjou, who was now on the borders of Hainault with eight thousand men. Don John's succours coming first, he broke off the negotiation, and renewed the hostilities, being at the head of thirty thousand foot and sixteen thousand horse. Prince Casimir arriving also presently after, the army of the states was sixty thousand strong, whilst the duke of Anjou took in Hainault the little town of Binck. Casimir's army was chiefly paid by the queen, whose interest it was to hinder Don John from growing too powerful in the Netherlands, though, feigning to be ignorant of his designs, she found other pretences to justify her assisting the states^k.

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1578.

The Gantois
increase the
division,
Strada.

Camden,
Thuanus,

^k About this time, count Swartsenberg from the emperor, Pompon de Bellevre from the king of France, and the lord Cobham and sir Francis Walsingham from queen Elizabeth, repaired to the United Provinces, to find out some way for making a peace; but nothing could be agreed on. Camden, p. 460.

Eliz.
1578.

Strada.

Casimir
comes into
England.
Camden.
Strada.

Death of
Don John
of Austria.
Grotius.
Camden.
Strada.

The duke of
Anjou pre-
sents his mar-
riage with
Elizabeth.
Camden.
Thuanus.

The divisions betwixt Ghent and the provinces of Artois and Hainault rendered the great armament of the states ineffectual. Some of their troops complaining they were not duly paid, suddenly quitted the army and took Menin. Shortly after, colonel Montigny followed their example with his whole regiment, and headed all the deserters. After that, he joined the troops of Artois, and made inroads into the province of Flanders. Then the Gantois seeing their neighbours so powerful, and able to give them law, called prince Casimir to their relief, and promised to pay his troops. The prince accepted their offer, and, coming to Ghent, the duke of Anjou refused to join the army of the states, unless prince Casimir would return with his Germans; and as he could not prevail, he retired to France, leaving his troops free to join those of Montigny. Thus these two princes, who came into the Low-Countries on purpose to aid the confederate provinces, served only to ruin their affairs, by fomenting discord among the inhabitants. Some time after, Casimir passed into England¹, probably to vindicate his conduct to Elizabeth, who had supplied him with money to raise and maintain his army.

Don John of Austria had not time to improve the troubles raised in the Netherlands, being prevented by death the 1st of October. There had been a conspiracy against him, for which two Englishmen, Ratcliffe^a and Grey, were executed. But he could not escape the poison which the king his brother caused to be given him, if we may believe some writers. After his death, Alexander Farnese prince of Parma took upon him the command of the army, till farther orders from the court of Spain. His principal care was to cherish the dissention between the Flemings and the inhabitants of Hainault and Artois, in which he succeeded to his wish.

Whilst the duke of Anjou was in the Low-Countries, he sent into England a gentleman called Bacqueville, to renew the treaty of his marriage with the queen. The king of France also sent thither Rambouillet upon the same account, being very desirous to be freed from a brother, who made him

¹ He was in England from January 22, to February 14. Stow, p. 685.

^a Egremont Ratcliffe, son to Henry earl of Suffex by his second wife, who had been a violent man in the northern rebellion, and now served under Don John, was accused by the English fugitives, that he was secretly sent to assassinate Don John, upon which he was

taken up and put to death, with Grey his accomplice. The Spaniards give out, that at his death he confessed he was let out of the town on purpose to commit this murder. But the English, who were present, deny he made any such confession. Camden, p. 460, 461. Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 454.

very uneasy by his levity, which suffered him to be directed by people who had not always his interest in view. The queen received these envoys so very graciously, that all the world imagined she really intended to marry. It is difficult to know whether, being then five and forty years old, she seriously thought of espousing the duke of Anjou who was but twenty, or taking a sort of pride in being wooed, only meant to amuse him. For my part, I believe it to be an effect of her policy, that her enemies, upon the rumour of her going to marry the duke of Anjou, might be less eager to pursue their designs against her. I mean the private designs upon her life, since there was then no likelihood of her being openly attacked, nor consequently any urgent reason to determine her to marry. She had nothing to fear from Scotland. France was not then in condition to make any considerable attempt upon England: The king of Spain was wholly intent upon procuring the crown of Portugal. In a word, the situation of the affairs of the Netherlands permitted not Don John of Austria to execute his vast projects. Thus, in all appearance, the queen upon this occasion acted solely out of policy. But before I relate the event of the negotiation, it will be necessary to give a general knowledge of what passed in Scotland during the year 1578.

The earl of Morton still governed that kingdom as regent, but in such a manner, that he daily created to himself fresh enemies. If Melvil is to be credited, he was proud and covetous. He sought pretences against the rich to rob them of their estates, and could suffer about him such only as were always ready to flatter him. Elizabeth, whose interest it was to preserve peace in Scotland, under the government of a man on whom she could depend, was afraid that at length the regent's ill-conduct would deprive her of that advantage. Wherefore she dispatched Randolph into Scotland, under colour of congratulating the king, who was then between eleven and twelve years old, upon the progress he was making in his studies. But the ambassador's chief business was to instil into the earl of Morton a little more moderation, and persuade him to live in a good understanding with the earls of Argyle and Athol, and some other lords, who being dissatisfied might in the end raise troubles in the kingdom. The regent took this advice in good part, but not knowing how to improve it, was himself the sole cause of his ruin.

The king had for governor Alexander Areskine, son or Melvil, brother of the late earl of Mar, and four preceptors, of whom George Buchanan was one. The earl of Morton having impru-

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1578.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Melvil,
p. 124.

Camden.
Thuanus.

p. 125.

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1578.

The king
takes the
reins of the
government.
Melvil,
p. 126.
Camden.
Spotiwood.

Melvil,
p. 126.

The king of
Scotland's
request to
Elizabeth.
Camden.

imprudently disoblige these men, they found means to set the young king against him. This was not very difficult, considering the king's age, the continual access they had to him, and the frequent occasions the regent gave them to take notice of his ill-management. When they had prepared the king almost to their wish, they sent for the earls of Argyle and Athol, who had now privately taken measures to execute their purpose. These two lords very easily persuaded the king to lay aside this troublesome regent, and take himself the reins of the government^a, promising to assist him in it. This was done so suddenly, that the earl of Morton, who suspected nothing, was not able to prevent it. The states of the kingdom meeting at the same time, confirmed by their authority what the king had done, and appointed a council of twelve lords, among whom was the earl of Morton. But instead of taking his place in the council, he feigned to be weary of the court, and retired to his own house, where he seemed wholly employed in cultivating his gardens.

The young king having taken the government into his hands, sent immediate notice of it to queen Elizabeth, demanding withal, the lands of the late earl of Lenox his grandfather, and the renewal of the alliance between England and Scotland. It was not the way of Elizabeth and her council to be governed by motives of generosity, but rather to use artifice, in order to reap from every occurrence all the benefit possible. Nothing could be more just than the king of Scotland's demand. The countess of Lenox his grandmother, who lately died in England^b, had enjoyed, so long as she lived, the estate assigned her by Henry VIII. her uncle, when she married the earl of Lenox. He gave also certain lands to the earl her husband, to support the honour of being married to a princess of the blood-royal. Who could therefore be their more lawful heir, than the king of Scotland their grandson? And yet the council of England pretended, the inheritance might be claimed by Arabella Stewart, daughter of Charles Stewart, younger brother to the late earl of Lenox, under colour that she was born in the kingdom; though in England, the princes of the royal family are not to be considered as foreigners, in what place soever they are born. Not

^a Though he was not yet twelve years old.

^b Margaret Douglas countess of Lenox, niece to Henry VIII. by his eldest sister, widow of Matthew Stewart earl of Lenox, and grandmother to James I.

king of Great Britain, having survived eight children, died this year, on March 16, in her grand climacterick, and was buried at Westminster, with a stately funeral at the queen's charges. Camden, p. 461. Sandford, p. 525, 526.

that the queen intended to debar the king of Scotland entirely of his inheritance, but had a mind to hold him in submission, by an intimation that the same reason might be used to deprive him of his right to succeed to the crown of England, and that he wanted her to surmount the difficulties which might occur. For this reason, she ordered the rents of the lands to be sequestered by the lord Burleigh, master of the wards. As to the renewing of the alliance between the two crowns, she appointed commissioners to treat of that affair with the Scottish ambassadors. The commissioners required the ambassadors to make propositions answerable to the gratitude due from the king their master to the queen, for placing and supporting him on the throne, at the expence of her treasure, and the blood of her subjects. The ambassadors replied, they had only power to renew the alliance between the two crowns, with an additional article for the defence of the protestant religion^p, received in Scotland since the last treaty. The English, desiring to make the alliance to be considered as very advantageous to the king of Scotland, proposed, that in return for the favours the king had received, and daily did receive for their queen, and for the advantages the league was to procure to Scotland, he should promise not to make any alliance with other princes or states, nor to marry without the queen of England's consent. But the ambassadors absolutely rejected the proposition.

Eliz.
1578.

Mean while, the earl of Morton, who had correspondents in Stirling, where the king resided, appearing one night at the gate of the town with a company of armed men, it was opened to him, and he entered without opposition. Then he went directly to the king's palace, of whose person he became master, and expelling his enemies, resumed the post he had been obliged to relinquish. The earl of Athol, who had been made chancellor, died shortly after, not without suspicion of being poisoned. We must now return to the affairs of England^q.

The earl of Morton re-assumes his authority. Camden. Melvil, p. 126.

Prince Casimire left not the court of England till about the middle of February. He had been honoured and caressed in an extraordinary manner, the queen having shown, it would be grateful to her to render his stay in England as agreeable as possible. Before his departure she conferred on him the Order of St. George, and put on the garter herself about his leg^r.

1579. The queen is extremely civil to prince Casimire. Camden. Stow.

^p Against the pope and his confederates. Camden, p. 470.

and widow of Martin Keys. Strype^s Feb. 8. Ann. tom. ii. p. 548.

^q This year died the lady Mary Grey, one of the daughters of Henry duke of Suffolk, sister to the lady Jane Grey,

^r She also settled a yearly pension on him. Camden, p. 471.

Eliz.
1579.

It was not without reason she used him thus civilly. He had still a considerable body of troops ready to assist the protestants, and it was no small advantage to her, that she could rely on him by supplying him with money. In the present situation of her affairs, nothing deserved her care more than to hinder the ruin of the protestants in France and the Netherlands, since on their preservation depended her safety. Casimire was her instrument to continue, in the Low-Countries, troubles which made her sleep in peace. When he arrived in the Netherlands, he found his horse had accepted the duke of Parma's passport for their safe return into Germany, because, wanting their pay, they would neither serve any longer, nor stay in the country.

Simié the
French en-
voy, pro-
motes the
duke of An-
jou's affairs.
Camden.
Thuanus.

At the same time, the queen was employed in an affair which required her whole attention: I mean, the negotiation of her marriage with the duke of Anjou. Besides Rambouillet and Bacqueville, who had been in England some time upon that account, the king of France had also sent Simié, a man of parts, and very fit for the purpose. Elizabeth had a large share of wit and sense, and was perfectly acquainted with her own interests; but was not free from all the passions of her sex. Simié soon discovering her temper, did not lose his time in soliciting the duke of Anjou's suit by reasons of state and policy: she knew more of that matter than himself. But he so artfully chose the most proper way to win her heart, that he gained her ear more than the duke of Anjou would have done himself. All were surprized at the great change they saw in her, and at the progress the duke of Anjou had made by the help of Simié. Nay, 'twas believed he had used love-potions, and other unlawful arts, such was his address to render himself agreeable, if after all he was not himself deceived by the queen. Above all things, he took great care to ruin the earl of Leicester, not having the same reasons as the English courtiers to manage that favourite. It was he who revealed to the queen Leicester's clandestine marriage with the earl of Essex's widow, and the discovery put her into such a passion, that she was going to send him to the Tower. Leicester was vexed to see himself thus braved by a foreigner. 'Tis even said, he bribed one of the guards to assassinate him.

Leicester
great enemy
to Simié.

Camden.

* He is called by the French writers, the baron de Simier. See P. Daniel, tom. ix. p. 118. Thuanus gives him this character, "Johannes Simieus, homo blandimentis, & assentationibus innotuitus aulicis," lib. 66.

† If Sussex, though his deadliest ad-

versary, had not generously dissuaded her, being of opinion, that no man ought to be troubled for lawful marriage. However, Camden affirms, that Leicester was ordered not to stir out of Greenwich castle. Camden, p. 471.

It is at least certain, the queen fearing the French envoys might receive some affront, took them under her especial protection, and commanded by proclamation, that no man should offer them any injury. It happened shortly after, that as the queen was in her barge on the Thames, near Greenwich, with the three French envoys^u, a pistol was discharged out of a boat, and one of her bargemen wounded. The man that fired the pistol was taken immediately, and threatened with the rack; but he cleared himself so ingenuously, that the queen was persuaded of his innocence. She took occasion from her pardoning this man, to display the affection she had for her subjects, saying, 'She could believe nothing of her people, which a parent could not believe of his own children.'

Eliz.
1579

A pistol fired
into the
queen's
barge.
July 17.
Camden.
Stow.

Shortly after, the duke of Anjou came incognito into England with only two servants. He went to court without being known, and after some private discourse with the queen, returned into France. Two months after, the queen ordered some of her most trusty privy-counsellors^v, to examine together the advantages and mischiefs which might arise from her marriage with the duke of Anjou, and report them to her^x.

The duke of
Anjou visits
Elizabeth
incognito.
Camden.
Styrc's An.
tom. ii.

Whilst Elizabeth was intent upon gaining the king of France's friendship, the duke of Guise was framing a plot capable of creating her one day much trouble. As England could be conveniently invaded only from Scotland, Guise, who had not relinquished the project formed by the late duke his father and the cardinal his uncle, was devising means to accomplish it, by setting Elizabeth and the king of Scotland at variance. He made use for that purpose of Esme Stewart, baron d'Aubigny, who came to Scotland under colour of paying his respects to the king as his near relation. He was son of John Stewart, younger brother of Matthew earl of Lenox, the young king's grandfather. This lord, who was settled in France, where his family held the barony of Aubigny in Berry, being come to the king, so artfully insinuated himself into his good graces, that in a little time he became his favourite. There was also about the same time another young man, sprung from a branch of the Stewart family, distinguished by the name of Oghiltry, who was very much beloved by the king. These two favourites joined together to ruin the earl of Morton, as well for the sake of their own

Esme Stuart
tries to set
James and
Elizabeth at
variance.
Melvil,
p. 127.
Camden.

Stewart of
Oghiltry.
another of
James's fa-
vourites.
Melvil,
p. 127.

^u Camden says, 'only Simie, with the earl of Lincoln, and Hatton her vice-chamberlain, were in the boat with her, Ibid.

Suffex and Leicester, Hatton and Walsingham. Camden, p. 471.

^x See the articles proposed by the duke for his marriage, in Styrc's Ann. tom. ii. p. 561.

^v The lord Burghley, the earls of

interest,

Eliz. interest, as because it was necessary, in order to execute the duke of Guise's designs, to be rid of a lord, who was too much attached to the interest of England. To compass their ends, they persuaded the king to take a progress into some of his counties, well knowing the regent had business which would not suffer him to attend him. The earl of Morton, not mistrusting these young men, who seemed only to mist trifles, opposed not the king's design. During the progress the two favourites instilled into the king an utter aversion to the regent, and an excessive desire to be freed from him. We shall see presently the effects of this aversion; but it will be proper first to mention what had passed in the Netherlands.

The two favourites set the king against the earl of Morton.
Melvil.
p. 127.

Affairs of the Low-Countries.
Grotius.
Strada.
Thomson.

The army of the states being much weakened by the retreat of the German troops, the prince of Parma besieged Maestricht, whilst plenipotentiaries on both sides were treating a peace at Cologne. But this negotiation served only to divide the confederates the more. From that time several lords forsook them. Montigny came to the prince of Parma's army with the forces under his command. Artois and Haynault made a separate treaty, and some other provinces returned to the obedience of the king of Spain. The prince of Orange seeing this defection, used his endeavours to unite still more strictly the provinces which persisted in the resolution to throw off Philip's yoke. He succeeded at length, and caused the famous union of Utrecht to be signed, between Holland, Zealand, Friseland, and Utrecht, the articles whereof are to be seen in the histories of those countries. Ghent and Ypres afterwards came into the union, and the prince of Orange was made governor of Flanders. Mean while, the prince of Parma took Maestricht, after which he disbanded most of the Spanish and Italian troops, according to his promise. This sincerity procured him Mechlin, Lisle, and Valenciennes.

Union of Utrecht.
Grotius.
Strada.
De Maurier.

1580.
A prohibition against enlarging the city of London.
Camden.

The city of London increasing excessively, to the detriment of the rest of the towns, the queen thought it necessary to remedy this inconvenience. She published therefore, in the

7 This year, on February 20, died sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral. He was succeeded by sir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor.—This same year, on Novemb. 21, died also sir Thomas Gresham knight, founder of the Royal Exchange, and of Gresham-college in London, and was buried in St. Helen's Bishopsgate-street. Stow, p. 685, 686.—This year also, Amurath Cham, emperor of the Turks, upon

treaty betwixt William Harbours an Englishman, and Mustapha Beg, a Turkish bass, granted, That the English merchants might freely trade throughout the Turkish dominions, in like manner as the French, Venetians, and other neighbouring nations did. Whereupon the English merchants, by the queen's privilege, associated themselves into a company, called the Turkey Company. Camden, p. 474.

beginning of the year 1580, a proclamation, prohibiting any new buildings within three miles of the gates of the city, upon pain of imprisonment, and forfeiture of the materials². It were to be wished for England, that this prohibition had been punctually executed even to this day, since the city is so enlarged, that it is grown a monstrous head to a body of a moderate size, to which it bears no proportion.

Eliz.
1580.

But there was a still more pressing evil, which it was no less necessary to remedy. I mean the hindering of the English seminaries in foreign countries from sending priests into England to preach sedition and rebellion, under colour of administering the sacraments to the catholicks. The priests expelled England in the beginning of this reign, had set up a college at Douay in 1568, by means of William Allen an Oxford man, afterwards cardinal. Whilst the duke of Alva was governor of the Netherlands, in this college were formed all the plots I have mentioned in favour of the queen of Scots. But Don Lewis de Requesens having banished from the Low-Countries all the English fugitives, the members of Douay-college retired, some to Rome, and some to Rheims, where they erected seminaries, under the protection of the pope and the cardinal of Lorrain archbishop of Rheims. It was these two seminaries which supplied the catholicks in England with priests. Whilst the court imagined these men only administered the sacraments in private to those of their religion, no notice seemed to be taken of it. But it was discovered at length, that they were diligent in spreading pernicious principles, which might be attended with ill consequences. They maintained, that the pope had by divine right full power to dethrone kings, and Elizabeth being excommunicated and deposed by Pius V.'s bull, her subjects were freed from their allegiance. Four of these dangerous emissaries were condemned and executed, for daring to maintain publicly that the queen was lawfully deposed³.

English seminaries at Rome and Rheims. Camden.

Four priests executed. Stow. Camden.

This did not hinder the two seminaries from continually sending into England incendiaries, with whom were joined Robert Parsons and Edmund Campian jesuits, who were the first of that order employed to preach the forementioned dangerous tenets. They had obtained of the pope a bull, dated the 14th of April 1580, declaring that pope Pius's bull did for ever bind Elizabeth and the hereticks, but not the catholicks, till a favourable opportunity should offer to put it in execution.

First jesuits in England. Camden.

² And ordered, that no more than one family should dwell in a house. Camden, p. 476.

³ Namely, Hanse, Nelson, Maine, and Sherwood. Stow, p. 682. Camden, p. 4, 6.

These

Eliz.

1580.

Strype's An.
tom. ii.
p. 645, &c.
Proclama-
tion enjoin-
ing the call-
ing home of
children
from foreign
parts.
Jan. 10.
Camden.
Strype's An.
tom. iii.

Another
threatning
one.
Camden.

Descent of
the Span-
iards in
Ireland.
Camden.
Stow.

These two jesuits had professed the protestant religion, and even bore offices in the university of Oxford^b. After that, withdrawing out of the kingdom, they returned from time to time, appearing one while like clergymen, another while like soldiers, or in some other disguise, and frequented the houses of the catholics, under pretence of instructing and comforting them, but in reality to inspire them with sedition and rebellion. Nay, they had the confidence to challenge the protestant clergy to dispute in print^c. All this coming to the queen's knowledge, a proclamation was issued out, commanding all those who had any children, wards, kinsmen, beyond sea, to give in their names to the ordinary in ten days, and call them home within a month^d, with a prohibition to supply them with money after that time. By the same proclamation, all persons were forbid to entertain or harbour any jesuits or priests, sent forth from the seminaries of Rome or Rheims, on pain of being punished as rebels and seditious persons.

Shortly after, printed books were dispersed, intimating, that the pope and the king of Spain had conspired to conquer England and restore the catholick religion, and exhorting the English papists to encourage the design. Whereupon the queen issued out another proclamation, declaring, she was not ignorant of the practices of her enemies, but by the blessing of God and the help of her faithful subjects, she was able to withstand their attacks, both at home and abroad: That moreover, as the plots which were contriving were not only against her person, but also against the whole kingdom, she did not intend to be cruel to the good by sparing the bad; and therefore such as would not for the future keep within the bounds of their duty, were to expect no favour^e.

The menaces from the pope and the king of Spain were not entirely fruitless, since it appeared this very year that there was a plot formed against Ireland. Arthur Grey, lord-

^b Robert Parsons was born in Somersetshire, and brought up at Baliol-college. Edmund Campian was a Londoner, fellow of St. John's-college, and proctor of the university in 1568. Camden, p. 477.

^c Campian likewise published his Decem Rationes, in defence of the Romish communion. His book was answered by Dr. Whitaker, Camden, p. 477.

^d Within four months. Camden, p. 476. There was another proclamation

against jesuits and seminary priests, April 24, 1582, which may be seen in Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 83, &c.

^e There came also about this time sectaries out of Holland, who called themselves of the Family of Love, and maintained, That those only were elected and should be saved, who were admitted into their family, and all the rest were reprobates, and should be damned; and the like absurd tenets. Camden, p. 477.

deputy of that island, had intelligence that seven hundred Spaniards and Italians, sent by the pope and Philip II, were landed without opposition ^f, under the command of San Jo-
seppo an Italian, and had raised a fortification, which they called the Fort del Oro. The earl of Ormond, who was not far from those quarters, posting thither with some troops, took a few prisoners, who declared, they had brought arms for five or six thousand men, who were to join them in order to drive the English out of the island. The earl not having sufficient forces to besiege the fort, contented himself with investing it, till the lord-deputy, who was on the march, should join him. A little after, the fort was besieged in form, and compelled to surrender the fifth day at discretion. This success was sullied by the cruelty of the English, who, under pretence of the great difficulty of guarding so many prisoners, put the Spaniards to the sword, and hanged all the Irish.

This year was memorable for the return of Francis Drake from his voyage round the world. He had navigated in America, upon the north and south seas, and amassed a prodigious quantity of gold and silver taken from the Spaniards. At his return, which was in November, the queen knighted him, and was pleased to dine in the ship which had made so great a voyage. After that she ordered it to be drawn up in a little creek near Deptford, and certain inscriptions to be set up in memory of the thing ^g.

Bernardine de Mendoza the Spanish ambassador made great complaints against Drake. He required, that he should be punished for his robberies, and for daring to sail in the seas which were under the dominion of the king of Spain, and all the money, plundered upon the Spaniards, restored. He was told, that the Indian ocean was common to all the nations of Europe, and that the English by no means allowed of the propriety assumed by the king of Spain, nor of the pope's pretended donation, who had no right to dispose of countries and seas which belonged not to him: That Drake should be always ready to answer in law whenever he should be attacked,

^f Admiral Winter had waited a good while for their coming, and returned to England about Michaelmas; but upon news of their landing, he went back to Ireland. Camden, p. 475.

^g He sailed from Plymouth the 13th of December 1577, and returned to the

same port November 3, 1580. When the ship was hawled up, the same day some Winchester scholars set up some verses on the main-mast in praise of Drake, which I suppose were the inscriptions mentioned by Rapin. Two of the verses were as follow:

Plus ultra Herculeis inscribas, Drace, Columnis,
Et magno dicas, Hercule major ero. Camden, p. 477-480.

Eliz.
1580.

and to hinder him from converting the gold and silver to his own use, the queen had ordered all the goods he had brought home to be sequestred, with design to satisfy the king of Spain, if he could prove they belonged to him or his subjects, though the charges she had been at in defending Ireland against the attacks of the Spaniards amounted to a much greater sum. The queen however repaid afterwards part of the treasure ^b.

Death of the
earl of
Arundel.
Feb. 24.
Dugdale.
Camden.

Henry Fitz-Alan earl of Arundel died this year. He was the last of that illustrious family which had flourished in England above three hundred years ⁱ. One of his daughters married Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, and thence it was that the title of earl of Arundel came to the Howard family.

Affairs of
France.

The religious war was renewed in France in the month of January, and ended in November by a sixth treaty of peace.

Philip II.
gets possession of Portugal.
Camden.

This year Philip II. seized the throne of Portugal, vacant by the death of king Henry. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, natural son to Don Lewis, brother of the late king, would have disputed the crown with the king of Spain, but the forces of the two competitors being very unequal, Don Antonio's endeavours were fruitless.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Melvil.
Sputiswood.

The affairs of Scotland began to give Elizabeth some uneasiness, because she knew king James's two favourites were using their utmost endeavours to turn him against England. The first point of their project was to finish the earl of Morton's ruin, whom they had already destroyed in the king's favour. The second, to engage the king to marry a French princess. The third, to persuade him, after his marriage, to declare the duke of Guise his lieutenant-general. The advices the queen received upon this occasion wanted not proof, since she had long known the design to invade her from Scotland, and since what was contriving at king James's court was very proper to accomplish that project. She saw moreover, that the two favourites, one of whom was wholly devoted to the house of Lorraine, gained more and more the love and confidence of the king, who delighted to load them with

^b This year, on January 16, the parliament met by prorogation at Westminster, and was prorogued again March 18. The temporality granted the queen a subsidy and two fifteenths; and the clergy a subsidy of 6 s. 8 d. to be paid in three years. See Statut.

ⁱ From the time of Richard Alan,

who, (being descended from the Albeneys, antient earls of Arundel and Seissex) in the reign of Edward I. received the title of earl without any creation, in regard of his being possessed of the castle and lordship of Arundel. Camden, p. 431.

favours. Aubigny had been made earl and then duke of Eliz. Lenox^k, and James Stewart was honoured with the title of 1580. earl of Arran. Upon the intelligence she had received, she believed it necessary to begin with opening the young king's eyes in relation to the plots of his favourites, or put him under a necessity to shew that he approved them, which could not but breed great discontent among the people of Scotland. To that purpose, she sent sir Rober Bowes, treasurer of Berwick, into Scotland, to accuse the duke of Lenox, before the king and council, of holding with the court of France, and particularly with the duke of Guise, intelligence destructive of Scotland and England. The council of Scotland, governed by the duke of Lenox, thought not proper to admit the accusation; but the king sent into England the lord Hume, to clear his favourite to the queen, who refused him audience. Nothing could be more grateful to the favourites than the misunderstanding which began to be formed between their master and the queen of England. Not to give him time to cool, one day, as the earl of Morton was present in the council, the earl of Arran accused him of being concerned in the late king's murder. Upon which he was immediately arrested, sent to prison in the castle of Edinburgh, and afterwards removed to Dunbarton.

Aubigny made duke of Lenox, and Stewart earl of Arran. Melvil, p. 128. Camden, Bowes sent into Scotland to accuse Lenox. He is ill received. Spotiswood, Camden.

Morton is sent to prison. Melvil, p. 127. Spotiswood.

Elizabeth hearing of the earl of Morton's disgrace, and finding his attachment to England was the sole cause of it, 1581. dispatched Randolph immediately to solicit in his behalf. But the favourites intention being rather to exasperate than appease, his intercession was in vain. Randolph seeing the king so beset that it was not possible to prevail, demanded an audience of the states, then assembled. He represented, how necessary a good understanding with England was to them, what the queen his mistress had done for Scotland since the king's birth, how great an affection she had ever expressed for him; and with what pains and charge she had always protected his faithful subjects: That, notwithstanding all this, the duke of Lenox was endeavouring to sow discord between the two kingdoms, and had so far succeeded, that the king now looked upon the queen of England his good kinswoman as an enemy. The states heard his harangue, and returned a general answer, which demonstrated their being directed by the court. So, finding he could obtain nothing either from the king or the states, he began to practise upon the great

Randolph is sent into Scotland. Camden, Spotiswood. He can do no good with the king or states. Melvil, p. 127. Camden. Strype's Ann, tom. ii. p. 629.

He tries to stir up a rebellion in Scotland.

^k He was also made chamberlain of Scotland, and captain of Dunbarton castle. Camden, p. 472.

Eliz.
1581.

James provides for his defence.
Melvil,
p. 127.
Spottiswood.

The earl of Morton is beheaded.
June 2.
Camden.
Melvil,
p. 128.

The two favourites grow odious.

Their character.
Melvil,
p. 128, 129.

The articles of the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou are greed upon.
Camden.

men, to persuade them to rise in arms, whilst Elizabeth should send forces towards the borders¹. As all this could not be done without the knowledge of the king and his favourites, the government of Sterling was taken from the earl of Mar, who was suspected of being too good a friend of the English, and the king published an order to all his subjects to bear arms, to hold themselves ready to march at a moment's warning. But as Elizabeth meant only to terrify the king of Scotland, and not to wage war with him for the sake of the earl of Morton, she ordered her troops to retire. Probably Elizabeth's endeavours to save the prisoner's life rather hastened his death, since presently after he was condemned and beheaded. He confessed the earl of Bothwell imparted to him his design to kill the king, but denied he had any hand in the murder. He said also, he had intended to carry the king into England, that being educated among the English, he might find the less difficulty to obtain the crown of that kingdom after the queen's death. Randolph seeing Elizabeth had no design to support the great men of Scotland whom he had gained, retired without taking his audience of leave.

The earl of Morton being dead, the two favourites became more and more masters of the king and the government of the kingdom, without regarding the people's murmurs, who could not without indignation see themselves at the mercy of two raw and unexperienced young men. The duke of Lenox had some good qualities, but had no knowledge of the affairs of Scotland, and besides, was a catholic, and deemed the duke of Guise's creature. This gave occasion to fear he had formed projects destructive of the religion and liberty of Scotland. The earl of Arran was an atheist, and one of the most wicked of men, if Melvil's testimony is to be entirely credited. He pretended to be the duke of Lenox's friend, but laboured to ruin him, by giving him counsels capable of making him forfeit the love and esteem of the nobles and people. On the other hand, he privately hinted to the clergy, that the reformed religion was in great danger, if timely care was not taken to oppose the duke of Lenox's pernicious designs. By these secret practices he so managed, that the duke became odious to the whole kingdom.

During these transactions in Scotland, the court of France earnestly pressed the duke of Anjou's marriage with Elizabeth.

¹ There were seventeen companies sent thither. Melvil, p. 127.

At last, the queen having agreed with Simié upon the chief Eliz. articles, Henry III. sent into England an honourable embassy, 1581. consisting of Francis of Bourbon prince of Dauphinè, Arthur Caste marshal of France, president Brisson, and some other persons of distinction. These ambassadors were received with great pomp and magnificence, and the queen appointed to treat with them the lord Burleigh high-treasurer, Edward Clinton earl of Lincoln lord admiral of England, Thomas Ratscliffe earl of Suffex, Francis Russel earl of Bedford, Robert Dudley earl of Leicester, sir Christopher Hatton, and sir Francis Walsingham, who was made secretary of state in the room of sir Thomas Smith, lately deceased. As every thing was almost settled, the following articles, which were to be digested in form of treaty, after being approved by the king of France and the duke his brother, were drawn by common consent.

The marriage shall be consummated within six weeks after Articles. the ratifying of the treaty.

The duke of Anjou and his domesticks who are not English shall have the free exercise of their religion, in some certain place to be appointed within his court.

The duke of Anjou shall alter nothing in the religion now received and established in England.

After the consummation of the marriage, he shall enjoy the title of king of England, but the administration of affairs shall remain in the hands of the queen alone.

Whereas the duke has demanded that he may be crowned king of England presently after the marriage, and enjoy that honour, in case he shall come to be guardian of the children he may have by the queen, it is agreed, the queen shall lay the affair before the parliament, and promote it as far as lies in her power.

Letters patents, &c. shall run in the name of the king and queen, as in the time of Philip and Mary.

The queen shall assign the duke, by authority of parliament, an honourable pension to be disposed of as he pleases.

She shall procure the parliament to assign a yearly pension in case he survives her.

The duke shall make the queen a dowry of forty thousand crowns a year out of the dukedom of Berry, and shall put her in present possession thereof.

As to their children, the following articles shall be settled, which shall be ratified in the parliaments of England and France, namely,

Eliz.

1581.

All the children, as well males as females, shall succeed to their mother's inheritance, each in his order, according to the customs of England.

If the crown of France happens to fall to the duke of Anjou, or his heirs, and there be two males, the eldest shall succeed in the kingdom of France, and the second in that of England.

If there be but one son, he shall enjoy both crowns, but shall be obliged to reside in England eight months in every two years.

If the duke never comes to the crown of France, his children shall inherit his appennage.

If he out-live the queen, he shall have the guardianship of the children; of the males till they are eighteen, and of the females till fifteen.

If the duke die before the time of guardianship be expired, it shall be left to the disposal of the parliament.

After these articles relating to the children, and serving to settle the succession, it was further agreed:

The duke shall prefer no foreigner to any post or office in England.

He shall not carry the queen out of the kingdom, without her own and the express consent of the peers of the realm.

If she die without issue, he shall pretend no claim to England.

He shall not convey the crown-jewels out of the kingdom.

He shall leave all the places in the hands of the English, and shall not remove from thence any warlike stores.

There shall be a particular treaty of league between France and England, with the proper ratifications.

By a seperate article signed apart by itself, it was agreed, "The queen shall not be bound to consummate the marriage, before she and the duke of Anjou shall thoroughly satisfy one another in certain points, and shall certify the king of France thereof within six weeks." It is not known upon what account it was necessary to take this precaution.

The duke of Anjou is made sovereign of the confederate provinces. Philip II. is degraded from the sovereignty. Grotius, Strada.

Ever since the last year, the states of the Low-Countries had begun to treat with the duke of Anjou, concerning their offer of the sovereignty of the confederate provinces, and the negotiation was so far advanced, that the conditions were now agreed. As soon as the prince of Orange was almost sure of the success of the affair, he so ordered it, that the states declared the king of Spain to have forfeited the sovereignty of the

the Netherlands, and the duke was expected every hour to take possession of his new dignity, and oppose the prince of Parma, who was besieging Cambray. The duke arrived indeed in August, with an army of twenty thousand men, and constrained the prince of Parma to raise the siege, and retire to Valenciennes. He made his entry into Cambray the 18th of August, and was declared prince thereof, having first taken the oath.

In the mean time, Elizabeth showed she had altered her mind with regard to her marriage, or had never seriously resolved to consummate it. She only wanted a pretence to break it off, or at least to defer it, till time should produce a more favourable opportunity. To that end, she sent into France James Sommers, clerk of the council, to require that, pursuant to the last marriage-article, a league offensive and defensive should be instantly concluded between France and England. Henry III. answered, that in the articles there was no mention of an offensive, but he was ready to sign a defensive league. Sommers replied, the league spoken of in the articles must be deemed offensive, since there was already a league defensive concluded in 1572, which not having been violated, wanted no renewal. Upon this, Elizabeth sent secretary Walsingham to Paris, to improve this difficulty, and add some others. Walsingham therefore told the king, when the queen his mistress first resolved to marry, it was only to satisfy her people, who desired a certain succession by her children, to which end, she had preferred the duke of Anjou before all other princes, on account of his personal qualities and royal descent: Nevertheless, she could not think of consummating the marriage, till she perceived whether it was pleasing to her people, for fear she should be accused of considering of it too late: That she heard with grief, the minds of the best men were averse to the marriage, and for that reason she thought it necessary to delay it, though she had still the same esteem for the duke of Anjou: That besides, since the conclusion of the articles, things had happened which required her to think more attentively of her engagement: That the duke having accepted the sovereignty of the Netherlands, had incurred the displeasure of the king his brother, and this new dignity could not but engage England in a war with Spain, since it was not possible for the duke to be in war, without the queen his spouse being so too: That she believed therefore the present juncture very unseasonable to consummate the marriage; and that it was proper to defer it till the duke should be disengaged from his war, and the league offen-

Elizabeth starts difficulties about her marriage. Camden. Digges's Ambaf.

Digges's Ambaf. p. 352. Camden.

Eliz.

1581.

The catho-
licks expose
themselves
to the
queen's
severity.
Camden.

with three other priests ¹, convicted of endeavouring to raise commotions in the kingdoms, and obstinately maintaining that the queen was lawfully deposed. It is easy to perceive, if her esteem and affection for the duke of Anjou had been so great as she pretended, she would at least have deferred these men's punishment till after his departure. But doubtless she intended to let him see he would not find in his marriage those comforts he thought to have reason to expect. Be this as it will, which ever way her proceedings are explained, there is no justifying, in my opinion, either her signing the articles, or afterwards breaking her word.

Whatever the queen's intention might be in this negotiation, it is certain it was extremely prejudicial to the catholicks in England, who entertaining great hopes from the marriage, were too hasty to discover them. When it was known in the world that the articles were signed, England was suddenly over-run with Romish priests, jesuits, and other catholicks, who hoped to be secure under the duke of Anjou's protection. Among these, some were so imprudent as to vent openly the most extravagant doctrines concerning the pope's power, a crime then unpardonable, because it tended to deprive the queen of her royalty, and raise a rebellion. It is no wonder therefore, that the furious zeal and imprudence of some of the catholicks drew upon the whole body severities to which the queen would not have been easily led, if they had been contented to live in quiet, and exercise their religion in private without attacking the government. What did them still more injury was, that some of them owned they were come into England with power to absolve every man in particular from his oath of allegiance, from which Pius V.'s bull had absolved the whole nation in general.

Don Antonio of Portugal retires into France, and then into England. Camden.

This year, Don Antonio prior of Crato, who pretended to the kingdom of Portugal, and had been crowned at Lisbon, being expelled thence by the arms of the king of Spain, withdrew into France. After which he came to Elizabeth, who took care of him, and put him in hopes of a greater relief.

1582.
Laws
against the
catholicks.

The parliament meeting the beginning of the year 1582, whilst the duke of Anjou was still in England ², passed very

¹ Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Alexander Brian. They were indicted upon the treason-act, 25 Edward III. Before these, there had been no more than five papists put to death in this reign. Camden, p. 487.

² There was no session of parliament

this year. The act here mentioned, was made in the session held in the year 180, and of which notice has been taken above. See p. 418 note ¹, and D'Ewes, p. 266, &c. Rapin has been misled in this particular by Camden, p. 487.

severe laws against the catholicks, wherein all those are declared guilty of high treason, "who shall endeavour to dissuade the subjects from their allegiance to the queen, and from the religion established in the kingdom, or shall reconcile them to the church of Rome, as also those who shall be thus reconciled. Those also who are fined in two hundred marks and imprisonment for a year, who shall say mass; and they who shall be knowingly present at mass, are fined in a hundred marks, with imprisonment also for a year. Moreover they who absented themselves from their parish-churches, on the days appointed for divine service, are fined in twenty pounds a month." It must be observed, that hitherto only one shilling to the use of the poor had been exacted for absence on Sundays and holidays. This shows, that before, the laws against the catholicks were not very severe; neither were they, it is certain, executed with rigour. But the indiscreet zeal of those who would not be satisfied with this advantage, was the occasion that all the catholicks were deprived of it.

Eliz.
1582.

The duke of Anjou, and those who had attended him into England, could plainly perceive under what constraint they should live, if the marriage was consummated. In all appearance, the proceedings of the queen and the parliament against the catholicks, did not a little contribute to comfort him, and perhaps put him out of conceit with a country so opposite to France. Nay, it is very likely, all this was done before his eyes with that view. He departed in February, having received from the queen many tokens of esteem and affection, the most substantial whereof was a good sum of money * to assist him in maintaining the war in the Netherlands. The queen having accompanied him to Canterbury, ordered several English lords † to wait upon him as far as Antwerp, where presently after he received the ducal crown of Brabant. By all these marks of esteem and friendship, and by all her civilities, the queen had a mind to repair in some measure the mortifications she made him undergo during his stay in England. It is very probable this stay was not to his advantage, and served only to discover the meanness of his genius and other qualities.

The duke
of Anjou
leaves Eli-
zabeth.
Camden.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Act. Pub.
xv. p. 792.
He is crown-
ed duke of
Brabant,
Strada.
Camden.
Du Maurier.

* A hundred thousand crowns of gold sol, each crown worth six shillings sterling, or sixty sols French money. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 792.

† He was attended by the earl of Leicester, Charles and Thomas Howard;

the lords Hunston, Willoughby, Windsor, Audley, and Sheffield; sir Philip Sidney, sir Francis Russell, sir George Bourchier, &c. Camden, p. 438. Stow, p. 690.

Eliz.

1582.

Elizabeth's
state of un-
certainty.

Elizabeth was too wise not to perceive that her conduct in the negotiation of her marriage could not but disoblige the king of France. So she plainly saw that though there had been no other reason but this alone, she could not much rely on his friendship. On the other hand, she was not ignorant how angry the king of Spain was, for that whole bodies of English troops served in the army of the states of the Low-Countries, under the command of Norris. Though these men were called volunteers, that is, owned by none, and who served at their own charge, it was easy to judge that they were not there in such numbers, without the tacit or express consent of their queen. Besides, it was hardly possible for Elizabeth to conceal the supplies of money she had given prince Casimir and the duke of Anjou, for the maintenance of their armies. Philip II. was the most potent prince in Europe, and the conquest of Portugal had lately rendered him still more formidable, particularly to the English. He was supported by the pope, and had but too much influence in the king of France's council. But Elizabeth had no friend on whom she could depend. The duke of Guise was now labouring to take from her the king of Scotland. The Irish wanted only a favourable opportunity to revolt, and the English catholicks were incessantly excited to rebellion by the pope's emissaries. To these may be added a great number of protestants, the queen of Scots adherents, who only waited an occasion to show their affection for her. Elizabeth's ministers could not without dread think of all these things. They were in continual apprehension that some terrible storm was going to fall upon England. To this fear were owing, first, the league defensive with France, and then, the project of the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou; the ministers judging it almost impossible for her to support herself without some powerful alliance.

She relies on
her people's
affection,

and wins
it by good
means.

Mean while, whether Elizabeth thought herself able to prevent or repel the danger, she took but few precautions, relying wholly on the affection of her people. This was her best, or rather her only refuge. And therefore to endeavour to corrupt, and cause them to lose the love and esteem they had for her, was wounding her in a very sensible part. To this must be ascribed her tender expressions whenever she spoke to her people. It must however be confessed, that she won her people's love, not only by words and other external demonstrations, but chiefly by very substantial deeds. Let a man peruse the whole History of England, and he will find no reign wherein justice was administered so impartially, or the sub-
jects

jects enjoyed their privileges more peaceably, or were freer from wars abroad and at home, or from extraordinary taxes and impositions; in a word, wherein the kingdom was more flourishing. The queen spent no unnecessary money, and her treasury being regularly managed, the people had no occasion to complain, since whatever they gave was employed for their own good.

Eliz.
1582.

But it was not only at home that the queen laboured to make her people happy, her care reached also abroad. This year she sent an ambassador ^a to Frederick II. king of Denmark, under colour of carrying him the Order of the Garter. But the chief motive of the embassy was to induce that prince to desist from certain customs paid by the English merchant-ships, in passing the Sound, in which however it was not possible to succeed. Frederick gratefully received the Collar of the Order, but refused to take the usual oath, because he had denied the same thing before, when admitted into the order of St. Michael by the French king.

She sends the order of the garter to the king of Denmark. Camden.

Tho' Henry III. had no reason to be pleased with Elizabeth, he gave her notice however, that the duke of Guise was plotting something in favour of the queen of Scots, and was to embark in Normandy some troops designed either for England or Scotland, tho' he pretended to send them into Flanders. For this reason she recalled sir Walter Mildmay, who had been sent to treat with the queen of Scots, or at least to pretend to do so.

Henry III. warns Elizabeth of the duke of Guise's designs. Camden. Strype's Ann. t. iii. p. 78.

As there was no likelihood the duke of Guise would invade England directly, but on the contrary every thing looked as if he intended to execute some project in Scotland, the queen turned her thoughts wholly to the affairs of that kingdom. They were then in a violent convulsion. Some persons of great distinction, among whom were the earls of Mar, Lindsay, Goury, full of indignation to see the realm governed by a young prince of fifteen years and two rash unexperienced ministers, who had nothing less in view than the kingdom's welfare, conspired together to seize the king's person and remove his two favourites. To that end, taking their opportunity whilst they were both absent from court, and the king intent upon hunting near Athol, they sent and invited him

She minds the affairs of Scotland. Melvil. Camden. Strype, t. iii.

^a Peregrine Bertie, whom she, as being sparing in conferring honours, had with much ado made baron Willoughby of Eresby, though his mother Catherine was the only daughter and heir of William lord Willoughby of Eresby.

She married first Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, by whom she had no issue; and secondly, Richard Bartue, or Bertie, Esq; father of this Peregrine. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 87, 408. Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 670.

Eliz. by the earl of Gourey to pass a few days at his house at
1582. Huntingdon, and when he came there secured his person *.

The Ruthven conspiracy in Scotland.

Melvil,
p. 129, 132.
Camden.
Spotiswood.

This was called the Ruthven-conspiracy, because Ruthven was the name of the earl of Gourey's family *. For the same reason the conspirators were called the lords of Ruthven. The earl of Arran, one of the king's favourites, drew together some people, and attempted to free his master, but was repulsed and forced to retreat to Ruthven-castle, where the earl of Gourey received him and saved his life, but kept him prisoner. The duke of Lenox hearing what had passed, speedily retired to Dunbarton, of which he was governor, and the king was carried to Stirling, free in appearance, but prisoner in reality.

James avows the conspiracy.

Melvil,
p. 132.
Camden.

Upon this news, Elizabeth, who probably was not ignorant of the conspirators design, ordered Henry Carey to go immediately and offer her service to the king of Scotland. But James, terrified by those who had him in their power, answered, that every thing was done with his consent, and he was very well pleased with the lords who were about him. Melvil affirms however that the king found means to tell Carey in private the contrary to what he had said in publick. The king of France sent likewise La Mothe Fenelon into Scotland † to try to support the favourites, knowing those who had seized the king were all friends to England. La Mothe had also orders to inform the king, that the queen his mother, who had hitherto refused to own him for king, agreed to make him partner in the royalty.

Melvil,
p. 132.

Camden.
Spotiswood.

Queen Mary agrees to share the royalty with her son.
Camden.

Shortly after queen Mary writ to Elizabeth, to try to engage her in the deliverance of the king her son. But she took a very improper way to obtain this favour, since her letter is full of reproaches for the barbarous usage she met with †.

Mary's letter to Elizabeth.
Camden,
p. 489.

The calendar is reformed.

This year, pope Gregory XIII. published his bull for re-forming the calendar, and ordered ten days of this very year to be cut off at once. As England and the rest of the protestant states refused to comply with this ordinance, because it flowed from the papal authority, there began from that time to be a difference of ten days in the dates, the one reckoning it the first day of the month, when it was the tenth

* And published a proclamation; of which the reader may see an account in Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 79.

† William Ruthven had been very lately created earl of Gourey. Camden, p. 433.

‡ He went along with Davison, queen Elizabeth's ambassador. Camden, p. 491.

* This year, about the end of September, died the learned George Buchanan. Spotiswood, p. 325. — This year also, one Peter Morris, a Dutchman, invented an engine and pipes for conveying the Thames water for the use of the city of London. Stow, p. 696.

with the others. This difference still subsists in some places, and particularly in England and Swedeland, where the old way of reckoning is still used, with the addition however of the new ^a.

Camden pretends that Elizabeth was very much moved with Mary's letter, and that compassion for the afflicted queen made her advise with her council upon what terms she could be released. We shall see presently that this proceeding was far from demonstrating a desire to set her at liberty. It is much more likely, she sought only to amuse her, and by putting her in hopes of deliverance had no other view than to put a stop to the continual plots which were contriving in her favour, and free herself from the solicitations she was perpetually troubled with. However this be, some time after the receipt of her letter, she sent to her Robert Beal ^b, one of the clerks of the council, with certain articles founded upon Mary's offer of associating her son in the government. Consequently they supposed a previous agreement betwixt them; but never had there been a more improper juncture to negotiate this agreement, since king James was captive in the hands of queen Elizabeth's adherents. Here follow the articles with some remarks, which will serve to show Elizabeth's aim in feigning a desire to release her prisoner.

Elizabeth makes as if she desires to release the queen of Scots. Camden.

I. 'The queen of Scots and the king her son should promise to attempt nothing prejudicial to England.'

Conditions proposed. Camden. Spotiswood.

It is easy to perceive that this article is expressed in such general terms as required a large explanation.

II. 'She should disclaim as unjust whatever was done by Francis II. her first husband, and ratify the treaty of Edinburgh.'

^a Three hundred and sixty-five days six hours, exceeding a year by about eleven minutes, a day is gained in about a hundred and thirty-two years, by which means, from the year 325, wherein the council of Nice was held, to the year 1582, ten whole days were gained. Whereupon, to set matters right again, pope Gregory ordered the 5th of October, 1582, to be called the 15th, and to prevent the like error again, he decreed, that three days should be taken out of every four hundred years (which comes to almost the same as taking out one day every hundred and thirty-two years) and this was done by making every hundredth year common, which,

according to the Julian account, is always Leap-year, but every four hundredth year to continue Leap-year. Tho' this be the truest and most exact way of reckoning, yet such was the perverseness of the English, that they still kept to the old way, till the year 1752, when the calendar was reformed by an act of parliament: the Swedes and Russians still keep to the old stile. And hence comes what we call old and new stiles, which differ now by eleven days, and are thus written $\frac{1}{12}$ of July, 1733.

^b To treat with her, together with George Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, in whose custody Mary was. Camden, p. 491.

The

THE HISTORY

The former part of this article was very general, and liable to many cavils. As to the latter part, it must be observed, that Mary could not ratify the treaty of Edinburgh but with the restriction she had offered. So, in proposing to her the ratifying of that treaty simply and absolutely, a snare was laid for her, or else she was put under a necessity of rejecting the article.

III. 'She should discover and condemn all the conspiracies against queen Elizabeth that were come to her knowledge.'

This was accusing her of being concerned in these conspiracies, and making her own it, which was very hard measure for Mary. She could have done no more, had she been fully convinced of Elizabeth's sincerity, which is not very likely.

IV. 'She should contrive nothing against the government of England, ecclesiastical or civil.'

Mary was a catholic, and the laws of England excluded the catholics from all posts. So if she agreed to this article without farther explanation, it might have been inferred, that she excluded herself from succeeding Elizabeth.

V. 'She should claim no right to the crown of England during queen Elizabeth's life, and after Elizabeth's death should refer her title to the judgment of the parliament.'

This was also laying a snare for Mary, in making her own that her title was dubious, though she did maintain, and had always maintained, that it was incontestable.

VI. 'She should swear to these articles, to the end there might be no room for the objection taken from her not being at liberty.'

VII. 'The king her son should ratify them by oath and writing.'

To enable the king of Scotland to ratify these articles, it was necessary first that he should agree in an authentick manner that he was king only as associated by the queen his mother, which was not then in his power, since he was in the hands of the lords of Ruthven, who by no means acknowledged Mary's authority.

VIII. 'For the performance of this article, the queen of Scots should give hostages to the queen of England.'

This article was also liable to many difficulties, concerning the number and quality of the hostages.

It is therefore evident Elizabeth proposed these articles to Mary only to amuse her and the world, at a time when it was not possible even to enter into a treaty upon this subject; besides

sides their being almost all enslaving and liable to discussions, which the court of England might have prolonged as they pleased. Camden says, the Scots of the English party were utterly against the agreement, affirming it was owing to the intrigues of the French court. It is true, if the conditions proposed had been advantageous to Mary, it is not unlikely Elizabeth would have set the Scots to oppose the conclusion of the treaty. But there was no occasion for this, since she had taken sufficient care to hinder Mary from accepting them.

Eliz.
1582.

P. 491.

I must now proceed to relate what passed in Scotland this year. If a man is confined to what Camden says, his idea of things will be very imperfect. This is one of those passages wherein that historian has thought fit to be very short for fear of injuring king James's reputation, for whose sake he wrote the Annals of queen Elizabeth. But by good fortune, we have Melvil's Memoirs, which give us a fuller information.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Melvil,
p. 132.
Spotswood.

The duke of Lenox seeing the king in the hands of the lords of Ruthven, and the little probability of forming a party strong enough to free him, withdrew into France, where he died soon after.

Mean while, the lords of Ruthven, whose sole aim had been to remove from the king his two favourites, finding that one was in prison and the other in France, thought proper to convene the states, where the king was present. He declared, whatever they had done was with his consent and to his satisfaction. He writ the same thing to the general assembly of the kirk; whereupon the states and the kirk approved by authentick acts all that was passed. This done, the king was no longer watched, but left entirely at liberty.

Shortly after, the king assembled the nobility in the city of St. Andrew's, before whom he declared, that tho' he had been detained against his will, he owned however it was done for his service: that he did not intend to call any person to an account, but would speedily publish an act of oblivion. To show that he forgot all that was past, he visited the earl of Gourey, who casting himself at his feet, begged pardon, which he very readily obtained.

Melvil,
p. 136.

All being thus quiet, the king appointed twelve counsellors to assist him to govern the state. But shortly after, his affection for the earl of Arran reviving, he wished to see him; and as all his counsellors were unanimously against it, he protested he would send him away again within four and twenty hours, but was not as good as his word, for he kept him for ever. In a short space, the favourite had such an influence

P. 147.

p. 138.

Eliz.
1582.

over him, that he would not suffer any but him to meddle in the publick affairs. Whereupon the council of twelve being no longer consulted, broke up of themselves. As soon as the earl of Arran saw himself fully restored, he suggested to the king, that he had made a false step in not punishing the influence of the lords of Ruthven, and persuaded him at length to alter his resolution^c. So, instead of an act of-oblivion, he issued out a proclamation, commanding the complices of the Ruthven conspiracy to come and beg pardon for their crime. Every one plainly saw the difference between the proclamation and the promised act of oblivion. The king being free, had declared that they who had detained him intended him no ill, and for that reason he had promised them a pardon. But by the proclamation he considered them as guilty, and obliged them to submit to his mercy, at a time when he suffered himself to be governed by one of those very favourites against whom they had conspired. This was sufficient to induce the lords to retire, some to their own homes, and others into England, to wait for another opportunity to ruin their enemy^d.

1583.
Elizabeth's
letter to the
king of Scot-
land.
Melvil,
p. 139, 140

Elizabeth being informed of the king of Scotland's proceedings, and the danger of the earl of Arran's entirely ruining the English party, writ to the king, representing the consequences, and mixed in her letter some reproaches for breach of promise. She told him moreover, she intended to send secretary Walsingham to talk with him from her. James returned a stout answer, and vindicated himself for not performing his promise, since it was extorted from him when a captive. This excuse might have served with respect to what he said to the states; but it was insufficient, since he repeated the same thing to the nobility when at full liberty. However, he promised the queen to proceed no farther till Walsingham's arrival. In the mean time, the favourite made the earl of Gourey undergo so many mortifications, that he forced him at length to quit the court. Walsingham being arrived, imparted to the king, in two private audiences, the queen's advice concerning the management of his affairs. But as this

She sends
Walsingham
to him.
p. 147.

^c Arran insinuated to the king, that it would be a troublesome business to be incumbered with so many contrary opinions. He desired him to recreate himself with hunting and hawking, and he would attend the council, and report to his majesty all their opinions and conclusions. This he did two or three times, but at length he gave account of no

men's advice but his own, and made the king believe it was all their opinions, that it was his interest to follow a violent course. Melvil, p. 139.

^d Camden turns this whole affair to the king's advantage, by passing over in silence all the particulars related by Melvil, Rapin.

advice tended to the earl of Arran's ruin, the ambassador brought back no very satisfactory answer *.

Eliz.

1583.

The beginning of the year, the duke of Anjou being too much confined by the terms laid upon him by the states, attempted to seize on the same day Antwerp, and seven or eight other towns of the Netherlands. But missing his aim, he was forced to retire to Dunkirk, and from thence into France. Mean while, the affairs of the states were in a melancholy situation. The prince of Parma made great progress this year, and very likely would have succeeded at length, in obliging all the united Provinces to return to the obedience of the king of Spain.

The duke of Anjou's attempt upon the Low-Countries is frustrated. Gro'ius. Strada. Stow.

Henry III. behaved in France after so strange a manner, that he daily incurred the contempt of his subjects. In publick he affected an over-strained devotion, whilst in private he plunged himself into the most criminal pleasures. Philip II. taking advantage of Henry's indolence with regard to his most important affairs, strove by all sorts of ways to raise him troubles, which should hinder him from undertaking the defence of the Netherlands, who showed a strong inclination to put themselves under the dominion of France. He tried first to persuade the king of Navarre to take up arms, promising to aid and protect the Huguenots. This way failing, he applied to the duke of Guise, who accepted the succours offered by Philip to revenge the mortifications he daily received from the king's minions †.

Affairs of France. Mezerai. Thuanus.

Whether queen Elizabeth's advice to the king of Scotland had a good effect upon him, or Melvil's remonstrances, as he hints himself in his Memoirs, made some impression on his mind, he seemed resolved to put a stop to the prosecution of the lords of Ruthven. To that purpose, he assembled the nobility at Edinburgh, to end the affair with the advice of the great men, as he had at first projected, by publishing an act of oblivion. But the earl of Arran, a bold and daring man, defeated this project in spite of the king himself. When the great men were come to Edinburgh, he went and talked with everyone apart, intimating, that the king's intention was only to get his conduct approved with regard to the lords of Ruthven, after which he would pardon them, when they had acknow-

1584. Affairs of Scotland. Melvil, p. 150.

p. 152, &c.

* The earl of Arran put all the affronts that could be invented upon him. See Melvil, p. 148.

† June 9, this year, died Thomas Ratcliffe earl of Sussex, lord chamberlain; and was buried at Newhall, or rather

Boreham, in Essex.—Also, July 6, died Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, and was succeeded by Dr. John Whitgift. Stow, p. 697. Grindal was the first who brought tamarisk into England. Camden, p. 494.

Eliz.
1584.

Spotiswood.

Melvil;
p. 154.

P. 155.
Spotiswood.

Melvil,
p. 155, 156.
Camden.
Spotiswood.
April 16.
April 24.

ledged they owed that favour to his clemency. The great men seeing the point was only to save the king's honour, and thinking the fugitives would receive no prejudice, promised the favourite to do as the king desired. So, when the king asked their advice in the affair, they answered, it was their opinion he acted with great clemency in opening the fugitives a way to obtain their pardon. This done, the earl of Arran told him, if, after this declaration, he published an act of oblivion without the fugitives owning themselves guilty, he would disoblige the nobility by neglecting their advice, and extremely injure his own dignity. Thus the fugitives obtained no advantage, though the assembly was convened purely for their sake.

The declaration of the nobility drove the lords of Ruthven to despair. They were required to ask pardon for a thing which the king had approved, as done for his service. Nay, they could not be sure of their pardon, since, as the king had once departed from his word, they could not trust him any more. The earl of Arran having obtained his desire, grew more proud and insolent, and so persecuted all his enemies, that he forced them at length to form a new conspiracy against him &c. Tho' the earl of Gourey had saved his life, and procured him the king's pardon, he never ceased to molest him, till he had forced him to ask leave to go out of the kingdom. He was now at Dundee, in order to retire into England, when he heard that the earls of Mar, Angus, and Glames, who were fled into Ireland, had some enterprize in hand against the favourite. This news made him stay in Scotland, and at last he entered into the conspiracy himself, without stirring however from Dundee. The conspirators had so well laid their measures, that arriving unexpectedly in Scotland, they immediately took Sterling.

Mean while, the court having before received some confused intelligence of the conspiracy, and knowing the earl of Gourey was concerned, ordered him to be arrested, which was done, just as the conspirators became masters of Sterling. This arrest quite disheartened them. As he was a near relation of the king, they fancied he had designedly suffered himself to be taken, and believing they were betrayed, abandoned their enterprize, and fled out of the kingdom. It cost the earl his life, who being brought to Edinburgh was there be-

§ He made all the inhabitants of Scotland to tremble under him, and every man to depend upon him, daily inventing and seeking out new faults against several persons, to get the gift of their estates, lands, benefices, &c. Melvil, p. 155.

headed^b. Thus the earl of Arran still kept his post in spite of his enemies. He was extremely odious to the whole kingdom, because he was a wicked atheistical man, and of an insatiable avarice. There was also another thing which very much troubled the Scots. And that was, the king for some time Melvil, had held private intelligence with the queen his mother, which bred a fear that he would engage in designs destructive of the state and religion. He had privately accepted of the association she had offered him, and it was seen that none but the queen's known friends had access to him. Nay, it was whispered, he intended to turn catholick, and began to listen to the proposals of the French court, or rather of the duke of Guise. Eliz. 1584.

All these things were but too apt to give Elizabeth great uneasiness. She was afraid the king of Scotland would be persuaded to take a French wife, and such a marriage produce ill effects for England. To try therefore to prevent the mischief which might happen from that quarter, she sent Davison into Scotland, under colour of excusing her protection of the Scotch fugitives, though the king had demanded them by virtue of the treaty of alliance concluded between the two kingdoms. But Davison's chief business was to endeavour to win the earl of Arran to the queen's interest. This method was better and speedier than to support the malecontents of Scotland, who were always to be supplied with money, without being certain of the success of their undertakings. Besides, the queen ran the hazard of entirely losing king James. That prince had sense, but as he was young, unexperienced, and too much governed by his favourites, it was to be feared he would be drawn into projects detrimental to both kingdoms for the sake of others. Davison succeeded entirely in his negotiation with respect to the earl of Arran, and by means that are easy to be guessed, prevailed with him to be guided by the queen. Before his return to England, it was agreed between the two courts, that the earl of Hunfdon for England, and the earl of Arran for Scotland, should meet upon the borders, and make a regulation proper to preserve a good understanding between the two kingdoms. Under this pretence, these two lords conferred together, and before they parted made a private treaty, whereby the earl of Arran engaged to keep the king unmarried for three years. Elizabeth pretended, she designed Elizabeth sends Davison into Scotland to gain the earl of Arran. Melvil, p. 157.

^b Because the earl of Arran was fully resolved to have his lands, and therefore to effect his design, he engaged to divide them with several others, upon condition they would assist him in ruining the earl of Gourey. Melvil, p. 156.

Eliz.
1584.

Elizabeth
discovers
Mary's se-
crets by
Gray the
Scotch am-
bassador.
Melvil,
p. 158.

to give him a princess of the blood-royal of England, who was not yet marriageable. This was at least the pretence with which the treaty was coloured.

Whilst these things were transacting, the master of Gray, a young Scotch lord, insinuated himself so far into king James's favour, that the earl of Arran growing jealous, found means to remove him, by causing him to be sent ambassador to Elizabeth. Gray was no sooner in England, but the queen won him by her caresses and bounties. From that time the ambassador feigned to be strongly attached to queen Mary's interest, and by that means drew secrets from her, which Elizabeth knew how to improve. The earl of Arran having some intelligence of the intrigue, informed the king of it, in order to ruin his rival; but as in all likelihood he could bring no proof of what he advanced, Gray being returned to Scotland, was very well received by the king, and spared no pains in his turn to ruin the favourite.

A conspiracy
discovered.
Camden.
Hollingsh.
p. 1370, &c.

Whilst these things passed in Scotland, plots were forming in England in favour of the captive queen. But some intercepted letters to queen Mary from Francis Throckmorton¹ beginning to discover the conspiracy, Throckmorton was arrested. Immediately Thomas lord Paget and Charles Arundel fled into France, and gave out that the catholicks were so cruelly persecuted in England, that it was not possible for them to stay there without danger of their lives: That the court had spies every where, not only to watch the catholicks, but also to lay snares for them: That forged letters from the queen of Scots were left in their houses, to force them either to bring them to the secretary of state, or render themselves guilty by concealing them. There is no doubt, the queen had spies to watch the motions of the catholicks, having but too much reason to suspect their fidelity². Nay, it is very possible that among these spies there were some who, to improve their services, laid snares for the catholicks. Those who take upon them such an office, of what religion soever they be, are not usually the most honest men. But the behaviour of the catholicks had made these precautions necessary, the knowledge of what passed among them being of the utmost consequence to the queen. Several books, as well printed as in manuscript, were handed about, wherein the queen was slandered to the

Stow.
Hollingsh.

¹ Eldest son of John Throckmorton, chief justice of Chester, who had lately been put out of the commission. Camden, p. 497.

² These persons were particularly suspected, Henry Percy earl of North-

umberland, and his son: Philip Howard earl of Arundel, and his brother William, with the earl of Arundel's wife; and Henry Howard, their uncle, the duke of Norfolk's brother. Camden, p. 497.

highest degree. She was taxed with putting to death many catholicicks without cause, having first racked them, to compel them to confess crimes of which they were innocent. Her maids of honour were exhorted to serve her in the same manner as Judith did Holofernes, and render themselves, by such an action, worthy of the applause of the church throughout all future ages¹. These books, with what had been discovered after Throckmorton's arrest, made it thought some plot was ready to break out.

Mean while the queen, willing to show it was not for their religion that some catholicicks had been punished, sent for the judges of the realm, and sharply reprov'd them, for having been too severe in the tortures they had made these men suffer. Probably, this was done to afford them an opportunity to clear themselves from this charge, by an apology which was made publick. They affirmed, "That no person had been made to suffer for his religion, but only for dangerous practices against the queen and state; that indeed Campian the jesuit had been put to the rack, but with so little violence, that he was presently able to walk and subscribe his confession: That Brian, one of his complices, obstinately refusing to speak or write the person's name who penned the papers found about him, was indeed denied food, till he asked it in writing." However, the queen, willing to take from her enemies all occasion of slandering her in foreign parts, forbid the putting of any person whatever to the rack, and was satisfied with transporting out of England seventy priests who were in prison, and of whom some were under sentence of death. Among these were certain jesuits^m, who afterwards proved very ungrateful for this favour. Perhaps indeed she acted, upon this occasion, not so much from a motive of clemency, as to separate two things which were always endeavoured to be confounded, namely, religion and the crimes against the state, under pretence that most of the conspirators were catholicicks.

Before Throckmorton was apprehended, he sent a cabinet full of papers to Mendoza the Spanish ambassador, of which the court had noticeⁿ. He denied all at his first examination:

The Spanish ambassador discovered to be in the plot. but Camden. Hollingh.

p. 137¹, &c.

¹ The author of these books was never discovered, but the suspicion lighted upon Gregory Martin an Oxford man, very learned in the Greek and Latin tongues. Carter a bookseller was executed, who procured them to be printed. Camden, p. 497. Stow, p. 698.

^m Gasper Haywood, James Bosgrave, John Hart, and Edward Rishton, were the chief. Camden, p. 497.

ⁿ The rest of Throckmorton's coffers being searched, there were found in them two catalogues; one, of the ports in England, that were convenient to land

Eliz.

1584.

but at the second, confessed, "that going some few years since to the Spaw, he conferred several times with Jenev and sir Francis Inglefield, two English fugitives, how England might be invaded": That after his return, Morgan, another fugitive in France, told him, the catholick princes had formed a design to free the queen of Scots, and to employ the duke of Guise for that purpose: That nothing was wanting, but to know what succours might be depended upon from the English catholicks; That in order to take their measures the better, Charles Paget, under the counterfeited name of Mope, was sent into the county of Sussex, where the duke of Guise intended to land: That he (Throckmorton) imparted the project to the Spanish ambassador, who had been already informed of it, and showed him the ports where it would be most proper to land: That he moreover acquainted the same ambassador with the names of the great men to whom he might freely open his mind, because, as he was a publick person, he would not be so narrowly watched. Finally, that he conferred with him how to raise soldiers privately in England, to have them ready when the foreign troops should arrive."

He is sent
for by the
council.
Camden.
He makes a
poor defence,

Upon these depositions, the Spanish ambassador was desired to come to the council, where he was told what Throckmorton had witnessed against him. As he did not think himself, doubtless, innocent enough to clear himself from these accusations, he chose by way of recrimination to charge the queen with detaining the Spanish money she had seized, and with assisting the duke of Anjou. Then he spoke against the ministers, saying, that by their ill counsels they incessantly laboured to sow discord between the queen and the king of

Spain. A few days after, the queen commanded him to depart the kingdom, which he readily obeyed, thinking himself very happy in coming off at so easy a rate. However, when he came into France, he loudly complained, as if in England the law of nations had been violated in his person. Mean while, the queen dispatched Wade^p to Spain, to inform the king of what had passed, and to tell him she was ready to receive another ambassador from him. But Philip would not give Wade audience, who refused also in his turn to impart the contents of his embassy to the prime minister.

land forces at; and the other of the gentlemen all over England, that professed the Romish religion. Camden, p. 408.

^p And so that end, he had drawn

these two catalogues. Ibid.

^p He was clerk of the council. Camden calls him Waadus, or Waad, but others sir William Wade, which last was his true name,

When

When Throckmorton was brought upon his trial, he denied what he had confessed at his examination, affirming, he had invented it on purpose to avoid the rack. But after his condemnation, upon the evidence of his own letters to the queen of Scots, and the papers found in his coffers, he owned all, and even made a more circumstantial declaration than at first. And yet when he came to the gallows, he denied again what ever he had confessed.

Eliz.
1584.

Throck-
morton is
executed.
July 10.
Stow.
Camden.

Elizabeth, as she could not doubt her enemies were perpetually contriving to deprive her of the crown, and set it on the head of the queen of Scots, lived in a constant uneasiness, and under the apprehension that some one of their plots would at last succeed. So, to discover more fully the designs of her enemies, she seemed willing to resume the negotiation begun with the queen of Scots. To that end she sent Wade, at his return from Spain, to tell her she was ready to renew the treaty which had been interrupted, and would dispatch to her very soon sir Walter Mildmay for that purpose. But withal, she let her know she insisted upon two conditions, namely, that she should prevail with the king her son to grant the pardon promised to the lords of Ruthven, and to put a stop to the plots of the bishop of Glascow her ambassador in France.

Elizabeth
renews the
negotiation
with the
queen of
Scots,

and sends
Wade to her,
Camden.

At this time happened the surprise of Sterling, the imprisonment of the earl of Gourey, and the flight of the conspirators into England. Whereupon Elizabeth sent Beal to desire the queen of Scots to intercede with the king her son for the fugitives, and inform her of the duke of Guise's designs, as she had promised Wade. Mary answered, she had promised no things, but on condition she should be released: That she would readily intercede for the Scotch fugitives, provided any advantage would accrue from thence to herself or the king her son, and in case they would confess their fault. She did not deny, she had desired the duke of Guise to use his endeavours to free her; but said she knew nothing of his designs, nor, if she did, would she discover them, unless she was assured of her freedom. She besought Elizabeth to use her with more humanity, and desired the treaty might be concluded with her before the Scots were treated with. Lastly, she added, that as the king of France had owned and received her ambassador jointly with her son's, as princes associated, Elizabeth would be pleased to cause this association to be published in Scotland.

and then
Beal.
Camden.

Mary's
answer.

Elizabeth took care not to serve her in what she desired, her aim being only to draw from her a sollicitation in behalf of the Scotch fugitives, and an information concerning the duke

The nego-
tiation is
broken off.

duke

Eliz.
1584.

duke of Guise's designs, upon the uncertain hope of an agreement which she flattered her with. But finding she could get nothing out of her, she relinquished the negotiation as needless. However, perceiving by Mary's answer, that the king of Scotland had accepted the association, she was afraid some dangerous plot was contriving in Scotland. It was this chiefly that made her resolve to gain the earl of Arran at any rate, wherein she succeeded as I said before.

Other plots
discovered.
Camden.

Shortly after, Elizabeth also discovered that her enemies did not cease their secret practices. Creighton, a Scotch jesuit, going by sea into Scotland, and his ship being attacked by pirates, tore some papers he had about him, and threw them into the sea. But by a very extraordinary accident, the wind hindered the torn papers from falling into the water, and blew them back into the ship, where somebody took the pains to gather them up. These papers being delivered to Wade, he pasted them together upon an another paper with great labour and patience, and by that means a plot was discovered, framed by the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guise, to invade England. Whereupon, by the earl of Leicester's means, a general association of men of all degrees and conditions was formed in England, who bound themselves by oath to prosecute to the death those that should attempt any thing against the queen.

A general
association
in favour
of the queen.
Camden.

Mary sends
proposals to
Elizabeth.
Camden.

The queen of Scots easily perceived that the plots of her friends were discovered, since the association was a clear evidence that Elizabeth thought herself in danger. As she was afraid she could not avoid the efforts of this association, in case it came to be known that she was concerned in these plots, she used fresh endeavours to free herself from captivity. To that purpose she sent Naue her secretary to Elizabeth with these proposals:

That if she might be released, she offered to enter into a closer amity with the queen of England: To renounce the title of queen of England, and never lay claim to the crown of that kingdom so long as Elizabeth was alive: To sign the association: To make a league defensive with England, (so far as might stand with the alliance between France and Scotland) provided that nothing was done in England to her disadvantage, before she herself or the king her son was heard in the parliament: To stay in England till hostages were given: To make no change in the religion established in Scotland, provided she might have the free exercise of her own: To bury in oblivion all injuries done to her in Scotland, on condition that whatever had been enacted to her

dis-

disgrace should be repealed: To recommend to her son such counsellors as were inclined to preserve a good understanding with England: To procure a pardon for the fugitives, provided they would own themselves guilty: To treat of no match for the king her son without Elizabeth's knowledge. She required on her part, that the treaty should be made with her and the king her son jointly, and promised to have it ratified by the duke of Guise. Moreover, she desired matters might be speedily concluded, for fear some accident should obstruct the treaty. Lastly, she prayed Elizabeth to give her some token of her esteem, by granting her a little more liberty.

Eliz.
1584.

Had Mary made these offers at any other time, perhaps Elizabeth would have regarded them. But in the present juncture, they only served to increase her suspicions, since it was evident they were an effect of the fear instilled into the prisoner, by the association and the discovery of the plots. Camden pretends, contrary to all appearance, that Elizabeth being satisfied with these proposals, was going to set Mary at liberty, had she not been hindered by the clamours of the Scots. Hence he takes occasion to make a long invective against the presbyterians and their preachers, and to accuse them of insolence, contempt of the king's person, and rebellion against the laws. Here also he speaks of the suppression of Buchanan's writings, which was foreign to the purpose. In a word, he would have presbytery to be considered as the sole cause of the obstacles to Mary's deliverance, in spite of Elizabeth's good intentions towards her. This is no wonder, for it was the modish stile in England in the reign of James I. to whom court was made by inveighing against the puritans. I own however, it is not wholly improbable, that on this occasion Elizabeth even set the Scots upon forming the obstacles mentioned by Camden. But it is very unlikely, that at a time when she saw her enemies in league against her to place Mary, though a prisoner, on the throne of England, she should really intend to release her, and so enable her the better to execute her designs. To take Elizabeth's dissimulation for her real intention, was an artifice of Camden, thereby to insinuate, she thought Mary innocent of the plots which were continually framing. But he contradicts himself by saying a little after, that Mary losing all hopes of agreement, hearkened at length to dangerous counsels, and writ to the pope and the king of Spain, soliciting them "to hasten what they had in hand" with all speed, let what would happen to her." It is therefore evident, there was now some project on foot which she knew,

Remark
upon this
subject.

p. 499.

p. 501.

Eliz.
1584.

Mary is put
into Drury's
custody.
Camden,
p. 501.

Ibid.

Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.
Grotius.
Strada.
Du Maurier.

knew, and had hearkened to dangerous counsels before the time mentioned by Camden. But Elizabeth, better informed than Mary imagined, knowing what measures were taken to carry her away, took her out of the hands of the earl of Shrewsbury, and committed her to the custody of Sir Drue Drury, a watchful man, if ever there was one¹. Camden says, the earl of Leicester, willing at once to free Elizabeth from the uneasiness the queen of Scots created her, bribed certain murderers to assassinate the prisoner; but as none durst give them an order for leave to approach her, Drury's watchfulness hindered them from getting access to her. If this shows the earl of Leicester's villainy, and perhaps, in Camden's intention, that of Elizabeth herself, it shows too how dangerous a person the queen of Scots was deemed, since it was thought Elizabeth's life could not be safe but by her death. It is not likely therefore, that Elizabeth should then think of releasing her. The same author says, that to alienate queen Elizabeth's affection entirely from the queen of Scots, 'it was whispered in her ears, that a resolution was taken to deprive her of the crown, and set it on Mary's head: That a council had been held, wherein cardinal Allen for the English ecclesiasticks, Inglesfield for the laity, and the bishop of Ross for the queen of Scots, all three impowered by the pope and the king of Spain, had agreed, that Elizabeth should be assassinated, king James deposed, and Mary given in marriage to some English catholic nobleman: That this nobleman should be elected king of England, and the crown settled upon his heirs. He adds, Walsingham diligently inquired who this English nobleman might be, and that the suspicion fell upon Henry Howard, the late duke of Norfolk's brother².

During this year, the affairs of the United Provinces daily grew worse, the prince of Parma from time to time conquering towns upon them. At last, to reduce them, as it were, to the last extremity, God permitted the prince of Orange to be assassinated by one Balthazar Gerrard, a Burgundian. Philip

¹ Sir Amias Powlet was also joined in the commission with him, to take care of Mary. She was then in Tutbury-castle. Camden, p. 501.

² This year, in April, Walter Raleigh, esq; went to discover the country adjoining to Florida in the West-Indies, and returned in August, bringing two of the natives along with him. Hollingh. p. 1369.—Within the compass of this year also, Charles Nevil, the last earl of Westmoreland of this house,

ended his life in a miserable exile. From this family sprung (besides six earls of Westmoreland) two earls of Salisbury and Warwick, an earl of Kent, a marquise Montacute, a duke of Bedford, a baron Ferrars of Osley, barons Latimers, barons Abergavenny, one queen, five dutchesses, not to reckon countesses and baronesses, an archbishop of York, and a great number of inferior gentlemen. Camden, p. 501.

his

his eldest son being then in the hands of the king of Spain, and educated in the catholick religion, the states conferred the government of Holland and Zealand upon his second son Maurice, about eighteen years old. Mean while, the prince of Parma improving the consternation of the states, laid siege to Antwerp. In this distress, the states, finding it was not possible to support themselves with their own forces, debated, whether they should put themselves under the protection of France or England, and at length resolved for France. But Henry III. was then involved in troubles, which suffered him not to accept their offer. So, finding no encouragement from that quarter, they were forced to apply to the queen of England. We shall see the next year the success of this negotiation.

The troubles with which France had been so long disturbed, and which seemed to be a little appeased, were renewed by the death of the duke of Anjou in June. As the king had no children, and was thought incapable of having any, the duke of Guise projected to seize the throne, as descended from Charles the Great. This at least is what several have accused him of, not without great probability. But as Henry of Bourbon king of Navarre was become first prince of the blood, since the death of the duke of Anjou, a pretence was to be found to exclude him from the throne, otherwise it would not be possible for the duke of Guise to execute his project. It was not difficult to find a pretence, since the king of Navarre professed the reformed religion. So the duke of Guise hiding his ambition under the veil of religion, pretended to have no other view but to maintain the catholick religion, which would be in great danger if a Huguenot ascended the throne. The king, who knew his design, did his utmost to persuade the king of Navarre to change his religion, and the duke perceiving endeavours were used to break his measures, renewed the league first at Paris, and then in the provinces. By this means he could have an army ready on the first occasion. The people were so blind and stupid as to imagine he only aimed at the preservation of the catholick religion. Mean while, the duke having notice that the king would cause him to be arrested, withdrew to his government of Champagne, where on the last day of December, he signed a private league with the king of Spain, who, on pretence of religion, sought only to foment the troubles in France. But as the duke would not have it appear that he aspired to the crown, the treaty ran, that the cardinal of Bourbon should be raised to the throne, after the death of Henry III. and to that end, the king of Spain should find

Affairs of
France.
Thuanus.
Mezerai.
Hollingsh.
P. Daniel.

Eliz.
1585.

find fifty thousand crowns a month. Thus by means of the duke of Guise, Philip II. kindled in France a flame which long consumed that kingdom, and hindered the French from thinking of the acquisition of the Netherlands *.

1585.
Parry's conspiracy.
Camden.

In the beginning of the year 1585, Elizabeth discovered a conspiracy, of which William Parry was the author. He was a gentleman of Wales, member of the house of commons, and had signalized his zeal for the catholick religion in opposing alone a bill preferred in the lower house against the jesuits. He spoke upon that occasion with so much passion and vehemence, that he was committed to custody; but his submission being made, he was in a few days re-admitted into the house. Hardly was he at liberty, when Edmund Nevil, who claimed the inheritance of the earl of Westmoreland lately deceased in the Low-Countries †, accused him of conspiring against the queen; whereupon he was sent to the Tower. He owned, "he had a design to kill the queen, and was persuaded to it by Morgan an English catholick refugee in France; that he held intelligence with jesuits, the pope's nuntios and cardinals ‡; that the better to deceive the queen, and procure free access to her person, he returned from France into England, and discovered the whole conspiracy to her; that afterwards, repenting of his wicked intention, he laid away his dagger every time he waited on her, lest he should be tempted to commit the murder; but at length, cardinal Allen's book, wherein he maintained it to be not only lawful but honourable to kill princes excommunicated, falling into his hands, he read it, and felt himself strongly encouraged to pursue his first design; that Nevil his accuser coming to dine with him, proposed to attempt something for the deliverance of the queen of Scots, to which he answered, he had a greater design in his thoughts; that a few days after, Nevil coming to see him, they resolved to kill the queen as she rode abroad to take the air, and swore upon the Bible to

D'Ewes,
p. 340.

Hollingsb.
p. 1382, —
1396.
Feb. 12.

* Henry king of France having the last year been chosen into the order of the garter, queen Elizabeth sent this year, in January, Henry earl of Derby to France, to invest the king with the robes and ensigns of the order. Camden, p. 501. Stow, p. 700.

† He said, that the bill favoured of treasons, was full of blood, danger, despair, and terror to the English subjects of this realm, and full of confiscations,

&c. D'Ewes, p. 340.

‡ Rapin, by mistake, calls him Henry. He claimed the inheritance of the Nevils earls of Westmoreland, and the title of lord Latimer as next heir-male. Camden, p. 501.

§ During his stay abroad, he held a correspondence with the lord Burghley, pretending to be mighty zealous for queen Elizabeth. See Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 79, &c. 133.

“ keep

“ keep the secret; but that in the mean while, Nevil hear- Eliz.
 “ ing the news of the earl of Westmoreland’s death, accused 1585.
 “ him, in hopes of procuring the earl’s inheritance, to which
 “ he laid claim.” Upon this confession, he was condemned March 2.
 and executed.

This conspiracy occasioned the parliament to take extra- The parlia-
 ordinary care of the queen’s and the kingdom’s welfare. The ment con-
 general association was admitted, approved, and confirmed by firms the
 unanimous consent⁷. It was also enacted, “ that twenty- association.
 “ four or more commissioners chosen and appointed by the Act against
 “ queen should make inquisition concerning those who should the queen of
 “ endeavour to raise a rebellion in the kingdom, or attempt Scots.
 “ the queen’s life, or claimed any right to the crown of Eng-
 “ land. That the person for whom, or by whom any at-
 “ tempt should be made, should be utterly incapable of suc-
 “ ceeding to the crown, deprived for ever of all right and
 “ title to it, and prosecuted to death, if declared guilty by the
 “ four and twenty commissioners.”

It was impossible not to see that the queen of Scots was di-
 rectly aimed at, for whose sake all these plots were contriving.
 Wherefore, very probably from this time her death began to
 be determined; the two queens being no longer able to sub-
 sist together. The council of England at least was of that
 opinion. Mary doubted not that the law was enacted against
 her. Perhaps she would have prevented the fatal effects of
 it, could she have resolved to renounce all correspondence in
 the kingdom and in foreign countries. But she had not the
 prudence to take that wise course, or perhaps to avoid the
 snares laid for her, nor was quick-sighted enough to perceive
 she only served for a blind to her pretended friends to execute
 other projects.

The parliament was not contented with this severe statute
 for the queen’s preservation. It was farther enacted, “ That Another
 “ all popish priests should depart the realm within forty against the
 “ days: That those who should afterwards return, should papists.
 “ be guilty of high-treason: That to receive or harbour Statut. c. 2.
 “ them should be felony.” It was declared also, “ That
 “ those who were educated in foreign seminaries, if they re-
 “ turned not into England within six months, after notice,
 “ and made not their submission within two days after their

⁷ This was done in the 4th session
 of the parliament, which met by pro-
 rogation November 23, 1584, and was
 prorogued again March 29, 1585. In
 this session, the lords and commons

granted the queen two sixteenths and a
 subsidy; and the clergy a subsidy of six
 shillings in the pound, to be paid in
 three years. See Statut.

“ return

Eliz.

1585.

“ return before a bishop, or two justices of peace, should be
 “ guilty of high-treason: That if any person submitting him-
 “ self, should within ten years approach the court, or come
 “ within ten miles thereof, his submission should be void:
 “ That those who should directly or indirectly convey any
 “ money to students or others in such seminaries, should in-
 “ cur the penalty of a *Præmunire*, loss of goods, and per-
 “ petual exile: That if any of the peers of the realm should
 “ offend against this act, they should be brought to their
 “ trial by their peers: That if any person should know any
 “ popish priest or jesuit lurking in the kingdom, and should
 “ not discover him within four days, he should be fined and
 “ imprisoned at the queen’s pleasure: That if any man should
 “ be suspected to be a priest or jesuit, and refuse to submit
 “ himself to examination, he should be imprisoned till he did
 “ submit: That they who should send their children to po-
 “ pish colleges or seminaries, should be fined in one hundred
 “ pounds sterling: That if those who were sent thither, did
 “ not return within a year, they should be incapable to suc-
 “ ceed as heirs to any estate: That if the wardens of the
 “ ports should suffer any besides merchants to cross the seas,
 “ without the queen’s licence, signed by six privy-counsellors,
 “ they should be turned out of their places: That the mas-
 “ ters of ships who received any passengers without such li-
 “ cence, should forfeit their ships and goods, suffer a year’s
 “ imprisonment, and be incapable of exercising navigation
 “ for the future.”

This is the severest act against the catholicks in the reign of queen Elizabeth. But they could blame only themselves, or rather the indiscreet zeal of some amongst them, who never ceased plotting against the queen, and endeavouring to set the queen of Scots on the throne of England. Even this statute was not capable of stopping them, till at last they carried their zeal to such a height, that the destruction of one of the queens became necessary for the preservation of the other *.

The earl of Arundel is apprehended as he is going out of the land. April 25. Camden. Stow, p. 703.

Philip earl of Arundel, eldest son of the duke of Norfolk, had, through the queen’s grace and favour, been restored in blood * and to his father’s estate three years before. But after-

* Besides the two acts already mentioned, it was also enacted in this session, That no person shall be returned to serve upon juries, but what has an estate of freehold lands, tenements, or

hereditaments, to the clear yearly value of four pounds at the least.

* As his brother Thomas was in the parliament held this year. See D’Ewes, p. 341, 342.

wards

lished a manifesto, wherein she alledges as a reason for her aiding the confederate provinces, that the alliance between the kings of England and the princes of the Netherlands, was not so much between their persons, as between their respective states. Whence she inferred, that without breach of the alliance, she might assist the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, oppressed by the Spaniards.

Mean while, as she judged this reason would not be satisfactory to the king of Spain, and that he would doubtless consider this extraordinary aid given his rebellious subjects as a declaration of war, she resolved to prevent him. To that purpose, she equipped a fleet of one and twenty sail, whereon were embarked two thousand three hundred soldiers, besides mariners, to carry war into America, where the Spaniards little expected any such thing. The fleet was commanded by the earl of Carlisle, who had under him the famous sir Francis Drake ^a. The English immediately took St. Jago, one of the Isles of Cape Verd. After that they sailed to St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, and became masters of the capital. Having spent there all January of the year 1586, they went and took Carthagena. Then they burnt the towns of St. Antonio and St. Helena in Florida. A violent storm dispersing the fleet, as they were going upon new expeditions, they joined not again till they came into England ^o, where they brought a booty valued at sixty thousand pounds sterling; but in this expedition seven hundred men perished.

At the same time, John Davis, an Englishman, went ^p in search of a shorter passage through the North of America to the East-Indies. The ice preventing his passing, he long roved on the northern seas, and accidentally discovered a Streight under the polar circle, which still bears his name, but was not what he sought ^q.

Eliz.
1585.

She sends a
fleet into
America,
against the
Spaniards.
Camden.
Hollingsh.
p. 1401.

Davis's
Streight is
the North.
Camden.

^a Sir Francis Drake was admiral of the fleet, and Christopher Carlisle general of the land forces. Camden, p. 509.

^o Keeping on their course along a desolate coast, they lighted upon some Englishmen, who had planted themselves in Virginia, so named in honour of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth; and whom sir Walter Raleigh had, in April this year, carried over thither for a colony. See Hollingsh. p. 1401.—Ralph Lun, one of them, came home with Drake, and was the first that brought tobacco into England. Camden, p. 509. Tobacco was so named from the island

Tobago, one of the Caribbee islands, where it plentifully grows.

^p He sailed with two ships, set forth at the charge of William Sanderfon, a glotemaker, and other Londoners. Camden, p. 510.

^q This year also, licence was granted to several merchants of London to trade to Barbary. Camden, p. 510.—In January, this year, died Edward Fynes lord Clinton, earl of Lincoln, and lord high-admiral, and was buried at Windsor. He was succeeded by Charles lord Howard of Effingham. Stow, p. 700, 709.

Eliz.
1585.

Affairs of
France.
Mézerei.
Thuanus.
P. Daniel.

Before I leave the year 1585, it will be necessary to relate what passed in France. After the duke of Guise had concluded his treaty with the king of Spain, he tried all ways to corrupt the French, and gain them to his party. His aim was to seize the crown, either before or after Henry III's death. He could not expect that the king, who hated him mortally, would countenance his design; and, on the other hand, he had no manner of colour to aspire to the crown, except his pretended descent from the house of Charles the Great. And even in that case, the duke of Lorraine, head of that house, would have been before him. To assert therefore so extraordinary a title, the people's affection and a religious zeal were to supply all defects, otherwise there was not the least appearance, that in cold blood the French should set on the throne, after the king's death, a foreign prince, in prejudice of the king of Navarre, who was descended from St. Lewis. To accomplish his project, the duke of Guise began, by means of his emissaries, to disparage the king as a favourer of hereticks, and to rouse the zeal of the catholics against the Huguenots, and particularly against the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, who professed the reformed religion after a publick abjuration. Mean while, as the duke of Guise did not think proper to discover his designs, he published a manifesto in the cardinal de Bourbon's name, wherein he pretended to demonstrate, that the crown belonged to the cardinal after the king's death. Not that he desired to place him on the throne; but it was sufficient first to set aside the king of Navarre. That done, under colour of hindering the throne from being filled with a heretick, he possessed himself of several places, pretending however, it was for the king's service and the good of the realm.

Mézerei.

The life led by the king for some time, caused him to forfeit the esteem of most of his subjects. The duke of Guise's intrigues, who represented him a favourer of hereticks, because he supported the house of Bourbon's title, helped also to alienate the people from him. In short, the court of Rome, the clergy, the friers, were for the duke of Guise, and served him to the utmost of their power. So the king being unable to resist, was forced to forsake the king of Navarre, publish an edict against the Huguenots, and join with the duke in their extirpation. Nay, he had the vexation to be obliged to give him the command of the army.

Elizabeth
aids the Huguenots.
Camden.
Thuanus.

The king of Navarre and the Huguenots, finding themselves thus attacked, assembled all their forces in their absence. But these forces were so inconsiderable in comparison of

Elizabeth having notice of the fact, demanded a solemn reparation. James did not refuse it; but pretended he could do nothing before he had proofs. This was not easy, by reason of the custom which allowed not the evidence of the English against the Scots, or the Scots against the English, concerning what passed on the borders. This difficulty causing the affair to be prolonged, and the earl of Arran having his liberty, Elizabeth took occasion to permit the Scotch fugitives who had fled into England to return home. Wotton being informed of the queen's design, laboured to corrupt several Scotch courtiers¹, and gain them to Elizabeth's interest. If Melvil is to be credited, the king's greatest confidants were of this number. So Wotton, finding himself well supported, formed the project to surprise the king in Sterling park and carry him into England. But being disappointed, he resolved to force the guard of the castle, and had now prepared every thing necessary to execute his design, when the king having some intelligence of it, broke his measures by a sudden departure from Sterling. Then Wotton perceiving he was discovered, privately retired without taking leave. This was the man sent by Elizabeth to king James to entertain and divert him.

Eliz.
1585.

The queen demands satisfaction. Camden. She suffers the Scotch fugitives to return home. Camden.

Wotton resolves to carry away the king of Scotland. Melvil, p. 167, 168.

He is disappointed, and flies.

But all the danger was not over. James was surrounded with persons who corresponded with the fugitives, and hindered him from providing for his safety. The fugitive lords were now entered Scotland, where they had drawn together three thousand men, and were marching directly to Sterling, where the king was returned, without any precaution taken at court to stop their proceedings. This negligence, caused by the traitors about the king's person, afforded the malecontents an opportunity to come to the gates of Sterling, where the king was so surprised, that he was forced to put himself into their hands; but the earl of Arran had time to escape. The malecontents having the king in their power, treated him with such respect and submission, that they persuaded him at length they were not his enemies, as he had been made to believe. He owned he had been misled by Arran's pernicious counsels; and consented that the exiles should be restored to their estates. By this revolution, Elizabeth had the satisfaction to see the king of Scotland guided by counsellors from whom she had nothing to fear, whereas before she was under continual apprehensions with respect to the affairs of that

The fugitives return into Scotland. Melvil, p. 168, 169. Camden. Spotiswood.

They seize the king's person,

and are restored.

¹ Namely, the earl of Bothwell, the lord Humes, Maxwell lately created earl of Morton, Patrick Gray, Belenden justice-clerk, and Maitland lord secretary. Camden, p. 505.

Eliz. kingdom. Shortly after, colonel Stewart going to Copenhagen, began there a treaty about the king's marriage with one of the princesses of Denmark.

Treaty about
the king's
marriage.
Melvil,
p. 171.

Camden.
Hollingsh.
p. 1411, &c.
Stow,
p. 1707, &c.

The queen's
treaty with
the states.
A.G. Pub.
xv. p. 793,
&c.
Camden.
Speed,
p. 855.

The earl of
Leicester is
made general
of the Eng-
lish troops.
A.G. Pub.

xv. p. 799.
The queen's
manifesto.
Stow.
Comp. Hist.
t. ii, p. 634.

In the mean time, the affairs of the United Provinces were in so dangerous a situation, that the states could no longer hope to withstand the king of Spain, unless they were strongly assisted. Henry III. having refused the sovereignty offered him by the states, they applied to Elizabeth, who also refused it, for fear of engaging in a very troublesome affair. She perceived a war with Spain for the preservation of that sovereignty would draw her into extraordinary charges, which she should not be at liberty to lessen as she pleased. She chose rather, in pursuance of her scheme, to give the states a powerful aid, and the king of Spain a diversion, because the aid might be increased or lessened, according to the situation of her affairs. She made therefore a treaty with them, promising to find them five thousand foot ^k and a thousand horse, under the command of an English general. It was agreed, she should pay these troops, on condition of being repaid at the end of the war, namely, in the first year of the peace, the expences advanced in the first year of the war, and the rest in four years: That for security of payment, Flushing and Rammekins in Zealand, and the Briel in Holland, should be delivered into her hands: That the governors, she should place there ^l, should exercise no authority over the inhabitants: That the money being repaid, these places should be restored, not to the king of Spain, but to the states: That the English general, and two others, whom she should name, should have a place in the council of state, and no peace or truce be made without a mutual consent: That if the queen should send a fleet to sea, the states should be obliged to join it with an equal number of ships, under the command of the English admiral: Lastly, That the ports should be open and free to both nations ^m.

The treaty being concluded, the queen appointed for general of her auxiliary forces the earl of Leicester, for whom she had ever a great affection; but he came not into Flanders till about the end of the year. Some time after, she pub-

^k Of which sir John Norris was appointed general. Speed, p. 855.

^l Sir Philip Sidney was appointed governor of Flushing, and sir Thomas Cecil of the Briel, Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 801, 802.

^m The king of Sweden, when he heard of this treaty, said, Queen Elizabeth has now taken the diadem from her head, and adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war. Camden, p. 568.

lished

on this is only a conjecture, but it is built upon the situation Elizabeth's affairs at that time.

Eliz.

1585.

To execute the first part of her scheme, she sent sir Thomas Bodley into Germany and Denmark, to endeavour to persuade the protestant princes to make a league defensive with England^b. He had orders, among other things, to acquaint the king of Denmark, that the duke of Lorraine, when he courted Elizabeth, pretended a right to the crown of Denmark as grandson to Christiern II. by his daughter. I do not know the success of Bodley's negotiations; but as Elizabeth was extremely frugal of her money, it is likely she used not the properest means to gain the German princes to her interest. I shall speak presently of the second and third articles of Elizabeth's scheme relating to France and the Netherlands. As to the fourth concerning Scotland, we find it explained in Melvil's Memoirs, if we may however give entire credit to this author, who seems extremely prejudiced against Elizabeth.

She sends an ambassador into Germany many. Camden.

The king of Scotland being determined to marry, cast his eyes on the king of Denmark's eldest daughter, who having some notice of it, resolved to send an embassy into Scotland, under colour of proposing an alliance between the two kingdoms, and withal to give king James an opportunity to propose his marriage. Melvil pretends; Elizabeth having intelligence of the project, resolved to use her endeavours to render it abortive^c. Not that the marriage was unsuitable for the king of Scotland, but it was requisite for Elizabeth that he should not marry, unless he would take an English wife of her chusing, or rather, she wished to have him in her power before he was married. She writ to him therefore, that to preserve with him always a good understanding, she intended to send an ambassador, who should reside at his court, not to trouble his majesty with business, but entertain him with merry discourse, and bear him company in his recreations: that she had chosen for that purpose Edward Wotton, a man of wit and a great traveller, imagining he would be very proper to divert him agreeably, and hoped he would take great delight in his conversation. Melvil, who was ordered to receive the ambassador, remembered to have seen him formerly at Paris, at his uncle Dr. Wotton's the English ambassador;

She tries to break off the project of the king of Scotland's marriage. Melvil, p. 158, 161.

Camden. Spotiswood.

Melvil, p. 159.

^b He was sent to the king of Denmark, the elector palatine, the dukes of Saxony, Wirtemberg, Brunswick and Lüneburg, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the landgrave of Hesse. Camden, p. 504.

^c The earl of Arran had promised her, that he would not let the king marry within the space of three years. Melvil, p. 166.

Eliz. and that, young as he was, he had ensnared that able minister the old constable Montmorency ^d. He warned the king 1585. of it, who regarded it not. On the contrary, he made the ambassador partner of all his pleasures, and one of his greatest favourites.

Melvil,
p. 161.

Affairs of
Scotland,
p. 162, &c.

p. 165, 166.

p. 167.

Francis Ruffel killed on
the borders.
Camden.
Melvil,
p. 166.
Stow.

July 16.

The Danish ambassadors being arrived in Scotland, Wotton and some of the king's ministers so ordered it, that they received so many mortifications that they were going to return in very great discontent ^e. But Melvil informing them of the state of affairs, persuaded them to have patience; and indeed, the king being undeceived of some notions instilled into him against the king of Denmark, sent them back better satisfied. Shortly after he dispatched Peter Young ^f his almoner to the same prince, to thank him for his embassy, and to acquaint him that he would very soon send ambassadors to him. The real motive of Young's voyage was to see the king of Denmark's two daughters, and inform the king his master of their qualifications.

In the mean while, the earl of Arran's credit sensibly decreased by the address of the master of Gray his rival, who knew better how to manage the king. Moreover, Wotton helped with all his power to ruin the favourite; for, besides that Elizabeth had no farther need of him since she had won Gray, he was a man on whom she could not much rely. An accident also on the borders did the earl of Arran great injury. Thomas Carr the laird of Fernihurst, who had married his niece, holding a conference with sir Francis Ruffel ^g, the earl of Bedford's son, upon affairs relating to both kingdoms, an Englishman being taken pilfering, raised a quarrel between the two guards ^h, wherein Ruffel was slain. The English ambassador made great noise about the affair, pretending the earl of Arran had raised this quarrel by his nephew, to breed a rupture between the two kingdoms. Upon his complaints, the earl of Arran was confined to his own house, and Fernihurst sent to prison, where he died quickly after.

^d See towards the end of queen Mary's reign, where mention is made of this snare.

^e They were several times upon the point of returning to their country. Wotton was so deceitful, that he frequently visited them, seemed sorry they were so abused, offered to lend them money, &c. See Melvil, p. 162, 163.

^f Rapin calls him Patrick. See Melvil, p. 167.

^g And sir John Forster, wardens of the middle marches. Camden, p. 505. The earl of Bedford, sir Francis's father, died the next day. Stow, p. 709.

^h The Scots were about three thousand in number, and the English not above three hundred. Camden, p. 505.

wards he embraced the catholick religion, and being twice cited before the council to answer to certain accusations entered against him, was confined to his own house. Six months after he was released, and came to the house of lords, but withdrew the very first day, not to be obliged to be present at the sermon. As he was extremely addicted to his religion, he resolved to leave the kingdom to enjoy the free exercise of it, and before his departure writ a letter to the queen, which was not to be delivered till after he was gone. The letter was full of complaints that his innocence was oppressed. He said, "that to avoid the misfortune befallen his grandfather and father, and to serve God with freedom according to his conscience, he had resolved to quit the kingdom, but not his allegiance to his sovereign." But being betrayed by his own servants, he was apprehended as he was going to embark, and sent to the Tower.

Eliz.

1585.

Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, brother to him that was beheaded, was in the same Tower, having been charged with being concerned in Throckmorton's conspiracy, and with holding correspondence with the lord Paget and the duke of Guise. June 21, this year, he was found dead in his bed, shot with three bullets under his left pap. As he was alone in his room, which was bolted on the inside, it was easy to see he had killed himself.

The earl of Northumberland kills himself. Camden. Stow, p. 706, &c. Hollingh. p. 143, &c.

The calm Elizabeth had enjoyed for some years, began to be turned into storms which threatened her from all quarters. This change must be ascribed to three principal causes. The first was the duke of Guise's power, which was almost equal to that of the French king himself. Philip II's flourishing condition may be reckoned a second, who, after acquiring the kingdom of Portugal, was upon the point of reducing to his obedience the revolted provinces of the Netherlands. The third was the hopes queen Elizabeth's enemies flattered themselves with, of gaining the king of Scotland, and making use of him to invade England. I mention not the court of Rome, or the English catholicks, who always continued in the same disposition, so there was nothing new in that respect. The queen of Scots was ever the stumbling-block. It was she that gave birth to all the contrivances. Her deliverance from captivity was desired, in order to set on her head the crown of England and Scotland, and restore by her means the catholick religion in both kingdoms. Such was the scheme of Elizabeth's enemies. She could not be ignorant of it, since they had pursued it from the beginning of her reign; as, on her part, she had made it her whole business

Elizabeth is threatened from several quarters. Camden.

Eliz.
1585.

to break their measures. But some advantages she had hitherto enjoyed, began to fail her. These were, first, the jealousy between the crowns of France and Spain, which had restrained both from attacking her openly. Secondly, the French Huguenots had been sufficiently strong to support themselves, and disable the court from attempting any thing against England. Thirdly, whilst the affairs of the confederates in the Netherlands were prosperous, they had so employed the Spanish forces, that it was not possible for Philip II. to think seriously of foreign affairs. But at the time I am speaking of, the scene was entirely changed. France was in such a way, as Elizabeth could no longer rest her safety upon the jealousy between the French and Spanish crowns, that foundation being grown too weak. The duke of Guise, her mortal enemy, was more powerful in France than the king himself, and besides, was supported by the king of Spain. Very probably, the Huguenots would be entirely oppressed, and the Low-Countries soon brought under the Spanish yoke; after which, there was no doubt, England would be invaded. Elizabeth therefore was to think betimes of preventing the impending danger, or resolve to sustain alone the efforts of her enemies. Prudence required that she should in the first place try to avoid the assaults which were preparing against her, without neglecting however the means of withstanding them, if she should be forced to it. The scheme she laid was this, as will plainly appear in the sequel. First, she resolved to make alliances, if possible, with the two Northern crowns and the German protestants, tho' it were only to raise the jealousy of her enemies. Secondly, to send a strong aid to the confederates of the Low-Countries, to keep the king of Spain employed there. Thirdly, to assist the French Huguenots, to prevent their being too easily oppressed, knowing the duke of Guise would be unable to attempt any thing against her, so long as the civil wars held him employed in France. Lastly, she thought there was no better way to break her enemies measures, than to endeavour, if possible, to have the king of Scotland in her power; or, if that failed, to raise troubles in Scotland, which should hinder that young prince from framing projects detrimental to England. It is also very likely, that at this time the death of the queen of Scots was determined, since her life was the foundation of all the plots against Elizabeth both at home and abroad. At least, if this resolution was not absolutely taken, very probably Elizabeth and her council were determined not to spare Mary, when the necessity of affairs required her to be sacrificed to the publick safety. I

About Whitfuntide, Ballard was sent back into England by the conspirators, to gain proper persons to facilitate the execution of the project. They told him, he would meet at London with a young gentleman called Anthony Babington [†], whom he might trust. This Babington, who was a zealous catholick, having been lately in France, was gained there by the bishop of Glascow, Mary's ambassador, and by Morgan an English fugitive. He was so prepossessed in favour of the queen of Scots, that he was thought qualified for any enterprize, and for that reason had been recommended to Mary without his knowledge. So, upon his return to England, she writ to him, and from that time he was employed to convey to her the letters which came from France, till she was committed to the custody of sir Amias Powlet and sir Drue Drury. Then Babington, fearing the watchfulness of the new keepers, would have nothing more to do with the letters either to or from her.

Eliz.
1586.

Camden.
Hollingsh.

Ballard, when he came to England, saw Babington, and imparted to him the design to invade England, free the queen of Scots, and set her on the throne. Babington answered, he very much doubted the possibility of executing this project so long as Elizabeth lived. Whereupon Ballard acquainted him also with Savage's vow, to which Babington replied, it was too hazardous to commit the execution of such a design to a single person; that there should be six at least, and Savage, not to break his vow, might be one of the number ^b. Then they conferred together how a foreign army might be brought into the kingdom, otherwise they judged the death of Elizabeth would signify nothing.

A few days after, Babington received, by an unknown hand, a letter in cypher from the queen of Scots, blaming him for his silence, and desiring him to send her the packet of letters come from Morgan, and delivered by the French ambassador's secretary. Babington returned an answer, and after excusing his silence, by reason of his fear of Powlet's and Drury's great watchfulness, imparted to her the plot he had laid with Ballard. In a second letter from Mary of the 27th of July, she highly commended his zeal for the catholick religion, but advises him to attempt nothing till he was sure of foreign assistance. Besides this, she prescribed several things

Mary's
letter to
Babington,
Camden.

[†] Of Derhick in Derbyshire. Ibid.

^b Rapin says, Babington offered to be one of the six; which is a mistake, for Babington tells queen Mary in his letter to her, that whilst these six per-

sons were to commit the tragical execution (as he called it) he himself, with an hundred more, was at the same time to set her at liberty. Ibid.

Eliz.
1586.

for executing the project, as to send privately for the earl of Westmoreland and the lord Paget¹. She chalked out the way for her deliverance², and charged him to promise in her name a good reward to the six persons.

Five others
engage to
kill the
queen.
Camden.

Mean while, Babington had gained some other persons³, among whom was Polly, Walsingham's spy, who by his means was daily informed of what passed among the conspirators. He learnt from him, that the six who had engaged to assassinate the queen, were, Savage, Tilney, Charnock, Abington, Tichburn, and Barnwel, and that they were all six drawn in one picture with Babington in the middle, and a certain motto obscurely signifying their design⁴. Nay, he found means to show this picture to the queen, who knew only Barnwel⁵. She retained however the idea of their faces so well, that walking abroad a little after, and seeing Barnwel, she looked stedfastly on him, and then turning to the captain of the guard, said, 'Am not I fairly guarded, that have not a man in my company that wears a sword?'

Babington was so impatient to see the foreign succours ready to depart for England, that he gave Ballard money, who had undertaken to go into France and hasten them. But as it was not easy to procure passports, Babington found means to be introduced to secretary Walsingham⁶, who, knowing what he was, received him very civilly, and expressed a great value for him. Encouraged by this kind reception, he desired a passport for himself and another for Ballard under a counterfeit name, and affirmed, that by means of his friends at Paris, he should discover many secrets concerning the queen of Scots. Walsingham commended his zeal, and promised him a good reward, if he did the queen any considerable service. He put him likewise in hopes of the passports he desired.

Gifford discovers all to
Walsingham.
Camden.

Polly was not the only person from whom Walsingham learnt the secrets of the conspiracy. Gilbert Gifford, who had been employed to corrupt Savage, being sent into Eng-

¹ And to gain privately the earls of Northumberland and Arundel, and the latter's brothers to her party. Also, that the association amongst them should be entered into, upon pretence that they stood in fear of the puritans. There were likewise commotions to be raised in Ireland. Ibid.

² Either by overturning a cart in the gate, setting the stables on fire, or carrying her away, as she rid abroad for diversion in the fields, betwixt Chartley and Stafford. Camden, p. 516.

³ Edward Windfor, Thomas Salisbury

of Denbighshire, Charles Tilney one of the gentlemen pensioners, Chidies Tichbourne, Edward Abington, Robert Gage of Surrey, John Travers, and John Charnock of Lancashire, John Jones, Barawel an Irishman, and Henry Dumbid.

⁴ The motto was, "Quorum hanc alio properantibus?"

⁵ Camden says, he had often come to her about the earl of Kildare's business. Camden, p. 516.

⁶ By Polly. Camden.

cessity require, for so long time as the vassals of Scotland are bound to furnish the king with troops for the defence^d of the kingdom.

Eliz.
1586.

VI. If Ireland be invaded, the king of Scotland shall hinder the inhabitants of the county of Argyle from entering in a hostile manner into that kingdom.

VII. The king and queen shall mutually deliver all rebels, who shall have attempted any thing against either of the two kingdoms, or at least, they shall compel them to retire from their dominions.

VIII. Within six months, commissioners shall be sent to compound and adjust all differences, which have happened on the borders between the two nations.

IX. Neither of the two princes shall make any treaty, to the prejudice of the articles of this present league, without the consent of the other.

X. This treaty shall be ratified on both sides by letters-patents.

XI. This present treaty shall in no way derogate from former treaties between the two kingdoms, or from those before made by the two crowns with any princes or states, what relates to religion excepted. As to the article concerning religion, it is agreed, this alliance and league offensive and defensive shall remain firm and inviolate.

XII. The treaties shall be confirmed by the states of Scotland, as soon as the king shall attain to the age of twenty-five years; and in like manner, the queen shall cause it to be approved by the parliaments of England and Ireland.

Shortly after the conclusion of this league, a conspiracy was discovered in England, which cost the queen of Scots her life. As this is one of the most important events of queen Elizabeth's reign, it will be necessary to relate all the particulars. But it is a sad thing, these particulars must be taken from the Annals of Elizabeth, written by Camden, a very suspicious author with respect to the queen of Scots. In all the former reigns, there is no remarkable event but what is traced and in some measure cleared in the Collection of the Publick Acts. But as to this, all the acts relating to queen Mary are utterly destroyed^b. On the other hand, James I. son of Mary, succeeding Elizabeth, there was not an English-

Remarks on
Camden's
Annals.

^b Mr. Rapin, in his account of Ruyter's Foed. suspects, that king James I. ordered the archives to be cleared of every act relating to the queen his mother, on purpose to deprive posterity as far as possible of the knowledge of her affairs. *Acta Reg.* vol. iv. p. 2.

Eliz.
1586.

man who dared to write in his reign the truth of what passed in the foregoing, whilst the memory of it was yet fresh. Camden was the only person that undertook to publish the *Annals* of queen Elizabeth's reign, not so much to make known as to disguise the events, as far as they concerned queen Mary, and to give an air of innocence to whatever sullied her reputation when alive. This evidently appears in his account of king Henry Stewart's murder, which has given occasion to presume he has been no faithfuller in what he says of Mary's trial and death. He affirms however, he has followed the *Memoirs* of Edward Barker^c principal register to the queen, of Thomas Wheeler publick-notary, cryer of the court of Canterbury, and other persons of credit whom he does not name. I don't know whether the *Memoirs* he speaks of were ever published, or are still extant. However, from Camden's *Annals* the following account is taken, for want of a more impartial historian.

Conspiracy
against the
queen.
Camden.
Hollinsh.

William Gifford, doctor of divinity in the seminary at Rheims, Gilbert Gifford^d and Hodgeson, English priests, had insinuated into one John Savage their countryman, that it would be a meritorious act to kill Elizabeth, and had caused him to vow it during the Easter-holidays this year 1586^e. At the same time, Ballard an English priest of that seminary, who had been in England notwithstanding the prohibition, returned into France, where he had several conferences with Mendoza and the lord Paget, how to invade England^f. As the chief end of the conspiracy was to restore the catholick religion in England, the point was not only to make away Elizabeth, but forces also were to be ready to deliver Mary and set her on the throne of England. These two projects could not be separated. Ballard was accompanied by one Maud, whom he thought a friend, but who was however secretary Walsingham's spy.

^c Rapin, by mistake, calls him Stephen Parker.

^d Rapin has mistaken the christian names, which are rectified from Camden and Hollinsh.

^e At the same time they wrote a sort of pastoral letter to the English Roman catholicks, not to disturb the government, or attempt any thing against their queen; but to have recourse to tears, prayers, watchings and fastings, the only justifiable weapons of christians against persecution. They also got a report spread, that George Gifford, one of the

queen's gentlemen pensioners, had sworn her majesty's death, and had received a sum of money from the duke of Guise for that purpose. All this was done to amuse the queen and council. Camden, p. 515—Thuanus says, that the day pitched upon for the queen's assassination was August 24, lib. 86.

^f This was judged to be a very proper time, whilst the best English troops were employed in the Netherlands, and the Spaniard, the duke of Guise, and the prince of Parma, ready to invade England. Camden, p. 515.

About

The present juncture was very favourable. The king of Scotland had about him only men well-affected to the reformed religion, and the interests of England. The opportunity therefore was not to be neglected of strictly uniting the two kingdoms; this union being of the utmost consequence to Elizabeth. Accordingly she dispatched Randolph to king James, Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 304, &c. Camden. to represent to him, that the enemies of the protestant religion openly joining together for its destruction, it was the interest of the protestant states to unite also for their common defence. That England and Scotland were the bulwarks of the true religion, and the union of their forces the only possible means to preserve it. That therefore she thought it their common interest to join in a league for the defence of their religion, against all who should attempt to destroy it, at least in England and Scotland. The better to persuade the king to do what the queen desired, Randolph told him, that as his revenues were extremely diminished, by reason of the troubles which had so long afflicted his kingdom, the queen was willing to grant him a pension to assist him in supporting his dignity.^a James readily consented to what was proposed to him, but on condition, nothing should be done in England in prejudice to his right to the crown of that kingdom, and this article, with that of the pension, be inserted in the treaty. Randolph answered, he did not believe that would be possible. As to the pension, he said, if it was put into the treaty, the queen would seem to be tributary to Scotland, to which she would never agree. As to the article of the succession, the queen could not settle it by a publick treaty without the concurrence of the parliament; and the discussion of such an affair might retard the treaty too long, and perhaps give birth to great difficulties, because of the queen his mother's religion: but he did not question, Elizabeth would be very willing to satisfy him in these two points, by means of two secret articles. James being contented with this expedient, Desneval the French ambassador did all that lay in his power to dissuade him from the league. He told him, that Elizabeth's aim was only to secure herself from the attacks of those who were combined for the deliverance of queen Mary. That it was a strange thing he should think of uniting with a queen, who kept his mother in prison, against those who were labouring to free her from captivity. He added, the king his master could not but consider the league as an express breach of the ancient alliance

Eliz.

1586.

Strype's Ann.
tom. iii.
p. 304, &c.
Camden.

The French
ambassador
opposes it.
Camden.

^a The intended pension was to be 5000*l.* sterling a year. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 304.

Eliz.
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The king's
answer.

between France and Scotland. James answered, that the queen his mother's misfortunes proceeded wholly from her own friends, who, under colour of serving her, only aimed at executing their own projects. That, as to the alliance between France and Scotland, he did not see wherein he should violate it, since France pretended not to break it, when, without signifying it to him, she made a league defensive with England.

James having resolved upon what the queen desired, the plenipotentiaries of the two kingdoms met at Berwick, and signed a treaty of alliance and stricter amity between the two crowns^a.

Treaty of
league be-
tween Eli-
zabeth and
James.
A. A. Pub.
xv. p. 803.
Camden.

The motive of the treaty was, that whereas the princes, who called themselves catholicks, were entered into leagues for extirpating the protestant religion, not only in their own dominions, but also in foreign countries, it was necessary the protestants should unite for its defence. That therefore the queen of England and king of Scotland did agree upon the following articles.

I. By this treaty, they shall be obliged to defend the evangelical religion against all those who shall attack it in either kingdom.

II. This league shall be offensive and defensive against those who shall hinder the free exercise of the said religion in either of the two kingdoms, all other treaties and alliances to the contrary notwithstanding.

III. If one of the two parties be invaded, the other shall not directly or indirectly assist the invader, notwithstanding any alliance or treaty formerly entered into.

IV. If England be invaded in any parts remote from Scotland, the king of Scotland shall send the queen of England two thousand horse and five thousand foot, at the queen's charges from the day of their entering England; and in the like case, the queen shall send the king of Scotland six thousand foot and three thousand horse.

V. If England be invaded in any place within sixty miles of Scotland, the king of Scotland shall draw together all his forces, and join the same with the queen's, in order to pursue the invaders for the space of thirty days together; or if ne-

^a This league was signed July 5. The English plenipotentiaries were Edward earl of Rutland, William lord Burre, vice-president of the council of the north, and Thomas Randolph, esq;

And the Scottish were, Francis earl of Bothwell, Robert lord of Boyle, and Sir James Home. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 803.

of their enemies, that there was no likelihood of withstanding them long. The prince of Condé, attempting to relieve the castle of Angers, which was besieged, was suddenly surrounded by enemies, and forced to flee away from his army, and fly into England. Elizabeth received him very civilly, and as she knew the enemies of the Huguenots were also hers, promised to assist him¹. It was not without reason that she concerned herself with the affairs of the Huguenots, since the league was not limited to their destruction, but aimed at the ruin of the protestant religion throughout Europe, and especially in England. Of this had been seen a very sensible proof this same year. Gregory XIII. dying in April, Sixtus V. his successor, thundered the censures of the church against the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, calling them not only hereticks and relapsed, but also a bastard progeny. Hence it was easy to see, how much the pope countenanced the duke of Guise's designs, and the queen of England might infer, how great reason she had to fear, if the duke should one day become king of France, being supported by the pope and the Spaniard. Upon this account it was she supplied the prince of Condé with fifty thousand crowns, to assist him in maintaining the war, and lent him ten ships, with which he raised the blockade of Rochelle.

Eliz.

1585.

The earl of Leicester being arrived in Holland the beginning of the year 1586, was received as a guardian angel². The states, under colour of expressing their gratitude to Elizabeth, declared him³ governor and captain-general of Holland, Zealand, and the United Provinces, and invested him with almost an absolute power⁴. Very probably their aim was to engage the queen farther than she intended. She had refused the offered sovereignty, and it was designed to give it her in some measure, whether she would or no, by investing her general with almost a sovereign authority. But Elizabeth was too wise to be ensnared by this artifice. She sharply complained to the states of this sort of deceit, and gave withal the earl of Leicester a severe reprimand for accepting the

1586.

Elisabeth.
complains of
the authority
given by
the states to
the earl of
Leicester.
Grotius.
Camden.
Strada.
Stow,
p. 712.
Hollingsh.
p. 1420.

¹ He came before, in 1580, to solicit for succour, but could not obtain any. See Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 619.

² He set out from England, December 8, with fifty sail, and a splendid retinue, being accompanied by the earls of Essex, Oxford, and Northumberland; the lords Audley, Willoughby, Sheffield, Berroughs, and North; Sir William Russell, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Bassett, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervase Clifton,

Sir Philip, Robert, and Henry Sidney, Sir William Pelham, and other knights, with a select troop of five hundred gentlemen. Camden, p. 510. Stowe, p. 710, 711.

³ On February 6. See Stow, p. 712.

⁴ He was attended with a noble guard, and saluted by all men with the title of Your Excellency, upon which he began to take upon him as if he were a perfect king. Camden, p. 512.

honour,

Eliz.
1586.

Camden.

honour, without having first consulted her. She told him, he had acted directly contrary to her intention, since she had publicly declared in her manifesto, that she was very ready to relieve her distressed neighbours, but never meant to assume any power over them *. The states excused themselves by saying, the necessity of their affairs had obliged them to confer such an authority on the earl of Leicester, that he might be the better able to heal their divisions, which put them in continual danger of perishing: That they could not revoke the authority granted to her general without great inconveniences, and had not however divested themselves of the supreme power. The earl of Leicester appeased the queen by his submissions. In fine, she consented the patent should subsist; but intimated to the states, they vainly hoped to induce her to accept of the sovereignty of their country, and that her intention was to keep within the bounds she had prescribed to herself, that is, not to be obliged to assist them any farther than her affairs would permit.

The earl of
Leicester's
ambitious
projects.
Grotius.
Spced.

The earl of Leicester, a man of great pride and ambition, was no sooner clothed with this exorbitant power, than he began secretly to form projects destructive of the liberties of the country he was come to defend. At least, this is what all the Dutch historians tax him with. They pretend, his design was to render himself sovereign or perpetual dictator of the provinces, with whose government he had been entrusted. He made use of such means as bred an universal discontent against him. In short, after a campaign, wherein he performed no great exploits, he returned to England, to take proper measures to facilitate the execution of his projects, and probably to persuade the queen to support him †.

He returns
into Eng-
land.
Decemb. 3.

Elizabeth
proposes a
league with
Scotland.
Camden.

Whilst France and the Netherlands were in commotion, Elizabeth wisely provided for her own and her people's security. This she did, not only by assisting the Huguenots and the confederate provinces, but also by preventing the dangers which might come from Scotland, in case the king of Spain and the duke of Guise should be ever able to invade her ‡.

* She also added these words, "We little thought, that one whom we had raised out of the dust, and prosecuted with such singular favour above all others, would with so great contempt have slighted and broken our commands in a manner of so great consequence." Camden, p. 511.

† In an engagement near Zutphen, the learned and ingenious sir Philip Sidney received a wound in the thigh, of

which he died, October 17; and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral. Camden, p. 512. Stow, p. 737, 739.

‡ The jesuits began about this time to forge a new and pretended title to the succession of the kingdom of England for the Spaniards; and to that end, sent into England one of their society, to draw noblemen and gentlemen to the Spaniards party. Camden, p. 513.

and to confirm the villain in his resolution, served^d at the same time to convey letters to the queen of Scots, and send back her answers. To make trial of his fidelity, several blank papers made up like letters, were sent at first, and as it was known by the answers that they were delivered, he was employed without scruple. Some time after, Gifford, whether struck with remorse, or allured with the hopes of reward, came to Walsingham, and informed him of all he knew. The secretary received him very kindly, and promised to use his interest for him with the queen, and procure him a good reward. Then instructing him how to behave, he sent him to the place where the queen of Scots was kept, with a letter to sir Amias Powlet, desiring him to connive at the bearer's corrupting one of his servants to deliver letters to the queen of Scotland, and bring back her answers. But Powlet would not suffer any of his domesticks to be concerned in such an intrigue. He only hinted at a certain brewer, whom he thought fit for the purpose, and who indeed suffered himself to be corrupted. By this means, Gifford conveyed to the captive queen letters, whereof Walsingham had taken copies^p, and received her answers, which were served in the same manner. At length, when the court was sufficiently instructed, Ballard was apprehended, under colour, that being a popish priest, he had entered the kingdom without a licence. At this news, Babington was in the utmost consternation. He recovered however out of his fright, as it did not appear, that Ballard was arrested for the conspiracy, and nothing was said at court intimating the discovery of the plot. He resolved therefore to try to save Ballard, and to that end represented to Walsingham, that he would be of great service to him in France, to discover the secret practices of the queen of Scots, and intreated him for his release. Walsingham laid the blame of Ballard's being arrested upon the watchfulness of the spies, employed to discover the popish priests and jesuits. He promised to endeavour to procure his release, and fed him with hopes that the passports would be ready very soon. Mean while, he so managed that Babington was narrowly watched. In short, Babington and all the rest of the conspirators were seized at the same time, and being severally examined, impeached one another, and discovered the whole plot^q.

Eliz.
1586.
who makes
use of him
to deliver
Mary's let-
ters, and
bring back
her answers

The conspi-
rators are
arrested.
July.
Camden.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

It

^p Thomas Phillips was his decypherer, and one Arthur Gregory opened and sealed them again. Camden, p. 517.

^q Walsingham had carried on matters himself as far as Ballard's taking
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up, without acquainting the rest of the queen's council, and would have gone on, but the queen would not suffer him. Wherefore he sent a note to his man Scudamore, whom he had ordered to
H h watch

Eliz.
1586.

Mary's pa-
pers are all
seized, with
her two se-
cretaries.
Camden.

Artifice to
get Mary's
papers from
the French
ambassador.

The conspi-
rators are
executed.
Sept. 13, 15,
—20, 21.
Camden.
Stow.
State Try.

It is very likely, as I said, that queen Elizabeth's council had resolved, on the first pretence, to put the queen of Scots to death. Her life continually endangered Elizabeth's, and of this there was but too much reason to be convinced by the late discoveries. So this opportunity was embraced. Great care was taken to hinder her being informed of the seizing of the conspirators, and sir Thomas Gorges an officer was sent to acquaint her with it, who surprised her with the news, just as she had taken horse to ride a-hunting. She would have returned to her apartment, but was not permitted till such time as all her papers were seized and sent to court. Nass and Curle her secretaries, the one a Frenchman, the other a Scot, were apprehended at the same time, and without being suffered to speak with her, conducted to London. But to have still more convincing proofs against her, a method was used which succeeded according to expectation. Gifford having revealed, that he had delivered to the French ambassador several papers of moment concerning the queen of Scots, a false action, no way relating to the conspiracy, was brought against him, for which he was banished the realm. Before his departure, he waited on the ambassador, and acquainting him with the sentence passed upon him, left a paper cut after a certain manner, and charged him to deliver the queen of Scots papers to him only that should produce the counter-part. Which counter-part he gave to Walsingham, who by that means came at every thing the ambassador had in his hands.

The court being thus sufficiently informed of all the circumstances of the plot, fourteen of the conspirators were arraigned, who received sentence of death, and confessed all.

watch Babington, that he should observe him more strictly. The man read the note so, that Babington sitting near him, read it along with him. Whereupon suspecting all was discovered, he rose from the table, as they were at supper in a tavern, and leaving his cloak and sword behind him, went out of the room, as if he intended to pay the reckoning, and made all the haste he could to Westminster, and changing cloaths with Charnock, withdrew into St. John's wood with him and others, and lurking about for ten days, were at last discovered near Harrow on the Hill, hid in barns, and dressed like countrymen. *Ibid.*

* She was led from one gentleman's

house to another in the neighbourhood. Camden, p. 518.

* Camden says, the ambassador was to deliver the letters from the queen or the fugitives, to the person who should bring him the counter-part; but mentions no papers left in the ambassador's hands by Gifford, p. 518.

† On the 13th of September, seven were arraigned and condemned of high treason, and two days after, the other seven were sentenced in like manner. The first seven were executed on the 13th, cut down, their privities cut off, and their bowels taken out whilst alive. But on the morrow, the other seven, by the queen's order, hung till they were dead before they were cut down and bowelled. Camden, p. 518.

Care

Care was taken, before their execution, to record all their confessions. Naue and Curle, Mary's secretaries, being examined, confessed they had writ in cypher the letters found in the queen their mistress's cabinet, or intercepted by Gifford's means. Camden insinuates here, that Curle was bribed by Walsingham with the promise of a reward, which he afterwards refused to perform. However, sir Edward Wotton was sent to the court of France with authentick copies, attested by several lords, of the queen of Scots letters, that he might show them to the king. Probably, these letters discovered how far Mary was concerned in the plot, and her correspondence with the king of Spain and the duke of Guise.

At last, the resolution being taken of trying and condemning queen Mary, as the prime cause of the dangers to which Elizabeth was continually exposed, it was debated, on what statute she should be proceeded against. But there was only one that could serve for that purpose, namely, the act passed the last year, which concerned her in particular. It was so uncommon a case to try a foreign queen, who was come unarmed into the kingdom to seek for refuge as a suppliant, that it would have been in vain to search, in all the antient statutes, after any thing to serve for ground to such a proceeding. This gives occasion to presume, when the act was made the last year, the queen of Scots death was already determined, and this statute was to serve for foundation to her sentence. Some however pretend, the intent of the act was only to keep her in awe, and let her see what she was to expect if she continued her practices, and that it was her own fault if she did not make a good use of the warning. Wherefore in virtue of the act, Elizabeth, by letters patents under the great seal, appointed forty-two commissioners, with whom she joined five judges of the realm, to try the queen of Scots. Some days before, certain lords, as well privy-counsellors as others, fell on their knees, and besought her to take pity on herself, the whole nation, and all their posterity, by punishing the queen of Scots. It must be observed, that throughout this whole affair, Elizabeth always pretended to act with regret;

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1586.

p. 518.

The court is
determined
to try Mary.
Camden.

Commissioners are appointed.
Melvil,
p. 172.

* There were found in it many letters from persons beyond sea, from several English noblemen, &c. and answers to them, with about sixty tables of private cyphers and characters; Camden.

* Some historians say, that queen Elizabeth endeavoured to have her poisoned by her cook. And that after-

wards, the earl of Leicester advised to dispatch her by poison, and privately sent a divine to Walsingham to persuade him to it. But Walsingham urged, that, besides the injustice of the thing, it was both dangerous and dishonourable to the queen. Martyre de Marie, p. 275. Camden, p. 519. Spottiswood, p. 351.

Eliz. and from the necessity she was under of saving her people,
 1586. whom she beheld in extreme danger. So, the proceeding of
 these lords agreed with her designs. The queen's commission
 ran in this manner.

The queen's
 commission.
 Camden.

‘ Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France and
 Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. To the most
 reverend father in Christ, John archbishop of Canterbury,
 primate and metropolitan of all England, and one of our
 privy-council; and to our trusty and well-beloved sir Tho-
 mas Bromley knight, chancellor of England, and &c.
 Greeting *.

‘ Whereas by an act of parliament held in the 26th year
 of our reign, it was enacted that, &c.’

Here was inserted the act mentioned under the last year.

‘ And whereas since the first day of June, in the seven and
 twentieth year of our reign, divers matters have been com-
 passed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our royal per-
 son, as well by Mary daughter and heir of James V. king
 of Scotland, and commonly called queen of Scots, and
 dowager of France, pretending title to the crown of this
 realm of England, as by divers other persons, with the pri-
 vity of the same Mary, as we are given to understand:
 And whereas we do intend and determine that the act afore-
 said be in all and every part thereof duly and effectually exe-
 cuted, according to the tenour of the same, and that all of-
 fences abovesaid in the act abovesaid mentioned, as abovesaid,
 and the circumstances of the same be examined, and sen-
 tence or judgment thereupon given, according to the tenour
 and effect of the said act. To you, and the greater part
 of you, we do give full and absolute power, faculty, and
 authority, according to the tenour of the said act, to examine

* The rest of the commissioners were, the lord Borleigh, the marquiss of Win-
 chester, the earl of Oxford great cham-
 berlain, the earl of Shrewsbury earl
 marshal of England; the earl of Kent,
 the earl of Derby, the earl of Wor-
 cester, the earl of Rutland, the earl of
 Warwick master of the ordnance, the
 earls of Pembroke, Leicester, and Lin-
 coln; viscount Montague; the lord
 Howard high-admiral of England;
 Hunsdon lord chamberlain; Abergar-
 venny, Zouch, Morley, Cobham lord
 warden of the Cinque-Ports; Stafford,
 Grey of Wilton, Lumley, Stourton,

Sandes, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John
 of Bletsho, Buckhurst, Compton, Che-
 ney; sir Francis Knolles treasurer of the
 household, sir James Crofts comptroller,
 sir Christopher Hatton vice-chamber-
 lain, sir Francis Walsingham and Wil-
 liam Davison secretaries of state, sir Ralph
 Sadler chancellor of the duchy of Lan-
 caster, sir Walter Mildmay chanceller of
 the exchequer, sir Amias Powlet captain
 of Jersey, John Woolley, Esq; secretary
 for the Latin tongue; sir Christopher
 Wray, sir Edmund Anderson, sir Roger
 Manwood, sir Thomas Gawdy, William
 Periam, judges. Camden, p. 519.

“ all

* all and singular matters compassed and imagined, tending to Eliz.
 * the hurt of our royal person, as well by the aforesaid Mary, 1586.
 * as by any other person or persons whatsoever, with the pri-
 * vity of the same Mary, and all circumstances of the same
 * and all other offences abovesaid, in the act abovesaid, as
 * aforesaid, mentioned, and all circumstances of the same,
 * and of every of them; and thereupon, according to the te-
 * nour of the act aforesaid, to give sentence or judgment, as
 * upon good proof of the matter shall appear to you. And
 * therefore we do command you, that you at certain days and
 * places which you or the greater part of you shall thereunto
 * fore appoint, diligently proceed upon the premises in form
 * aforesaid, &c. 7

It must be observed, that among the commissioners were the Remark on
 lord treasurer Burleigh and secretary Walsingham, both Eli- the judges.
 zabeth's most trusty ministers, known enemies of the queen
 of Scots, and probably authors and promoters of the resolu-
 tion to bring her to a trial. As it was hard to believe that
 Elizabeth had taken such a resolution without imparting it to
 her ministers and council, and without her council's appro-
 bation, it should seem she ought not to have appointed her
 ministers and privy-counsellors for Mary's judges. But on the
 other hand, as she was willing to be sure of the success of the
 trial, she had a mind doubtless that persons of so great weight
 as ministers and privy-counsellors should be ready to turn the
 scale, in case of opposition from the other judges.

Thirty-six of the commissioners meeting the 11thth of Oc- The com-
 tober at Fotheringhay castle in the county of Northampton, mission is
 where the queen of Scots was then in custody, sent her queen notified to
 Elizabeth's letter^a, which when she had read, she answered, Mary.
 "She was sorry the queen her sister was misinformed of her. Her answer.
 "That she had ever thought the association and the subse- Camden.
 "quent act of parliament aimed wholly at her, and that she State-Trials.
 "should bear the blame of whatever was contrived in foreign
 "countries. That it was very strange the queen of England
 "should consider her as a subject, and command her to sub-
 "mit to a trial. That she was a sovereign queen, and
 "would do nothing prejudicial to royal majesty, to herself,

^a Very great care was taken in draw-
 ing up this commission, as the reader
 may see in Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p.
 362, &c.

^b Rapin, by mistake, says the 9th.
 See Camden.

^c Rapin says, by mistake, the com-
 mission was sent to her. The letters
 were sent next day to Mary, by sir Wal-
 ter Mildmay, Powlet, and Edward Bar-
 ker publick notary, who were deputed
 by the commissioners. Camden, p. 320.

Eliz. 1586. " or the king her son. That besides, the laws and statutes of England were unknown to her, and who were her peers she could not tell. That she was destitute of counsellors, and all her papers were taken from her. That she had stirred up no man against Elizabeth, nor committed any crime. That she was not to be charged but upon her own words or writings, and she was sure nothing criminal could be produced against her, except the recommending her cause to foreign princes, which she did not pretend to deny."

She refuses to answer.

On the morrow, the commissioners sent her ^b a copy of her answer, and after it was read to her, she said, " It was rightly taken, but she had forgot one very material thing, namely, that it was said in Elizabeth's letters ^c, she was subject to the laws of England, because she had long lived under their protection, but all the world knew she came into England to crave the assistance of the queen her sister, and had been ever since detained in prison; and therefore had not enjoyed the protection of the laws, nay, had not been able to understand what manner of laws they were."

Hatton persuades her to plead.
Camden.

In a word, she disputed two whole days the authority of the judges, and would not own that in any case Elizabeth had other jurisdiction over her than what was usurped by force. Nay, she persisted in it after she was threatened to be sentenced for non-appearance, as an absent person. But at last Hatton, one of the commissioners, made a speech to her which shook her resolution. He told her, " that indeed she was accused, but not condemned: That if she were innocent, she injured her reputation extremely in avoiding a trial: That the queen would be very glad nothing could be proved against her, as he heard her say himself when he took his leave of her ^d."

Had Mary been provided with council, she would doubtless have been told that Hatton's speech tended only to ensnare her, and engage her to answer that she might be condemned by a peremptory sentence. If she had persisted in her refusal, Elizabeth would have been perhaps greatly embarrassed. Tho' she was resolved to put her to death, she wished how-

^b By sir Amias Powlet and Barker. Camden.

^c Rapin says again, by mistake, in the commission.

^d To this the queen replied, That she refused not to answer in full parliament, provided she might be declared

the next in succession; yea, before the queen and her council, so as her protestation was admitted, and she was acknowledged the next of kin to the queen; but to the judgment of her adversaries she would never submit. Camden, p. 521.

ever that the publick was convinced of the justice of the thing, in order to avoid part of the blame of so rigorous a proceeding. But a sentence given upon non-appearance would not have produced this effect, since it could not be denied, that the refusing to plead was founded upon very good reasons. Mary stood out however till the 14th of October, when sending for some of the commissioners, she told them, Hatton's arguments had convinced her of the necessity to make her innocence appear. Adding, she consented therefore to answer before them, provided her protestation were admitted; to which the commissioners agreed, without approving however the reasons on which it was grounded.

Presently after, the judges met in the hall of the castle, to the number of thirty six, and the queen came to the same place^d. When they were seated, the chancellor turning to Mary, said, "She was accused of conspiring the destruction of the queen, the realm of England, and the protestant religion, and they were commissioned to examine the truth of the accusation, and to hear her answer." The chancellor having done speaking, the queen rose up and said, "That she came into England to crave the aid which had been promised her: That she was a queen, and no subject of Elizabeth, and if she appeared before them, it was only to secure her honour and reputation." The chancellor would not own that any aid had been promised her. As to the protestation, he answered, "it was in vain, since the law upon which the accusation was grounded, allowed of no distinction in the persons of the transgressors, and therefore it was not to be admitted." The court ordered however that the protestation should be recorded, with the chancellor's answer.

This done, the attorney general read to her aloud the commission, with the act of parliament^e, and after an ac-

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1586.

Continuation of
Mary's
trial.
Camden.

^d At the upper end of the room was placed a chair of state for the queen of England, under a canopy of state. Over against it, below, at some distance, near the beam that ran across the room, stood a chair for the queen of Scots. By the walls on both sides were placed benches, on which sat the commissioners. Camden, p. 522. — Thuanus observes, that some of these commissioners were papists — Inter quos fuere nonnulli majorum religioni addicti — l. 26.

^e He read the commission to her, in which the act was specified. Where-

upon she boldly and resolutely offered her protestation against the said act, as made directly and purposely against her. But upon the lord treasurer's saying, Every person in the kingdom was bound by the laws, though never so lately made; and that the commissioners were resolved to proceed according to that law, what protestations soever she interposed, she answered at length, "That she was ready to hear and answer touching any fact whatsoever committed against the queen of England." Camden, p. 522.

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1586.

count of Babington's plot, concluded that Mary had broken the act, because she knew of the conspiracy, and even showed the ways and means to effect it. She answered, "She knew not Babington, or ever received any letters from him, or wrote any to him. She never plotted the queen's destruction, and to prove any such thing, letters under her own hand ought to be produced, which was impossible. She knew not Ballard, nor ever heard of him; and, in a word, being a prisoner, she could not hinder the plots of others."

Whereupon the copies of Babington's letters to her were read, containing all the circumstances of the conspiracy^f. It should seem, since her papers were seized, Babington's original letters might have been produced. But as probably she had burnt them, only the copies could be used, which Walsingham took when he had the originals in his hands. To this Mary answered, "Babington might possibly write these letters, and therefore the point was not to know whether he writ them or not, but whether she received them." To prove this, there was read Babington's confession before his execution, wherein he said, he had sent several letters to the queen of Scots and received several from her. After that, were read the copies of certain letters in cypher from Mary to Babington, which he had received, where mention was made of the earls of Arundel and Northumberland. Then the queen with tears in her eyes, said aloud, 'Alas! what has the noble house of the Howards endured for my sake!' She added, "That Babington might write what he pleased: That as for her own letters in cypher, which were produced, she knew nothing of them, and it was very easy for her enemies to get her cyphers, and write forged letters in her name: That in short, the letters were not her hand-writing; and besides it was not likely, that to execute the design she was charged with, she should employ the earl of Arundel, who was prisoner in the Tower, or the earl of Northumberland, who was very young, and to her entirely unknown."

There were also read Savage's and Ballard's confessions, which ran, That Babington communicated to them several letters which he had received from the queen of Scots. To this she answered with a protestation, that Babington never received any from her.

^f What she said to this, was, That there had passed letters betwixt her and many men, yet it could not thence be inferred, that she was privy to all their wicked designs. Camden.

Before I proceed, I shall here make two or three short remarks. First, it is surprising that Babington, Savage, and Ballard should be executed before the queen of Scots trial, since their testimony was used against her. In the next place, hitherto the whole evidence consisted only in Babington's confession, that he had received letters from the queen of Scots; but as he was dead, it could not be proved that these were the same letters that were read, which too were only copies of letters decyphered. My third remark is, that tho' Mary protested she never received any letters from Babington, nor writ any to him, Camden must have been satisfied of the contrary, since in his account of the conspiracy, he speaks of a correspondence by letters between Mary and Babington as a thing certain. This is farther confirmed by a little book, entitled, *The History of the Martyrdom of the Queen of Scots*, Jebb's Col. t. ii. p. 282. printed at Paris in 1589, where the author, though a great 285. friend of queen Mary, does not deny that she held a correspondence with Babington.

After this were produced several letters in cypher from the queen of Scots, wherein she approved of the conspiracy. These were probably the letters Walsingham intercepted by Gifford's means, or those he artfully drew out of the hands of the French ambassador. The queen answered, She writ not those letters; and probably they were forged by her alphabet of cyphers in France, and accused Walsingham of doing it, who so cleared himself as she seemed satisfied with his answer. But

§ Thuanus also affirms, that Babington and Ballard confessed, and their intercepted letters confirmed the same, that Mary was informed of the conspiracy, and the design of destroying queen Elizabeth was undertaken for her sake, and upon her account — *Qui scorum interrogati, ac post confessiones inter se commissi, atque ex epistolis interceptis postremo convicti, in eo conveniebant, ut Mariam facti non ignaram, atque ejus causa conjurationem susceptam ad Elisabetham remedio tollendam dicerent, l. 86.* And the continuator of Hollingshead says, that the conspirators owned the Scottish queen to be the principal comforter, director, and embracer of these treasons, p. 1578.

§ Upon her charging Walsingham with forging the letters, he rose up, and protesting that his heart was free from all malice, said, 'I call God to witness that, as a private person, I have done

' neither in my publick condition and
' quality have I done any thing unwor-
' thy of my place. I confess that, out
' of my great care for the safety of the
' queen and realm, I have diligently en-
' deavoured to search and sift out all
' plots and designs against the same. If
' Ballard had offered me his assistance,
' I should not have refused it, yea, I
' should have rewarded him for his pains
' and service. If I have tampered any
' thing with him, why did he not dis-
' cover it to save his life?' With this
answer (she said) she was satisfied; and
prayed him not to be angry that she had
spoken so freely what she had heard re-
ported; and that he would give no more
credit to those that slandered her, than
she did to such as accused him. Spies
(she said) were men of little credit; and
desired he would not in the least believe,
that ever she had consented to queen Eli-
zabeth's destruction. Camden, p. 523.

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to prove that she writ them, the confessions of Naue and Curle her secretaries were produced, who owned they writ them by her order.

This is all that passed in the first session the 14th of October. In the afternoon were read the copies of the letters received by Mary, concerning the conference at Paris between Ballard, Paget, and Mendoza, for invading England; and it was proved by the testimony of Curle her secretary, that she had received them. She answered, This did not prove her intention to kill the queen. It is proper to observe here, she was accused of three things, of conspiring the queen's death; of procuring England to be invaded; and of contriving the destruction of the protestant religion. She considered the first as the principal, to which she was very ready to answer, well knowing she could not without great injustice be condemned for the other two. In answer to the proof taken from the testimony of her secretaries, she said, "She believed Curle the Scot to be an honest man¹, but had not the same opinion of Naue the Frenchman, who might possibly be corrupted: besides, he abused Curle's easiness in such a manner, that he made him write what he pleased. In a word, her secretaries might insert in her letters things which she never dictated; and therefore, she ought to be convicted only by her own hand-writing, and not by that of her secretaries, who would assuredly clear her if they were present."

Remark on
the pro-
ceedings.

It cannot be denied that this proceeding was very irregular; first, because three men had been put to death, on whose evidence it was pretended to convict the queen; secondly, as her secretaries, who were alive, were never brought face to face, tho' their testimony was used. This was the more strange, as by an act of parliament passed in the 13th year of this very reign, it was expressly ordained that the witnesses should be confronted with the parties accused.

Upon this account doubtless it was, that the lord treasurer Burleigh, perceiving the embarrassment occasioned by the queen's answer grounded on the laws of England, thought proper to proceed to other matters. He charged her therefore with having intentions to send the king her son into Spain, and resign to Philip II. her right to the kingdom of England. It is easy to perceive the first of these accusations was very foreign to the purpose, since the affairs of Scotland were not in dispute. Accordingly she made no answer to it. As to the

¹ But no competent witness. Camden.

second, she only said, " That by her birth she was presumptive heir to queen Elizabeth, and it was lawful to convey her right to whom she pleased ; but that all this amounted not to any proof of her having consented to the project of killing the queen."

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It being objected to her, that she had sent an alphabet of cyphers to some Roman catholicks, as Curle had testified, she denied it not, and briefly answered, " It was not unlawful to hold correspondence and negotiate her concerns with men of her religion." But these objections served only to divert them from the main point, since none of these things were contained in the accusation. At last, she was again urged with the testimonies of her secretaries, to which she made the same answer as before, protesting she knew neither Babington nor Ballard. " But (said the lord treasurer) you know Morgan very well, who sent Parry over to kill the queen, and have assigned him a pension." To this she answered, " She was ignorant of what Morgan had done, but knew that he had lost all for her sake, and she might as well give him a pension, as Elizabeth give one to Patrick Gray and the king himself."

Then they proceeded to the other two articles of the impeachment, concerning the invasion of the kingdom and the destruction of the protestant religion ; and to prove that Mary was concerned in these plots, the letters were read which she writ to Mendoza, Inglefield, and the lord Paget. She answered, " That these things did not prove she had any hand in the conspiracy against the queen's life : That she had nothing to say to the rest, and had often declared to the queen herself, she would try all methods to procure her own liberty." In this manner passed the second session.

The next day the court being met, Mary repeated her protestation against the authority of her judges, and required it to be recorded, and a copy delivered to her. She complained, " That all her offers for an accommodation were rejected, and herself most unworthily dealt with, whilst all her letters were publicly read, in which were many things no way relating to the impeachment." To this the lord treasurer replied, " That he was going to answer her in a double capacity, as commissioner and as privy-counsellor. As commissioner, he told her, her protestation was recorded, and a copy thereof should be delivered her. As to their authority, it was grounded on the power conferred on them

* Even though she promised to deliver her son, and the duke of Guise's sons in hostage. Camden, p. 524.

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‘ by letters patents under the queen’s own hand and the great seal. That for the perusing her letters, which she complained of, it was necessary to read them whole and entire, because they contained things, which by their circumstances were so interwoven that there was no separating them.’ Here she interrupted him, and said, “ Though the circumstances were proved, it would signify nothing if the principal fact was not : That her integrity depended not upon the credit of her secretaries, since they might very possibly be corrupted : That these letters having no superscription might be directed to others, and many things inserted without her knowledge ; but if she had her papers. she could the more easily vindicate herself.” The lord treasurer answered, ‘ Nothing should be objected but what passed since the 19th of June last, concerning which her memory could furnish her with what she thought requisite for her defence : That her papers would be of no service to her, since Babington and her secretaries, without being put to the rack, had owned these letters came from her : That it was left to the commissioners to judge whether more credit were to be given to her bare negation than to their affirmation.’ He added, as a privy-counsellor, ‘ That it was true she had made several essays to procure her liberty ; and if they proved fruitless, it was owing to herself and the Scots : That the lords of Scotland had refused to give the king in hostage ; and when the last treaty was holden concerning her release, Morgan her vassal sent Parry into England to kill the queen.’ Mary easily perceived the venom of these words, whereby, under colour of justifying the council, the lord treasurer would have insinuated to the other commissioners, that she was concerned in Parry’s plots. Wherefore upon hearing him say this, “ Ah ! (said she) you are my adversary.” ‘ Yes (said he) I am adversary to all queen Elizabeth’s enemies.’

Now were read again her letters to Charles Paget, wherein she told him, there was no other way for the king of Spain to reduce the rebellious Netherlanders, but by setting a catholick on the throne of England. There was read likewise the copy of cardinal Allen’s letter to her, wherein he called her his Most dread sovereign lady, and told her, the business was recommended to the prince of Parma’s care. She answered, still adhering to the first article of the impeachment, “ That Babington and her secretaries had accused her to save themselves : That she had never heard of the six murderers ; and all the rest was of no service to prove the principle.”

“ pal crime she was accused of : That she held Allen for a
 “ reverend prelate, and acknowledged the pope for the true
 “ head of the church ; neither could she hinder foreigners
 “ from giving her what titles they pleased : That as for her
 “ secretaries, she was willing to add to what she had al-
 “ ready said of them, that they deserved no credit ; for as they
 “ had sworn secrecy to her, they could be deemed no other
 “ than perjured persons, when they gave in their evidence
 “ against her : That Naue had often writ otherwise than she
 “ dictated, and Curle, whatever Naue bid him : That they
 “ had possibly confessed several falsehoods to save their lives,
 “ imagining that her royalty would screen her from punish-
 “ ment : That she had never heard of any such man as
 “ Ballard, but of one Hallard, who had offered her his ser-
 “ vice, which however she refused, because she knew him
 “ to be one of Walsingham’s spies.” It must be confessed,
 Mary was afforded great advantage in not confronting the wit-
 nesses, though it be a necessary formality in criminal trials.

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Lastly were read some particular passages out of Mary’s letters to Mendoza, wherein mention was made of her design to convey to the Spaniard her right to the crown of England. To this she answered, “ That she being close prisoner and
 “ in a declining condition, it seemed good to her friends,
 “ that the succession to the crown of England should be set-
 “ tled upon the king of Spain, or some English catholick ;
 “ and that a book was sent her to justify the Spaniard’s title,
 “ which she would not read ; but despairing to recover her
 “ liberty by any other means, she had resolved not to refuse
 “ foreign assistance.” When she had done speaking, the lord treasurer asked her, if she had any more to say in her de-
 fence ¹. To which she answered, “ That she required to be
 “ heard in full parliament, or before the queen and council ^m.”
 Then the court adjourned till the 25th of October to the Star-
 chamber at Westminster.

This is Camden’s account of the queen of Scots trial at Fotheringhay. As there are no better Memoirs, we are forced
 as it were to suppose what he says to be true. There is how-
 ever but too much cause to suspect he has curtailed or altered

Remarks on
Camden’s
recital.

¹ Before Burleigh asked her this, the solicitor put the commissioners in mind what would become of them, their honours, estates, and posterities, if the kingdom were assigned to the Spaniard. But the lord treasurer showed, the kingdom of England could not be conveyed at all, but was to descend by right of

succession, according to the laws ; and then asked the queen if she had any more to say. Camden, p. 525.

^m Upon which she rose up, and had some conference with the lord treasurer, Hatton, Walsingham, and the earl of Warwick, apart by themselves, Camden, p. 525.

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in several places, what he pretends to take from the Register's Memoirs. For instance, it may easily be remarked in this narrative, that whatever is objected to the queen of Scots, is indeterminate and general, without descending to particulars. Of all the letters that were read for her conviction, he cites not one extract; so that she seems to have been accused of holding a correspondence by letters with Babington, and other of Elizabeth's enemies, rather than of engaging in a settled plot to kill the queen, though this was the principal point. In a word, this historian's partiality for the queen of Scots on other occasions, gives reason to think, he did not forget himself in this capital article, but used all his art to render doubtful the fact she was accused of. However, as this is only a conjecture, I do not pretend to insist upon it^a. I shall content myself, in order to clear the affair, with making some observations on this famous trial.

Reflections
on the trial.

It is hardly to be questioned that Mary's death was determined, when Elizabeth and her council resolved to have her tried by commissioners. But it must not be imagined, their intention was to punish her for attempting the life of Elizabeth. If that had been all, they would never have proceeded to extremities, but would doubtless have been satisfied with putting it out of her power to contrive any such plots for the future, which would have been easy, by confining her more closely. But it was not so easy to hinder the pope, the king of Spain, the house of Guise, the English catholics, the Irish, the Scottish malecontents, from considering her as a princess to whom of right belonged the two crowns of England and Scotland, and from using their continual endeavours to restore her to the throne of Scotland, and place her on that of England, even in Elizabeth's life-time. Though she had been so closely confined, that she could not herself have been concerned in these plots, it would not have prevented her friends from acting in her favour. Nothing therefore but her death could break their measures, and put an end to the plots which were daily framing on her account. So, it might with truth be said, that as Elizabeth's death was Mary's life, so Mary's death alone could preserve Elizabeth, and with her, liberty and the protestant religion in England. But as it was not likely Mary, who was the younger, should die first by a natural death, recourse was to be had to violence, that the queen and the realm might be freed from their imminent danger. The share Mary had in Babington's conspiracy, and

^a This conjecture is however grounded account, and that of Thuanus, lib. 86, upon the difference between Camden's tom. iii. p. 156 and 162. Rapin.

which

which probably was greater than what Camden intimates, was not therefore the cause of her condemnation, but the pretence used to be rid of a queen, on whose life Elizabeth's adversaries built all their hopes. It was therefore Mary's own friends that occasioned her misfortune by serving her too zealously, or rather by making her their instrument to execute their grand projects against the protestant religion: The pope flattered himself with restoring, by her means, the catholick religion in England; and the English catholicks looked upon her as the only person that could free them from the intolerable yoke of a protestant government. Philip II. saw no other way to subdue the Netherlanders. In short, the house of Guise, whose ambitious projects are well known, thought to find in her an infallible means to crush the Huguenots of France, who supported the title of the lawful heir to the crown of that kingdom. Mary herself gave too much countenance to all these plots. She was so imprudent, as, being a prisoner, incessantly to confound two things, which could well be distinguished and separated; I mean, her liberty, and her title to the crown of England. She thereby gave Elizabeth occasion to confound them too, and to ruin her, in order to preserve her own life and crown.

These were the real motives of Mary's condemnation. If we consider them politically, they may be said to be good and necessary; but it happens very frequently that policy is repugnant to justice and equity. Upon this condemnation it is that Elizabeth's enemies have triumphed, and indeed it is a very fit subject for rhetorick. But if it is considered who they were that exclaimed the loudest against Elizabeth, they will be found to be the very persons who would have murdered her to set Mary on the throne of England. Had they succeeded in their design, would their deed have been more just or more agreeable to the precepts of the christian religion? Doubtless it would, were the thing to be tried by the principles of the adversaries to Elizabeth and her religion. But if it were allowed by the laws of religion, justice, and equity, to take away the life of Elizabeth, in order to set Mary on the throne, and restore the catholick religion in England, was it less allowable for the English to put Mary to death, in order to preserve their queen and religion from the destruction they were continually threatned with? Let us say rather, these maxims are equally blameable and repugnant to the rules of the Gospel, to whatever party they are applied.

Having seen the real motives of queen Mary's condemnation, there is no great cause to wonder at the irregularities to be

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be observed in her trial. The point was not so much to punish her for her part in the plot, as to satisfy the publick she was concerned in it, that her condemnation might be thought the less strange, or rather absolutely necessary for the safety of England. The queen and the council believed to have sufficient evidence, that Mary was acquainted with the conspiracy, had consented to it, and promoted the execution to the utmost of her power. This sufficed for their design. They knew the people would easily excuse some irregularities in an affair where their own preservation was concerned.

Since therefore Mary's condemnation can be considered only as the effect of Elizabeth's policy, it is in vain that the following queries are put concerning her trial. 1. What authority had Elizabeth over her? 2. Whether Mary could be considered as subject to the laws of England, under colour that she had lived there eighteen years, being a prisoner? 3. Whether it could be said, she had enjoyed during that time the protection of the laws, and be thence inferred that she ought to be liable to them? 4. Whether, even upon such a supposition, she had enjoyed in her trial the benefit of the laws of England? 5. Whether she were tried by her peers according to the constant and immutable privilege of the English? 6. Who could be her peers? 7. Whether Elizabeth's commission was according to law? 8. Whether the formalities requisite in a trial of this nature were observed? 9. Whether she can be said to have been legally convicted by the testimony of persons that were dead, and whom it lay in Elizabeth's breast to keep alive and bring face to face? 10. Whether the evidence of her secretaries, who were still alive, could be deemed valid without being confronted, contrary to express acts of parliament? 11. Whether a captive queen's consent to the invasion of a kingdom, where she is unjustly detained, is a crime worthy of death? 12. Whether the letters in cypher, writ by her secretaries, were a sufficient proof that the whole contents were dictated by her? 13. Lastly, supposing she had given a full and entire consent to the plot, whether the manner of her being detained in England, her long confinement, the loss of her kingdom procured partly by Elizabeth's secret practices, did not merit, that her crime should be reckoned of a different nature from that of a subject who conspires against his sovereign? I do not think it possible to vindicate Elizabeth upon each of these queries. We must therefore keep to the necessity she was under of destroying Mary to save herself, and justify her by the natural law

Law of self preservation, the only one which can be pleaded in her favour °.

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The commissioners being assembled in the Stat-chamber at Westminster the 25th of October, sent for Naue and Curle, who confirmed upon oath their former evidence, after which sentence was pronounced. It ran in general, that Mary had broken the statute passed the last year. This is all that was divulged. It is not known whether the commissioners expressly condemned the queen of Scots to die, or whether, after their judgment of the fact, they left it to the laws and the queen to decide what punishment the crime deserved. What follows is all that was published afterwards by the queen's order. 'That since the first day of June, in the 27th year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, divers matters have been compassed and imagined within this realm of England, by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of the said Mary, tending to the hurt, death and destruction of our said lady the queen. And also, that since the foresaid day, the said Mary pretending a title to the crown of this realm, has compassed and imagined, within this realm, divers matters tending to the destruction of the royal person of our sovereign lady the queen, contrary to the tenor of the statute in the commission aforesaid specified.'

It is easy to perceive by this very extract, that the sentence must have been longer and fuller, as may be judged by the terms of the 'said Mary,' which show that she was mentioned before. But the queen thought not proper to publish more of it: The author of the book entitled, 'The History of the Martyrdom of Mary Stuart,' says, so great care was taken to conceal the sentence, that he could never possibly recover a copy of it, notwithstanding all his pains. 'Without doubt (continues he) there were mysteries in it which were not to be divulged.'

° This is indeed the best, and the only excuse that can be alledged in vindication of queen Elizabeth. Accordingly, Dr. Welwood observes, "That when every day produced some new conspiracy against the life of queen Elizabeth, and that in most of them the queen of Scots was concerned, either as a party, or the occasion, queen Elizabeth was put under a fatal necessity of either taking off the queen of Scots, or exposing her own person to the frequent attempts of her enemies." Memoirs, p. 13. Du Maurier also expressly says, That queen Mary

was the cause of her own ruin, by her restless temper, and her repeated designs against queen Elizabeth's life. Preface to his Memoirs. For queen Mary's friends would never suffer her to be quiet, but were eternally plotting and contriving, bribing and conspiring, how to murder queen Elizabeth, and set up the queen of Scots in her stead, to restore their beloved popery here in England. Bohun's Character of queen Elizabeth, p. 129.
P The earls of Shrewsbury and Warwick were absent, being then sick. Camden, p. 525.

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Declaration
of the judges
in favour of
the king of
Scotland.
Camden.

The parlia-
ment con-
firms the
sentence,
D'ewes,
p. 375, &c.
and petition
the queen to
put it in
execution.
Novemb. 12.
Camden.
D'ewes,
p. 380.

The queen's
answer.
State Trials,
vol. i. p.
149.
Hollingsh.
p. 1582.

The same day the sentence was pronounced, the judges declared, it did nothing derogate from the king of Scotland, that is, his title to the crown of England did still remain intire. But was it their business to give such a determination concerning the succession, when they were not empowered by their commission? It is visible, they acted by the queen's direct on, who was willing by this means to pacify the king of Scotland. Otherwise, the judges would not have taken upon them to make such a declaration, which was beyond their power.

The parliament meeting four days after⁹, on the 29th of October approved and confirmed the sentence given against the queen of Scots. But whether this was without a perfect knowledge or upon a diligent inquiry, it is hard to know, though afterwards Elizabeth pretended it was not till after a long and serious examination¹. However the parliament having confirmed the sentence, presented a petition to the queen, beseeching her to order it to be put in execution. The petition contained reasons taken not from the heinousness of the crime, but the danger to which Elizabeth and the realm would be exposed, if the queen of Scots were suffered to live². The queen returned to the petition an answer, the intent whereof was to show the parliament she was extremely troubled and irresolute. She had a mind to insinuate, she was inclined to mercy, but that her affection for her people extremely embarrassed her. It was easy to conclude from this speech, she desired to be pressed, that she might not seem to act from a motive of revenge. Here follows the answer, which perfectly discovers Elizabeth's character.

‘ SO many and so great are the bottomless graces and immeasurable benefits bestowed upon me by the Almighty, that I must not only most humbly acknowledge them as benefits, but admire them as miracles, being in no sort able to express them. And though there liveth not any, that may

⁹ The last parliament was dissolved September 15, this year; so that the present parliament was called upon the discovery of the plot, and in order to take the business of the queen of Scots into consideration. See D'ewes, p. 374, 375, 377.

¹ In the Journals of the House of Lords it is said, that the committees of both houses, “upon hearing the sentence, and divers of the special evidences and proofs whereupon the sen-

tence was grounded, openly read unto them, after long deliberation and consultation had betwixt them, both publicly and privately, they all with one assent allowed the same sentence to be just, true, and honourable.” D'ewes, p. 379.

² See the petition in D'ewes's Journal, p. 380; and in the Appendix to Elizabeth's reign, p. (667) of the second volume of the Complete History.

' more justly acknowledge himself bound to God than I,
 ' whose life he hath miraculously preserved from so many
 ' dangers; yet am I not more deeply bound to give him
 ' thanks for any one thing, than for this which I will now
 ' tell you, and which I account as a miracle, namely, That
 ' as I came to the crown with the most hearty good will of
 ' all my subjects, so now after a twenty-eight years reign, I
 ' perceive in them the same, if not greater good will towards
 ' me; which if once I lose, well might I breathe, but never
 ' think I lived. And now though my life hath been danger-
 ' ously shot at, yet I protest there is nothing hath more
 ' grieved me, that that one not differing from me in sex, of
 ' like rank and degree, of the same stock, and most nearly
 ' allied unto me in blood, hath fallen into so great a crime.
 ' And so far have I been from bearing her any ill will, that
 ' upon the discovery of certain treasonable practices against
 ' me, I wrote unto her secretly, that if she would confess
 ' them by a private letter unto myself, they should be wrapped
 ' up in silence. Neither did I write thus in mind to intrap
 ' her, for I knew then as much as she could confess. And
 ' even yet, though the matter be come thus far, if she would
 ' truly repent, and no man would undertake her cause against
 ' me, and if my life alone depended hereupon, and not the
 ' safety and welfare of my whole people, I would (I protest
 ' unfeignedly) most willingly pardon her. Nay, if England
 ' might by my death obtain a more flourishing estate, and a
 ' better prince, I would most gladly lay down my life. For,
 ' for your sakes it is, and for my people's, that I desire to
 ' live. As for me, I see no such great cause why I should
 ' either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have had good ex-
 ' perience of this world; and I know what it is to be a sub-
 ' ject, and what to be a sovereign. Good neighbours I have
 ' had; and I have met with bad; and in trust I have found
 ' treason. I have bestowed benefits upon ill-deservers: and
 ' where I have done well, have been ill requited. While I
 ' call to mind these things past, behold things present, and
 ' expect things to come; I hold them happiest that go hence
 ' soonest. Nevertheless, against such mischiefs as these, I
 ' put on a better courage than is common to my sex; so as
 ' whatsoever befall me, death shall not take me unprepared.

' And as touching these treasons, I will not so prejudicate
 ' myself or the laws of my kingdom, as not but to think that
 ' she, having been the contriver of the same treasons, was
 ' bound and liable to the ancient laws, though the late act
 ' had never been made. So far was it from being made to

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' intrap her, that it was rather intended to forewarn and ter-
 ' rify her from attempting any thing against it. But seeing it
 ' was now in force of a law, I thought good to proceed
 ' against her according to the same. But you lawyers are so
 ' curious in scanning the nice points of the law, and follow-
 ' ing of precedents and form, rather than expounding the
 ' laws themselves, that by exact observing of your form, she
 ' must have been indicted in Staffordshire, and have holden
 ' up her hand at the bar, and have been tried by a jury of
 ' twelve men. A proper course, forsooth, of tryal against a
 ' princess! To avoid therefore such absurdities, I thought
 ' it better to refer the examination of so weighty a cause to a
 ' good number of the noblest personages of the land, and the
 ' judges of the realm: and all little enough. For we princes
 ' are set as it were upon stages in the sight and view of all the
 ' world; the least spot is soon spied in our garments, a blemish
 ' quickly noted in our doings. It behoveth us therefore to be
 ' careful that our proceedings be just and honourable. But I
 ' must tell you one thing, that by this last act of parliament,
 ' you have brought me to a narrow straight, that I must give
 ' order for her death, which is a princess most nearly allied
 ' unto me in blood, and whose practices against me have
 ' stricken me into so great grief, that I have been glad to ab-
 ' sent myself from this parliament, lest I should increase my
 ' sorrow, by hearing it spoken of, and not out of fear of any
 ' danger, as some think. But yet I will now tell you a se-
 ' cret, (though it is well known that I have the property to
 ' keep counsel) it is not long since these eyes of mine saw
 ' and read an oath, wherein some bound themselves to kill
 ' me within a month. Hereby I see your danger in me, which
 ' I will be very careful to avoid.

' Your association for my safety I have not forgotten,
 ' which I never so much as thought of, till a great number
 ' of hands, with many obligations, were showed me. Which
 ' as I do acknowledge as a strong argument of your true
 ' hearts and great zeal to my safety, so shall my bond be
 ' stronger tied to a great care for your good. But forasmuch
 ' as this matter now in hand is very rare, and of greatest con-
 ' sequence, I hope you do not look for any present resolu-
 ' tion; for my manner is, in matters of less moment than
 ' this, to deliberate long upon that which is once to be re-
 ' solved. In the mean time, I beseech Almighty God to illu-

' The queen came not to the parlia-
 ment the first day of the session, but
 granted a commission to John archbishop

of Canterbury, William lord Burleigh,
 and Henry earl of Derby, to supply her
 place. See D'ewes, p. 375, 377.

‘minate my mind, that I may foresee that which may serve
 ‘for the good of his church, the prosperity of the common-
 ‘wealth, and your safety. And that delay may not breed
 ‘danger, we will signify our resolution with all conveniency.
 ‘And whatever the best subjects may expect at the hands of
 ‘the best princeſs, that expect from me to be performed to
 ‘the full.’

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It is not very difficult to perceive in this ſpeech, notwith-
 ſtanding her affected obſcurity, the double view Elizabeth
 propoſed to herſelf. One was to make the publick believe,
 ſhe could not, without extreme concern, reſolve to put the
 queen of Scots to death: the other, to inſinuate to the parlia-
 ment, that there was a neceſſity of diſpatching queen Mary,
 or reſolving to loſe the beſt of queens, who was very ready
 to lay down her life for the good of her ſubjects. She dwelt
 chiefly upon her tenderneſs for her people, that they might
 fear to be deprived of ſo gracious a queen, and earneſtly re-
 quire the death of her adverſary. But leſt the parliament’s
 affection for her ſhould not be ſufficiently ſtrong, ſhe took
 care to hint ſeveral times, that their own ſafety depended on
 her preſervation. She ſaid, if her welfare only were at ſtake,
 ſhe would readily pardon, ſince ſhe was not fond of life; but
 that it was ſolely the danger of the ſtate which made her un-
 eaſy. Was not this very plainly ſaying, the death of the queen
 of Scots was neceſſary for the ſafety of the realm? She would
 have it believed, ſhe was inclined to favour Mary, but al-
 leged no reaſon for her. On the contrary, ſhe uſed the ar-
 guments of ſex and kindred to aggravate her crime, and clearly
 ſet forth the reaſons which might determine her to conſent to
 her death. She magnified the care ſhe had taken, not to ſuf-
 fer her dignity to be debaſed by trying her like a common per-
 ſon. This was all the favour ſhe ſhewed her. But what
 favour was it to give her judges, among whom were her
 greateſt enemies, perſons who had before voted againſt her in
 the council; and had been for bringing her to a trial? Hat-
 ton, one of the judges, drew her into a ſnare by perſuading
 her to anſwer for herſelf, and the lord treaſurer acted in ſome
 meaſure the part of an accuſer. On the other hand, we ſee
 in ſeveral of Walsingham’s letters ſent from France when he
 was ambaffador, that it was his opinion, Elizabeth could ne-
 ver be ſafe ſo long as the queen of Scots was alive. Was it
 not a great favour to give her ſuch judges? In ſhort, with
 what intent did Elizabeth tell the parliament, ſhe knew for
 certain ſome had bound themſelves by an oath to kill her

Remark on
 the queen’s
 ſpeech.

Digges’s
 Ambaff.

Eliz.
1586.

within a month? Was it not to incite the two houses to prevent this misfortune by the speedy execution of the sentence against Mary? All this shows, that her aim was to engage the parliament to press her upon that head, that she might in some measure be justified to the world, by ascribing the execution of the sentence to the instances of the parliament. But the sequel will still more plainly show it.

Elizabeth
desires the
two houses
to find out
some exped-
ient.
They find
none, and
insist upon
their de-
mand.
Camden.

On the 12th day after, the queen sent the lord chancellor to the upper house, and Puckering^a to the lower, to desire them to find some expedient, whereby the queen of Scots life might be saved, and her own safety provided for. The two houses, after a serious debate, answered her, that her safety could not possibly be secured so long as the queen of Scots lived. That there were but four ways to be devised to that end, which were all insufficient. The first was, that the queen of Scots should seriously repent: but such a repentance was not to be expected, since she would not so much as acknowledge her fault. The second, that she should be kept with a closer guard, and bound to her good demeanour by bond and oath. The third, that she should give hostages. But these two ways were insufficient, since if the queen's life were once taken away, all these precautions would vanish. The fourth, that she should depart the kingdom. But this was the most dangerous: for if, whilst a prisoner, she stirred up so many in her favour, what would she do if she were at liberty? In a word, the two houses in their answer represented to the queen, that if it were injustice to deny execution of the law to the meanest of her subjects, how much more to the whole body of the people, unanimously and with one voice suing for the same. They who have the least knowledge what influence the court party usually have upon the two houses, will very easily judge, that the parliament would never have expressed themselves in this manner, if they had not known it to be grateful to the queen. But to discover more fully Elizabeth's character, it will be necessary to insert her answer, which will evidently show, not her perplexity and uncertainty, as she pretended, but her extreme dissimulation, on this article.

The queen's
speech to the
parliament.
Hollingsh.
p. 1585.
State Try.

FULL grievous is the way, whose going on and end yield nothing but cumber for the hire of a laborious journey. I have this day been in greater conflict with my-

^a Speaker of the house of commons. Christopher Hatton; and then it was not the 12th, as Camden affirms, but was sent with that message, but six the 20 day after. See D'ewes, p. 409.

self, than ever in all my life, whether I should speak, or hold my peace. If I speak, and not complain, I shall dissemble; and if I should be silent, your labour taken were all in vain. If I should complain, it might seem strange and rare. Yet I confess, that my most hearty desire was, that some other means might have been devised to work your security and my safety, than this which is now propounded. So I cannot but complain, though not of you, yet unto you, that I perceive by your petitions, that my safety dependeth wholly upon the death of another. If there be any that think I have prolonged the time, of purpose to make a counterfeited show of clemency, they do me the most undeserved wrong, as he knoweth which is the searcher of the most secret thoughts of the heart. Or if there be any that be persuaded, that the commissioners durst not pronounce other sentence, as fearing thereby to displease me, or to seem to fail of their care for my safety, they do but heap upon me most injurious conceits. For either those whom I have put in trust have failed of their duties; or else they signified unto the commissioners in my name, that my will and pleasure was, that every one should deal freely, according to his conscience; and what they would not openly declare, that they should reveal unto me in private. It was of my most favourable mind towards her, that I desired some other means might be found out to prevent this mischief. But since now it is resolved, that my surety is most desperate without her death, I have a most inward feeling of sorrow, that I, which have in my time pardoned so many rebels, winked at so many treasons, or neglected them with silence, must now seem to show cruelty upon so great a princess.

I have, since I came to the crown of this realm, seen many defamatory books and pamphlets against me, accusing me to be a tyrant. Well fare the writers hearts; I believe their meaning was to tell me news. And news indeed it was to me, to be branded with the note of tyranny. I would it were as great news to hear of their impiety. But what is it which they will not write now, when they shall hear that I have given consent that the executioner's hands should be imbrued in the blood of my nearest kinswoman? But so far am I from cruelty, that, to save mine own life, I would not offer her violence; neither have I been so careful how to preserve mine own life, as how to preserve both: which that it is now impossible, I grieve exceedingly. I am not so void of judgment, as not to see mine own perils

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‘ before mine eyes ; nor so mad to sharpen a sword to cut
 ‘ mine own throat ; nor so careless as not to provide for the
 ‘ safety of mine own life. But this I consider with myself,
 ‘ that many a man would put his own life in danger to save a
 ‘ prince’s life : I do not say, so will I. Yet have I many
 ‘ times thought upon it.

‘ But seeing so many have both written and spoken against
 ‘ me, give me leave, I pray you, to say somewhat in my own
 ‘ defence, that ye may see what manner of woman I am, for
 ‘ whose safety you have passed such careful thoughts. Where-
 ‘ in as I do with most thankful heart consider your vigilant
 ‘ care ; so am I sure I shall never requite it, had I as many
 ‘ lives as you all.

‘ When first I took the scepter, I was not unmindful of
 ‘ God the giver, and therefore began my reign with his ser-
 ‘ vice and the religion I have been both born in, bred in,
 ‘ and I trust shall die in. And though I was not ignorant
 ‘ how many perils I should be set withal at home for altering
 ‘ religion, and how many great princes abroad of a contrary
 ‘ profession would attempt all hostility against me ; yet was I
 ‘ no whit dismayed, knowing that God, whom only I re-
 ‘ spected, would defend both me and my cause. Hence it
 ‘ is, that so many treacheries and conspiracies have been
 ‘ attempted against me, that I rather marvel that I am, than
 ‘ muse that I should now be alive at this day, were it not that
 ‘ God’s holy hand hath protected me beyond all expectation.
 ‘ Then, to the end I might make the better progress in the
 ‘ art of swaying the scepter, I entered into long and serious
 ‘ cogitations, what things were worthy and fitting for kings
 ‘ to do ; and I found it most necessary that they should be
 ‘ abundantly furnished with those special virtues, justice, tem-
 ‘ perance, prudence and magnanimity. As for the two latter
 ‘ I will not boast myself, my sex doth not permit it. But
 ‘ for the two former, I dare say (and that without ostenta-
 ‘ tion) I never made a difference of persons where right was
 ‘ one. I never preferred for favour whom I thought not fit
 ‘ for worth : I never bent my ear to credit a tale that was
 ‘ first told ; nor was so rash to corrupt my judgment with
 ‘ prejudice, before I heard the cause. I will not say but many
 ‘ reports might haply be brought me into much favour of the
 ‘ one side or the other ; for we princes cannot hear all our-
 ‘ selves. Yet this I dare say boldly, my judgment ever went
 ‘ with the truth, according to my understanding. And as
 ‘ full well Alcibiades wished his friend not to give any an-
 ‘ swer

swer till he had run over the letters of the alphabet ; so
have I not used rash and sudden resolutions in any thing.

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‘ And therefore as touching your counsels and consultations, I acknowledge them to be so careful, provident, and profitable for the preservation of my life, and to proceed from minds so sincere, and to me most devoted, that I shall endeavour myself all I can to give you cause to think your pains not ill bestowed, and strive to make myself worthy of such subjects.

‘ And now for your petition, I pray you for this present to content yourselves with an answer without answer. Your judgment I condemn not, neither do I mistake your reasons ; but pray to accept my thankfulness, excuse my doubtfulness, and take in good part my answer answerless. If I should say, I would not do what you request, I might say perhaps more than I think ; and if I should say I would do it, I might plunge myself into peril, whom you labour to preserve ; which in your wisdoms and discretions, ye would not that I should, if ye consider the circumstances of place, time, and the manners and conditions of men.’

This speech, which was of the same nature and spirit with the former, was not an answer to the petition of the two houses, as the queen herself owned, but only an intimation to the English, how imprudent it would be to hazard the life of so good a queen, in order to save Mary’s. She seemed in a great perplexity, and yet gave to understand, she was fully determined. And indeed since she preferred the good of her subjects before all other things, and Mary’s death was necessary to them, what could be the occasion of her doubts ? In comparing the reasons which inclined her to mercy with those which concerned her own safety, there was need of no great penetration to see to which side she would turn, howsoever irresolute she seemed. So in this, as in the former speech, her sole aim was to make the publick believe she yielded with reluctancy to the solicitations of the parliament, though she took care not to object any strong reasons to these solicitations. But her actions were still plainer indications than her speeches of what passed in her mind.

Immediately after this answer without answer, the parliament was prorogued *, for fear doubtless her feigned perplexi-

The parliament is prorogued.
ties
D’Ewes,
p. 382.

* Or rather adjourned to February 15, when it met again, and was at last dissolved March 23, after granting the queen one subsidy, and two fifteenths and tenths. The clergy granted also a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. And moreover, gave a contribution or benevolence of three

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ties should be taken literally, and some expedient found to save the queen of Scots. After what had been done, Elizabeth had no farther occasion for the parliament; and in causing the sentence to be executed, could say, she only yielded to the pressing instances of the two houses. It will perhaps be thought strange that I am thus peremptory in a thing so hard to be known, as Elizabeth's inmost thoughts. But in my opinion, very evident proofs may be drawn both from her actions and words, that throughout this whole affair she acted with great dissimulation.

Mary is informed of her sentence.
Camden.

She shews great firmness of mind.

The French ambassador solicits in her favour. The sentence is published, Decemb. 6. Camden. Hollingh. p. 1586.

A few days after the prorogation of the parliament, the lord Buckhurst and Beale were sent to the queen of Scots. They had orders to tell her, that her judges had condemned her to die, that the parliament had confirmed the sentence, and desired the execution thereof, believing, if she remained alive, the religion established in England could not subsist. She received the news with great resolution; and even seemed to triumph that religion was the cause of her death^x. Then she said, with some emotion, 'It is no wonder if the English, who have often put their own sovereigns to death, should treat in the same manner a princess sprung from the blood of their kings.'

L'Aubespine the French ambassador, who was entirely devoted to the house of Guise, stopped for some days the publication of the sentence by his solicitations. But at last it was proclaimed all over London^y by the queen's express order, who forgot not to declare to the people that her consent was extorted by the pressing intreaties of the parliament. In the proclamation the queen said, that being informed of the queen of Scots devices, the lords of the council, with many others, earnestly besought her to bring her to justice, and try her in the most honourable manner. That upon these instances she granted a commission to forty-two lords, thirty-six of whom met at Fotheringhay, and after a very strict examination, gave sentence to this effect: 'That Mary had broken the statute made the last year.' That the parliament having examined the sentence, and the proofs on which it was

three shillings in the pound for the support of the wars in the Netherlands. In this parliament were confirmed the attainders of Thomas lord Paget, and of the late executed rebels. See Statut. and D'Ewes, p. 375, 387, 390, 414, &c. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 5. Stow, p. 742.

^x She desired to have a catholick

priest allowed her, to direct her conscience, and administer to her the sacraments. The lord Buckhurst and Beal recommended a bishop and a dean to her for this purpose, whom she absolutely refused. Camden, p. 528.

^y On December 6, and then throughout the kingdom. Stow, p. 741. Camden, p. 528.

founded,

founder, required the execution thereof, notwithstanding her frequent instances, that some other expedient might be found: that therefore, moved with her own and the nation's welfare, she had ordered the sentence to be notified to her good subjects.

Mary, when she received the news of this publication, plainly saw there was no mercy to be expected. She writ a long letter to Elizabeth, desiring certain favours concerning her death, burial, and servants². But it is uncertain whether the letter was ever delivered. The king of Scotland writ also to queen Elizabeth, and sent Patrick Gray and Robert Melvil to implore her mercy for the queen his mother; but it was to no purpose. Nay, it is said, Gray, who had been many years attached to Elizabeth's interests, after having publicly solicited her to favour Mary, advised her in private to make her away, saying, 'A dead woman bites not.'

Henry III. sent also the president de Bellievre into England to intreat Elizabeth in behalf of the condemned queen. The ambassador discharged his commission like a man who seemed very desirous to succeed. He presented a long memorial, which was published, containing the strongest reasons he could devise to persuade Elizabeth to spare the unfortunate queen; to which memorial the queen returned an answer in the margin of each article. The substance of the answers was, "That things were come to that point, that one or other of the two queens must perish, and Elizabeth flattered herself that the king of France had her interests no less at heart than Mary's." But if du Maurier is to be credited, in his preface to his father's Memoirs, the ambassador acted the counterfeit, and imposed upon the world and Mary's friends. He affirms to have heard his father say, that Bellievre, though he feigned to have instructions to the contrary, had private orders to solicit the death of the queen of Scots. This is not unlikely, considering the situation of the affairs of

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Mary's letter to Elizabeth.

Camden. Martyre de Marie.

The king of Scotland intercedes for his mother. Melvil, p. 173. Camden. Spotiswood.

The king of France sends an ambassador into England. Thuanus, Camden.

The ambassador's secret orders. Du Maurier.

² She desired her body might be buried in catholic ground, particularly in France near her mother; that she might not be put to death in private without queen Elizabeth's knowledge, but in the sight of her servants, who might give a true testimony of her faith; that her servants might peaceably depart whither they pleased, and enjoy those legacies which she had bequeathed them by her will and testament. Camden, p. 529. Spotiswood, p. 334. — In this her will, queen Mary provided; that if the prince

her son did not renounce the false and heretical persuasion which he had drunk in, the inheritance of the crown of England should never descend to him, but devolve to Philip king of Spain. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 327. Jebb endeavours to confute this account. Preface to Vol. II. of Queen Mary's Life.

³ Nay, this was not so secret, but that after the death of the duke of Guise, Henry III. was accused by the leaguers of having caused the queen of Scots to be put to death. Rapin.

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France at that time, and the king's just apprehensions of the duke of Guise's ambitious designs ^b.

The French
ambassador's
conspiracy
against the
queen.
Camden.

Whilst all the world was in expectation of the effects of this extraordinary sentence, the court discovered that L'Aubespine the French ambassador had bribed two assassins ^c to murder the queen. One of the villains repenting and informing the ministers of the plot, the ambassador was desired to come to the lord treasurer's house where the council was assembled, and the two witnesses were brought face to face. If Camden is to be credited, he made but an ill defence, contenting himself with pleading the privilege of ambassadors, who were accountable only to their own masters. The lord treasurer, without allowing or disputing the privilege, gravely reprov'd him, and advised him to beware for the future how he provoked a queen, who was too much injured already, and had it in her power to be revenged. It must be observed, the French translator of Camden's Annals thought fit to pass over in silence this whole conspiracy.

The people
loudly call
for Mary's
death.
Camden.
Le Labou-
reur.

It was no proper season to enquire any farther into the circumstances of this plot, which probably was entirely owing to the ambassador's furious zeal for the house of Lorraine. Nay, who knows whether it were not a snare laid for him, to make him instrumental, contrary to his intention, in hastening the queen of Scots execution? When the affair became publick, it was every where said, there was no safety for the queen so long as Mary was alive. This was precisely what the court wished, that the people being satisfied of the necessity of executing the sentence, might be less attentive to the irregularities. Camden says, Elizabeth was still in suspense and distracted in her thoughts, not being able to resolve to put to death a queen her near relation, over whom she had no jurisdiction. He adds, means were found however to determine her, by spreading a report that England was going to be invaded: That the Spanish fleet was already arrived at Milford-Haven: That the duke of Guise was landed in Suffex with an army: That the queen of Scots was escaped out

^b This year, Thomas Cavendish sailing from Plymouth on the 21st of July, with three ships and a hundred and twenty five men, began his voyage round the world, entering in at the Straights of Magellan, and returning by the Cape of Good Hope. This voyage he performed in about two years and two months, arriving at Plymouth, September 6, 1588.—May 7, Philip Howard earl of Arundel was condemned in a fine

of 10,000 l. and to remain in prison at the queen's pleasure. This year, Lodgate, in London, was rebuilt by the citizens, and the charges amounted to above 150 l. Stow, p. 720, 741. Hollingh. p. 1561.

^c He bribed only one Edward Stafford, who, abhorring the fact, recommended one Moody as a fit person; but Stafford discovered the matter to the council. Camden, p. 532.

of prison, and was raising troops in the North: That several plots were on foot to kill the queen, and set the city of London on fire; yea, that the queen was dead. By these artifices, according to that historian, Elizabeth was prevailed with to sign a warrant for Mary's execution. For my part, who verily believe Mary's death was resolved, even before her trial, I rather think all these reports were spread by the emissaries of the court, to terrify the people, and to let them see how necessary Mary's death was. There is not the least probability that the queen and her ministers should suffer themselves to be deceived by such reports, the falshood whereof it was so easy for them to discover. But Camden's aim is to insinuate, that Elizabeth was convinced of Mary's innocence, and therefore distracted in her thoughts.

We are now come to the last act of the tragedy, for so it may well be called with respect to the queen of Scots, though with regard to Elizabeth it was a real comedy, or at least a continued scene of dissimulation, acted so artfully, that it can hardly be conceived how it could be carried farther. Before Elizabeth ordered the commission to try Mary to be drawn, several lords, as I said, cast themselves at her feet, and begged her to take pity of them and their posterity, and to provide by Mary's death for the security of the church and state. Afterwards, when sentence was given, she waited till she was twice solicited by the parliament, with the sharp reproach that she denied her people justice. To carry on the farce, some formalities were likewise to be acted after the publication of the sentence, before the warrant was signed for execution. All this was done: but there was still something more. Elizabeth undertook to make the publick believe the execution was done against her will and without her knowledge, and the method she used to accomplish it was this.

Davison, without his knowing it, was her instrument to act this sort of comedy. A little before the queen of Scots trial, he was made secretary of state, and very likely was put into that office on purpose to be ensnared and made accountable for Mary's death. All the forementioned rumours being spread, and the queen feigning to be terrified, delivered to Davison a writing signed with her own hand, and sealed with her signet, commanding him to draw a warrant under the great seal for the queen of Scots execution, but enjoined him withal to keep the warrant by him ^d, and acquaint no man there-

Elizabeth's
extreme dis-
simulation.

Melvil,
p. 172.
Thuanus,
l. 86.

She draws
Davison her
secretary in-
to a snare.
Camden.
Strype's
Annals,
t. iii. p. 175.

^d And only have it in readiness, in case any danger happened to break out in that time of jealousy and fear. Camden, p. 534. Melvil says, that it was not to be delivered without her majesty's express command; nevertheless, Davison being deceived by the council, delivered it to them, p. 172.

with.

Eliz.
1587.

State-Tri-
als, vol. i.
p. 354.

with *. The lord chancellor however must have been informed of it, unless she had taken the great seal from him and given it to Davison, of which there have been instances. However, the next day she ordered Davison by Killigrew not to draw the warrant ^f. Whereupon Davison came to the queen, and told her, it was drawn and under seal already; at which she was angry, and blamed him for making such haste. The warrant was dated the 1st of February, and directed to the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, Cumberland, and Pembroke, to see the queen of Scots executed in their presence. Mean while, though the queen seemed displeased with the secretary for making too much haste, she left the warrant in his hands, without telling him what he was to do with it. This puzzled him extremely, since by her contrary proceedings with respect to the warrant, she had not disclosed to him her intention. In this uncertainty, he chose to impart the transaction to a privy counsellor, who was of opinion that the rest of the counsellors should be informed, that nothing might be done rashly; and Davison fell into the snare. Whereupon the council being met, it was unanimously resolved to execute the warrant, though nothing was easier than to advertise the queen of their embarrassment. To that end, the warrant was given to Beal, who took care to acquaint the four lords, to whom it was addressed, and departed for Fotheringhay with two executioners. Certainly, it is very hard to believe that a score of privy-counsellors (among whom were the queen's ministers and her intimate confidants) would have undertaken to order the warrant to be executed unknown to her ^g, had they not been persuaded it was agreeable to her will. Especially as Davison had communicated the secret to them, only because of his uncertainty concerning the queen's intention ^h.

After Beal's departure, the queen told Davison, she had changed her mind. This ought to have astonished the council, who had ordered execution by their own authority; and yet no care was taken to recall Beal, though there were seven days space between his departure and Mary's execution. But what is still more strange, is, that during these seven days, though the queen had declared that her mind was al-

* This Davison absolutely denied in his examination. See Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 375.

^f Rapin says, the queen sent Davison word to hasten the warrant. But it is a mistake; for Camden says, the queen

changed her mind, and sent to him not to draw it. Camden, p. 534.

^g And yet Thuanus thinks so, l. 86.

^h Camden says, Davison persuaded the council that the queen had commanded it should be executed, p. 534.

tered,

tered, not one of her counsellors or ministers thought of informing her of what was transacting. This is a clear evidence, that it was very well known she did not desire to be informed.

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1587.

However this be, the four lords, appointed to see execution done, being come to Fotheringhay, admonished the queen of Scots to prepare for her death¹; and on the morrow, being the 8th of February, they saw her beheaded. I shall not relate here all the circumstances of this tragedy. It suffices to say in a word, that she died with great resolution, and in an inviolable attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent telling her, 'That her life would be the death of the protestant religion in England,' she rejoiced and said, she was condemned as guilty of plotting against the queen of England's life, and yet the earl of Kent had just told her, she was to die for her religion, wherein she gloried. If Camden is to be credited, she protested she knew nothing of Babington's practices, and that her secretaries were suborned to witness against her².

The queen
of Scots is
beheaded.
Camden.

The,

¹ Upon which she told them, I did not think the queen my sister would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your law and jurisdiction; but seeing her pleasure is so, death shall be to me most welcome. Camden, p. 534.

² When the earls had told her to prepare for death, she desired that she might have a conference with her almoner, confessor, and Andrew Melvil the master of her household. But they would not allow her confessor to come near her, but recommended to her the bishop or dean of Peterborough, whom she refusing, the earl of Kent, out of his zeal to the reformed religion, said to her the words abovementioned. After they were gone, she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more time to dispose of her concerns. She supped temperately, as she used to do. Towards the end of supper she drank to all her servants, who pledged her in order upon their knees, begging pardon for their neglect of duty, as she also did of them. After supper she perused her will, and wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed her goods and jewels. At her wonted time she went to bed, slept some hours, and then awaking, spent the rest of the night in prayer. The fatal day being come, she

dressed herself as she was wont to do upon festival-days, and calling her servants together, commanded her will to be read, and then retired into her oratory, where she stayed till Thomas Andrews the sheriff acquainted her that she must now come forth. She appeared, with a composed countenance and cheerful look; her head was covered with a veil hanging down to the ground, her beads hanging at her girdle, with a crucifix in her hand. In the porch she was received by the earls and other noblemen, where speaking a short speech to Melvil, who bewailed his hard hap that he was to carry into Scotland the woe-ful tidings of the unhappy fate of his lady and mistress, she bade him farewell; and, turning to the earls, desired that her servants might stand by her at her death. Then the earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, and Thomas Andrews, esq; sheriff of Northamptonshire, going before her, she came to the scaffold, at the upper end of the hall, on which was placed a chair, a cushion, and a block covered with black cloth. As soon as she was sat down, Beal read the warrant, to which the queen listened with a careless, or rather merry countenance; which done, Dr. Fletcher dean of Peterborough began a long speech to her, concerning her life past, present, and to come.

Elizabeth
expresses
great grief
at it.
Camden.
Spotswood,
p. 357.

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The news of Mary's execution being brought to Elizabeth, she appeared extremely displeased. Sighs, tears, lamentation, and mourning, were the signs she gave of her grief, which seemed immoderate. She drove the privy-counsellors from her presence¹, and commanded them to be examined in the Star-chamber, and Davison to be tried for his disobedience. A few days after she sent the following letter to the king of Scotland by Robert Carey.

My dear Brother,

I Would you knew, though not felt, the extreme dolour that overwhelmeth my mind, for that miserable accident which farre contrary to my meaning hath befallne. I have sent this kinsman of mine^m, whom ere now it hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my pen to tell you. I beseech you, that as God and many more know how innocent I am in this case, so you will believe me, that if I had done it, I would have abode by it: I am not so base minded, that the fear of any living creature should make me afraid to do what is just; or done, to deny the same; I am not so degenerate, nor carry so vile a mind. But as not to disguise, fits most a king, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cause them shew as I mean them. This assure yourself from me, that as I know it was deserved, if I had meant it, I would never over another's shoulders, and to impute to myself that which I did not so much as think of: I will not. The circumstances you will be pleased to hear of this bearer: and for my part, think you have not in the

come. She interrupted him, praying him not to trouble himself, for she was resolved to die in the catholick religion. Then they appointed the dean to pray: after which, the executioner having asked her forgiveness, her women took off her upper garments, and covering her face with a handkerchief, she laid down her head on the block, which was severed from her body at two strokes. She was buried in a royal manner, in the cathedral of Peterborough, on August 1, where she lay till her son king James's accession to the crown of England; but he had her corps removed in 1612, into the south side of king Henry VIIIth's chapel at Westminster, where it now lies, and a stately monument erected to her memory, of which the reader may see a print in Sandford, p. 533.—Camden, p. 534, 535. Melvil, p. 172.

Martyre de Marie, p. 301, &c. Mort de Marie, p. 615, &c. Edit. Jebb.

¹ And particularly the lord Burleigh; who, upon his disgrace, writ several very submissive letters to the queen, which the reader may see in Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 371, 372. He chiefly pleaded ignorance, and offered to resign his places. If there was any precipitation used in this affair of the death of the queen of Scots, the lord Burleigh, secretary Walsingham, and a few others, may reasonably be supposed the authors of it, in order to secure themselves; for they had acted so openly against Mary, that had she ever mounted the throne of England, they must have been utterly undone.

^m He was kin to her by Ann Boleyn her mother. Rapin.

* world a more loving kinswoman, and more dear friend, nor
 * any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your
 * state. And if any would otherwise persuade you, think they
 * bear more good will to others than to you. Thus in haste,
 * I leave to trouble you, beseeching God to send you a long
 * reign."

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 1587.

Whilst Cary was upon the road, Davison was cited into the Star chamber, to answer to the accusation of contempt and disobedience entered against him. The accusation ran, "That he had contemned the queen's orders, broke his oath of allegiance, and neglected his duty: That the queen never intending (for reasons best known to herself) that the queen of Scots, though condemned, should have been put to death, had however, for preventing of dangers, commanded a warrant for her execution to be drawn, and committed it to his trust and secrecy: but that he forgetting his duty, had acquainted the council therewith, and put the warrant in execution unknown to the queen."

Davison is
 tried.
 State-Trials, vol. vii.
 Camden.
 His accusation and
 reply.

Davison answered, "That he was extremely sorry to find himself accused of contempt to the queen, who had loaded him with favours: That he chose rather to confess himself guilty of the crimes he was charged with than contest with her majesty, since he could not vindicate himself without failing in the respect and duty he owed her. He protested however, he had offended wholly out of ignorance, being persuaded he had done nothing contrary to the queen's will and pleasure. He affirmed, that when the queen blamed him for making such haste to get the warrant ready, she gave some intimation, but no express command, that he should keep it by him, neither did he believe himself guilty of breach of trust by communicating it only to the council. As to his being accused of not recalling the warrant, after she had told him she had changed her mind, he protested, it was the opinion of the whole council, that it should be presently executed, lest the queen or state should receive any hurt by too long a delay."

After he had done speaking, the queen's council pressed him with his own confession, and with what the lord treasurer had testified, That doubting whether the queen had absolutely consented to have execution done, Davison affirmed, it was her intention. Then Davison, with tears in his eyes, prayed the queen's council not to urge him any farther, but remember that he would not contest with the queen, to whose

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conscience, and his judges censure, he entirely submitted himself. After that were made several speeches, some tending to aggravate his offence, and others, to show he had only acted imprudently^a. In short, he was condemned to be fined in ten thousand pounds, and imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. The lord Lumley, in his speech on this occasion, was not satisfied with blaming Davison; but, accusing chiefly the whole council, said, "Never was there such a contempt against a prince heard or read of, that privy-counsellors, in the queen's palace, and when they had free access to her, should attempt such a thing without her advice or knowledge; protesting, that if his own son were guilty of the like fault, he would be the first to condemn him." But it was not the queen's intention to punish the counsellors, who probably had acted only by her private orders. And therefore to screen them from these and the like reproaches, the lord privy-seal told the assembly, that though the queen, being justly offended with her council, had left them to a strict examination; yet now being sensible they had transgressed out of an excess of zeal for her and the state, she forgave them. Thus Davison was the only sacrifice, though the council was still more guilty than he, supposing he had acted contrary to the queen's intention. Davison remained long in prison without obtaining any other favour than some presents of money from the queen, to relieve his wants.

Camden, whose aim was not to vindicate Elizabeth in any thing relating to the queen of Scots, has inserted in his Annals an apology, which Davison, being in prison, sent himself to secretary Walsingham, and leaves his readers to give their judgment of it, without making himself any remark. The apology was worded in the following manner:

Davison's
apology
writ by him-
self.
Camden.

"The queen, after the departure of the French and Scotch ambassadors, of her own accord, commanded me to deliver her the warrant for executing the sentence against the queen of Scots. When I had delivered it, she readily signed it with her own hand: when she had so done, she commanded it to be sealed with the great seal of England; and in a jesting manner said, Go, tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick; though I fear he will die for sorrow

^a The commissioners, being thirteen in number, made each a speech, wherein they owned, that sentence was justly pronounced against the queen of Scots;

but that Davison deserved to be punished for acting without the queen's advice and consent. Camden, p. 537.

“ when he hears it. She added also the reasons of her deferring it so long ; namely, lest she might seem to have been violently or maliciously drawn thereto, whereas in the mean time she was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover she blamed Powlet and Drury, that they had not eased her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would feel their pulses touching this matter.

“ The next day after the warrant was under the great seal, she commanded me by Killegrew, that it should be done ; and when I had informed her that it was done already, she found fault with such great haste, telling me, that in the judgment of some wise men, another course might be taken. I answered, that the course which was just was always best and safest. But fearing lest she would lay the fault upon me (as she had laid the putting of the duke of Norfolk to death upon the lord Burleigh) I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, protesting that I would not plunge myself any deeper in so great a business. He presently imparted it to the lord Burleigh, and the lord Burleigh to the rest of the council ; who all consented to have the execution hastened, and every one of them vowed to bear an equal share in the blame, and sent Beal away with the warrant and letters. The third day after, when by a dream which she told of the queen of Scots death, I perceived that she wavered in her resolution, I asked her whether she had changed her mind ? She answered, No ; but another course (said she) might have been devised : and withal she asked me, whether I had received any answer from Powlet ? whose letter when I had shewed her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with honour and justice ; she waxing angry, accused him and others (who had bound themselves by the association) of perjury and breach of their vow, as those that had promised great matters for their prince's safety, but would perform nothing. Yet there are (said she) who will do it for my sake. But I showed her how dishonourable and unjust a thing this would be ; and withal into how great danger she would bring Powlet and Drury by it. For if she approved the fact, she would draw upon herself both danger and dishonour, not without censure of injustice ; and if she disallowed it, she would utterly undo men of great desert and their whole posterity. And afterwards she gave me a light check the same day that the queen of Scots was executed, because she was not yet put to death.”

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If this apology be true, one cannot desire a more convincing proof of Elizabeth's dissimulation. The point was not Mary's death, for that was fully determined, but the manner. It appears in this writing, that Elizabeth would have been glad the queen of Scots two keepers had dispatched her, that she might have been able to clear herself, which she would not have failed to do, by putting them both to death. There remains but one scruple, which is, that we have this from Camden only, whose testimony cannot be reckoned very certain.

The king
of Scotland
shows at first
a great deal
of resentment.
Melvil,
p. 153.
Camden.
Spottiswood.

The king of Scotland having received the news of the queen's mother's tragical end, expressed a very lively resentment at the same. His first thoughts prompted him to revenge. The states of Scotland, then assembled, promised him their assistance, and there was not wanting some about him, who persuaded him to join with the pope, France, and Spain, to revenge so great an affront. Others advised him not to break with England, for fear of hazarding upon the uncertain chance of war his undoubted title to the crown of that kingdom; especially as the English only wanted perhaps a pretence to hinder a Scotch prince from ascending the throne of England, which therefore he ought to take care not to furnish them with. Some were of opinion, he should declare openly for neither of the two religions, but keep himself always ready to improve the events time should produce. Carey arriving shortly after, the king refused him audience, and it was not without great difficulty that he was persuaded to receive Elizabeth's letter. We find however in Melvil's Memoirs, that some

p. 274.

• This matter is also undeniably confirmed by two letters, inserted by Mackenzie, in his Life of Queen Mary, (if they are genuine.) In the first, written on February 1, 1586-7, by Walsingham and Davison, to Sir Amias Powlet, and Sir Drue Drury, it is said—"her majesty doth note in you, both a lack of that care and zeal for her service, that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time, (of yourselves, without other provocation) found out some way to shorten the life of the Scots queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subject to, so long as the said queen shall live.—The taketh it most unkindly, that men professing that love towards her that you do, should in a kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burden upon her, knowing, as you do, her indis-

position to shed blood."—Sir Amias Powlet, in his answer, dated February 1, has these words, "—My answer—I shall deliver unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy, as living to see this unhappy day, in which I am required by direction from my most gracious sovereign, to do an act, which God and the law forbiddeth.—God forbid I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, and shed blood without law or warrant," p. 270—273. Osborn also observes, that "our queen may be found, in many of her letters, intimating so much [as the making her away] to such as kept her, who were so wise, as not to understand what was meant." Memoirs. 4.

lords

lords of the court of Scotland had writ to England, that whenever queen Mary should be put to death, the king her son would not highly resent it; and accordingly, Melvil affirms, he quickly forgot it. When Elizabeth heard that king James's grief began to abate, she caused some of those whom she most trusted, to represent to him, 'That in the present situation of Scotland, there was no room to expect that a war with England could be successful: If he pretends to rely on foreign aid, his mother's sad experience might teach him how uncertain that was. The king of France would be so far from countenancing him, that it was his interest to hinder the two kingdoms of Great Britain from being united under the same dominion. Nay, he would oppose to the utmost of his power the success of his arms, for fear he should afterwards assist the duke of Guise, who aspired to the crown. The king of Spain, in pretending to aid him, would only serve himself, on account of his groundless claim to the crown of England, as descended from the house of Lancaster. Even the queen his mother had made a will the night before her death, whereby she excluded him from the succession, in case he persevered in the protestant religion, and nominated Philip II. for her heir, which will was sent into Spain. He was therefore to expect no assistance from Philip, but rather to consider him as an enemy. In a word, if he made war upon Elizabeth, and the parliament passed an act against him, he ran the hazard of being excluded forever from a noble succession, which he could not fail to enjoy, provided he would but remain in peace.' To all these arguments it was also added, 'That Elizabeth had an affection for him, and besides would think herself bound in honour and duty to repair the mother's wrongs by leaving her crown to the son, in case he gave her no occasion to do otherwise.' These representations had their effect. James saw it to be his interest to keep fair with Elizabeth, and that, added to the sentence given against Davison, which was sent him, so stifled his resentment, that he showed no farther marks of it.

Elizabeth.

1587.

p. 173.

Representations made to him. Camden. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 377, &c.

Burnet, tom. iii. p. 327.

His grief is eased. Strype's Ann. tom. iii.

¹ Some of her friends in Scotland, and the lord Hunsdon governor of Berwick. Camden, p. 539.

² He assigns himself these reasons for not revenging his mother's death. 1. His tender youth, not trained up in arms.

2. His excessive cowpity (or poverty) from hand to hand, from needy to needy, to greedie and greedie. 3. The factions in his kingdom, &c. See Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 380.

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1587.

The queen
sends a fleet
against
Spain.
Camden.
Burchett.
Stow,
p. 743.
Styrye's Ann.
t. iii, p. 451.

The states of
the United
Provinces
complain of
the earl of
Leicester.
Gro ius,
Strada.

Mean while, Elizabeth hearing the Spaniard was making great preparations to invade England^r, sent Drake with a good fleet^s upon the coast of Spain, with orders to burn all the Spanish ships he should meet. The admiral's first expedition was to the port of Cadiz, where he burnt above a hundred vessels laden with victuals and ammunition, and a large Galeon of the marquiss of Santa Cruz, with another of Ragusa, full of rich merchandize. Then returning to Cape St. Vincent, he did great damage to the inhabitants along the coast; after which he came to the mouth of the Tagus, where he in vain provoked the marquiss of Santa Cruz, by plundering and burning the ships he found there. From thence he failed to the Azores, and meeting in the way with a rich Carack called the St. Philip, returning from the East-Indies, easily took her^t. The provisions and stores which the Spaniards lost at Cadiz, the taking of the Galeons and Carack, and the rest of the damages they sustained, obliged Philip to defer till the next year the expedition he had projected against England^u. While Drake was acting in Europe against Spain, Cavendish was doing the same in America, having entered the South-sea by the straits of Magellan. He plundered without opposition the coasts of Chili and Peru, and did the Spaniards great damage in those parts.

I left, about the end of the last year, the earl of Leicester returning into England, after having set on foot his project to become sovereign of the United Provinces, by cherishing confusion and discord. Before his departure, the states began

^r Their preparations were so extraordinary great, that sir Francis Drake says, in a letter, the Spaniards had provisions of bread and wine sufficient to maintain forty thousand men a whole year. See Styrye's Ann. tom. iii. p. 451. — That these great preparations were aimed at England, was discovered by Walsingham in the following remarkable manner: he had intelligence from Madrid, that Philip had told his council, he had dispatched an express to Rome, with a letter writ with his own hand to the pope, acquainting him with the true design of his preparations, and asking his blessing upon it; which for some reasons he would not yet disclose to them, till the return of the courier. The secret being thus lodged with the pope, Walsingham, by the means of a Venetian priest retained at Rome as his spy, got a copy of the original letter, which was stolen out of the pope's cabi-

net by a gentleman of the bed-chamber, who took the keys out of the pope's pocket while he slept. Welwood's Mem. p. 8, 9.

^s With forty gallies, Styrye's Ann. tom. iii. p. 391.

^t The English so fully understood by the merchants papers the rich value of the Indian merchandises, and the manner of trading into the eastern world, that they afterwards set up a gainful trade and traffick, establishing a company of East-India merchants. Camden, p. 540.

^u There was another remarkable thing which retarded this expedition, and was the contrivance of the great statesman Walsingham; namely, he got all the Spanish bills, that were to supply the king with money to carry on his preparations, protested at Genoa. Welwood's Mem. p. 9.

to perceive his designs, and the orders he left when he went away, and which the officers his creatures punctually executed, fully confirmed their suspicions. For this reason they sent ambassadors to Elizabeth to complain of him: but his credit, and the queen of Scots affair, which then held the court employed, hindered the ambassadors from being so speedily dispatched as they desired. It even happened in this interval, that Stanley and York, who held of the earl of Leicester the governments of Deventer and a fort near Zutphen, delivered these two places to the duke of Parma. So, the states no longer trusting that general, gave the command of their army to count Maurice of Nassau, the late prince of Orange's second son. They did likewise some other things which plainly showed that, having discovered the earl of Leicester's designs, they would not suffer him to put them in practice. In the mean while, the duke of Parma besieging Sluys, the earl returned from England to raise the siege, but had not the good fortune to succeed *. At last, finding he was every where mistrusted, he resolved to execute by force the project he had formed. To that end, he would have made himself master of several places at once in the heart of the country, to keep the rest in awe. But his design to surprize Leyden being discovered in season, all correspondence between him and the states entirely ceased. Whereupon the queen was obliged to recall him, and send in his room Peregrine Barty lord Willoughby of Eresby, but with no other authority than the command of the English forces. Then the states appointed count Maurice their captain-general.

Mean time the king of Spain, ever intent upon the project of invading England, continued to make extraordinary preparations. The project was formed ever since the queen of Scots had been persuaded to convey to him her right to England, as being the only means to restore the catholick religion. According to the received maxim in the church of Rome, that a heretick is unworthy and incapable of enjoying a crown, Philip II. thought he might justly claim that of England, as being the next catholick prince descended from the house of Lancaster. But that the reader may the better know the ground of his pretensions, it will be proper to cast an eye upon his genealogy, which shows him sprung from the two daughters of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. Upon this descent therefore, and the queen of

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1587.

Camden.

Strada.
Camden.

The earl attempts to become master of several places.

He is recalled.
A. G. Pub.
xvi. p. 134Philip II. prepares to invade England.
Camden.

Ground of his title to England.

* This place was defended a while by and captain Nicolas Baskerville. Camden, p. 541.

Eliz.

1587.

He tries to
amuse Eliza-
beth.
Camden.

Negotiation
for a peace
between the
Netherlands
and Spain.
Grotius.
Camden.
Strype's An.
tom. iii.

Scots conveyance and will, he had projected the conquest of England. Elizabeth, not being ignorant of it, took all possible care to be in a posture of defence, and both coloured their preparations with divers pretences. To amuse Elizabeth, Philip sent and proposed her mediation for a peace between him and the revolted provinces of the Netherlands. Elizabeth perfectly knew Philip's aim, and to amuse him in her turn, accepted the mediation, in hopes the negotiation would give her more time to be prepared. She proposed therefore to the states a peace with Spain, intimating, they could not refuse to enter into treaty, without incurring the blame of continuing the war out of obstinacy. She promised them moreover to have their interests as much at heart as her own. But the states absolutely refused to treat, knowing, by frequent experience, that such negotiations were ever fatal to them. Nevertheless, she sent plenipotentiaries * into Flanders, imagining the states would be forced, as she hinted, to agree to her decisions with Spain. Three months passed before the place of congress could be settled. Elizabeth required as preliminaries, a general pardon for the confederates; that the towns of the Netherlands should enjoy all their ancient privileges, and the old alliance between England and Spain be renewed; that some good fund should be assigned her for the payment of what was due from the states, and the forces on both sides be disbanded. As to religion, the Spaniards demanded, that it should be entirely as the king pleased, since he did not hinder Elizabeth from settling it in her dominions according to her pleasure. Elizabeth did not insist much upon this article, whether she believed every sovereign to have a right to impose a religion upon his people, or, to amuse the Spaniard, feigned to relax, that she might not obstruct a negotiation, the continuance whereof could not but be advantageous to her. Be this as it will, she went so far as to be satisfied that the exercise of the reformed religion should be tolerated two years only in the United Provinces. As for the places in her possession, she refused not to restore them, provided she were reimbursed. Upon these mutual demands, the Spaniards took care to delay the conclusion of the preliminaries, imagining that the hopes of a speedy peace would prevent Elizabeth's preparations against their attacks. They refused to come to any agreement with respect to religion; and as for Elizabeth's charges in supporting the confederates, they pretended they were to be balanced by the expences she had

* Thomas Sackvil lord Buckhurst, sir John Norris, and Bartholomew Clerk.
Camden, p. 540.

put their king to. At length, the preparations which were making against England in all the Spanish ports became so publick, that this feigned negotiation broke off without any success, after lasting till March the next year. Eliz. 1587.

I have already mentioned Philip's pretensions to England and Ireland. Ferdinand the Catholick, his great-grandfather, had not so plausible a claim to the kingdom of Naples and Navarre which he seized, and which still are part of the Spanish monarchy. But besides these pretensions, Philip made use of another thing, very proper to impose upon the world, namely, a great zeal for the restoration of the catholick religion in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. By that he had persuaded pope Sixtus V. to come into the project, the execution whereof would be as well glorious as advantageous to both, but of which Philip was to bear the whole charge. As for Sixtus, he had nothing to contribute, but what the popes were wont to supply on such occasions, namely, vows, prayers, and anathemas. To countenance therefore the King of Spain's undertaking, the pope thundered against Elizabeth a bull, absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and giving her kingdoms to the first that should seize them. This was the king of Spain, who was now ready to embrace the pope's offer. The pope sides with Philip. Camden. Bull of Sixtus V. against Elizabeth. Camden. Speed.

He had prepared in Portugal, at Naples, and in Sicily, a fleet, called the Invincible Armada. It consisted of one hundred and fifty great ships, in which were embarked nineteen thousand men, and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of cannon. It was to be commanded by the marquis De Santa Cruz, but that admiral dying whilst the fleet was equipping, the duke of Medina-celi was appointed in his room. On the other hand, the duke of Parma had caused an army of thirty thousand men to advance towards the coasts of the Low The Invincible Armada. Camden. Stow. Speed. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. Appen. N. 51.

^y The bulls of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. were renewed by cardinal Allen, sent for that purpose into the Low-Countries. A crusade was also published against queen Elizabeth. Camden, p. 543.

^z The Spaniard, the more to advance his glory, and terrify his enemies, published an account of this fleet in Spanish, Latin, French, and Dutch. The Spanish book soon came into the hands of the lord treasurer Burleigh in divers places whereof Strype saw notes added by that lord soon after the defeat. From this book he has inserted a brief

account of the Spanish Armada, in his appendix of original papers, Ann. vol. iii. N. 51. The sum whereof is this, That there were in all 130 ships of 57,868 tons, 19,295 soldiers, and 8,450 mariners, 2088 slaves, and 2630 great brass pieces of all sorts, besides 20 caravels for the service of the army, and 10 gallees with six oars a-piece. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 519, 520. Speed, p. 858.—Queen Elizabeth's fleet consisted of not much above a hundred sail. See Stow, p. 749.

^a One hundred and three companies of foot, and four thousand horse, among which

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Elizabeth's
preparations.
Camden.
Stow,
p. 749.
Fox.
Speed.
Stryce.

Low Countries, and prepared a great number of vessels to transport them, in order to join the Spanish fleet, and land in England^b. The project was to station the fleet at the mouth of the Thames, to assist the troops who were to march directly to London. Elizabeth, who wanted not good spies, having timely notice of these great preparations, provided for the defence of her kingdom with great care and diligence. She fitted out a considerable fleet, which however was inferior to that of Spain, both in the number and largeness of the ships, and gave the command to Charles lord Howard of Effingham, high admiral of England, and very expert in sea-affairs. He had for vice-admirals, Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, three of the best sea-officers then in the world^c. On the other hand, Henry Seymour, second son of the late duke of Somerset, lay upon the coast of Flanders, with forty sail of English and Dutch, to hinder the prince of Parma from joining the Spanish fleet. Moreover, Elizabeth had in England an army of forty thousand men, whereof three thousand, under the command of the earl of Leicester, were posted near the Thames mouth. The rest were near the queen's person, ready to march where it should be deemed necessary^d. Besides this, there was in each county a body of militia well armed, under leaders who had orders to join one another as occasion should require. It is certain, there are no trained-bands in the world more proper for a bold action than those of England. So in case the Spaniards had landed, they would have met with a warm reception. The sea-ports were forti-

which were seven hundred English fugitives, commanded by Stanley; the earl of Westmoreland was also with them. Camden, p. 543.

^b Moreover, the duke of Guise brought twelve thousand men down to the coast of Normandy, which was to join the Spanish Armada as they went by, and land in the west of England; but for want of money, or some other reason, their design proved abortive. Stow, p. 746.

^c These were ordered to lie at the Channel's mouth, and about the western parts of England. Camden, p. 543.

^d For the land-service there were dispersed along the southern coasts twenty thousand men. Besides which, two armies were raised of choice well disciplined men, the one under the command of the earl of Leicester, consisting of a

thousand horse, and twenty-two thousand foot, which encamped at Tilbury, (where the queen was pleased to come and review them; and made a very kind speech to them, which see in Cambala, p. 373;) the other was under the leading of the lord Hunsdon, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to guard the queen's person. Upon this emergency the city of London lent the queen great sums of money. And being desired to furnish five thousand men, and fifteen ships, they granted ten thousand men, and thirty ships. No words, says Stow, can express the great forwardness of the people, in their zealous love and duty towards their sovereign, at this juncture. See Stow, p. 744, 750. Camden, p. 543, 548. Stryce's Ann. tom. iii. p. 517.

fied * as much as the time would permit, and signals were every where appointed to shew the places where the troops were to march. In short, it was resolved, that if the Spaniards made a descent, the country about them should be laid waste, that they might have nothing to subsist upon but what they brought from the fleet †. This was the course taken by Francis I. in Provence against Charles V. with a success that answered his expectations. These measures being taken, the enemy was expected with uncommon alacrity, though it should seem that on such an occasion every one should have been in the utmost consternation ‡.

Mean while, Elizabeth was not without uneasiness. The hour she had always dreaded was at length come. Her crown lay at stake, and she was to defend it, without the assistance of any ally. This she had always endeavoured to prevent, from the beginning of her reign, by all the artifices her policy could suggest, by somenting the troubles of Scotland, by making an alliance with France, by feigning to marry the duke of Anjou, by assisting the Huguenots of France and the malecontents of the Netherlands, and finally, by beheading the queen of Scots. She had succeeded hitherto, and though surrounded with enemies, had found means to employ them at home, and prevent them from directly invading England. But the time was now come that her right must be exposed to the chance of war. Though she was generally beloved by her subjects, she was not ignorant that there were many disaffected persons in the kingdom, and especially among the catholicks. Nay, she had reason to fear, they corresponded with the king of Spain and favoured his invasion. On the other hand, she was not easy with respect to Ireland, because of the religion of the Irish, and the correspondents the pope and Philip II. had there. But she was under a still greater concern on account of Scotland. She had just put king James's mother to death by the hand of the executioner, and

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The queen's
perplexities.

* Particularly Milford-haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the Downs, and about the Thames mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c. Camden, *ibid*.

† Arthur lord Grey, sir Francis Knolles, sir John Norris, sir Richard Bingham, and sir Roger Williams, excellent soldiers, were made choice of to consult about the best way of managing the war at land. Camden, p. 543, 548.

‡ April 12, this year, died sir Tho-

mas Bromley lord high chancellor, and was succeeded by sir Christopher Hatton, the queen's vice-chamberlain. Stow, p. 742. This year also died, ninety years old, Ann Stanhope, relict of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, and protector of England. And sir Ralph Sadler, chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster. Camden, p. 541. And likewise, on April 18, John Fox the martyrologist. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. Appen. p. 209.

Eliz.
1588.

if that prince should be transported with the desire of revenge, he could never have a fairer opportunity, since it was in his power to favour the descent of the Spaniards in one extremity of the kingdom, by making a diversion in the other. In a word, if she could not hinder the Spaniards from landing in England, she must necessarily resolve to hazard a battle, the country not being proper to prolong the war. All this was more than sufficient to inspire her with a just dread, which however she very carefully concealed. If ever she discovered ability, it was on this important occasion. Far from showing the least faint-heartedness, she encouraged her people by her looks, her resolution, her affability, which made them think she was troubled only for their sakes; and on her own account, regardless of the danger. Mean while, she looked to every thing with a wonderful prudence, and a presence of mind rarely to be found in the greatest men, and which gained her the admiration and praises of all the world. Some advised her to put to death, or send beyond sea, the leading catholics. But she thought it would be discovering too much fear, besides that it would have been great injustice to punish men upon bare suspicions. She contented herself with causing some to be arrested, and put into custody, telling them however, it was only by way of precaution, which, instead of injuring, would screen them from the violence of their enemies.

Camden.

She caresses
the king of
Scotland.
Camden.

As for Ireland, she sent orders to sir William Fitz-williams, who was then lord deputy, distinctly pointing out to him what precautions he should use to hinder the Irish from rising. But above all things, she took care to caress the king of Scotland, and put him in hopes of an ample acknowledgment, if on this occasion he inviolably adhered to the protestant religion and the interest of Great Britain. She represented to him, that, in respect to England, he was to consider the king of Spain as a dangerous competitor, and that the loss of one of the realms of Great Britain would not fail of being attended with the loss of the other. But her uneasiness with regard to Scotland was not long-lived, since she had quickly the satisfaction to hear that James, knowing perfectly his own interest, had no correspondence with the king of Spain, but even stood upon his guard for fear of being invaded himself.

Expedition
of the Spa-
nish fleet.
Camden,
Stow.

The duke of Medina-celi sailed out of the Tagus with the Invincible Armada the 3^d of June^b, and steered his course towards the north. Within a few days, a storm arising, so dispersed the ships, that they could not rejoin till

^b May 29, says Camden, p. 545.

they came to the Groyne. This accident occasioned a report over Europe, that the Spanish fleet was entirely destroyed. Walsingham himself, secretary of state, thought his intelligence so certain, that he writ to the lord admiral Howard, to send home four of the largest ships, there being no farther danger this year. But the admiral answered, he could not think of parting with the four ships, though he should be obliged to keep them at his own charge, till he had more certain advice. The better to know the truth, the wind turning to the north, he sailed with all his fleet towards Spain, with design to complete the destruction of the enemy's Armada, which was represented to him as disabled. But when he approached Spain, he heard the fleet had not suffered so much damage as was reported. At the same time, the wind changing to the south, he sailed back to his station at the mouth of the channel, for fear with the same wind the enemies fleet should advance towards England.

But it was the 12th of July before the Spaniards departed from the Groyne, and two days after, the duke of Medina-celi sent a yacht to notify the same to the duke of Parma, that he might be ready to join him. The 19th, the Spanish fleet entered the Channel, and the 20th, appeared in sight of the English, who let it pass in order to follow it before the wind. Camden has inserted in his Annals, a journal of what passed in the Channel till the Spaniards retired to the North. I don't think it very necessary to copy the journal, which besides is a little obscure, and gives but an imperfect idea of the bravery and conduct of the English. It will suffice to say, that whilst the Spaniards were in the Channel, the English kept close to them, and even took some of their ships. Of this number were a Galeon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdis, which was sent to Dartmouth, and a ship of Biscay, in which was the king's treasure; but the Spaniards had taken out the money, because the ship had been fired.

The 23d of July, the wind being in the north, the duke of Medina-celi stood towards the English fleet. There was that day a sharp engagement, wherein the Spaniards, though much superior in number of ships, obtained no advantage. The unwieldiness of their ships, and the agility of the English, made it easy for these to stand off or on, as they saw fit, and so to balance the superiority of their enemies. The trial the Spaniards made on this occasion of the English valour and skill in sea-engagements, began doubtless to give them quite another notion of their enterprize than they had hitherto conceived.

Mean

Eliz.
1588.

Stow.
Camden.

Mean while, the duke of Medina-celi sent daily messengers to press the duke of Parma to put to sea with his army. But that was not practicable, by reason of the English and Dutch ships, posted advantageously to hinder the junction. It was necessary for the Spaniards to approach the coast of Flanders, to compel them to retire ¹. But the 27th in the evening, they were no farther than off Calais, where ~~they~~ came to an anchor, being still followed by the English, who lay within shot. Here the English fleet was joined by a good number of ships, not only of the queen's, but of divers private persons, who had fitted out several at their own expence ^k. And now the fleet consisted of one hundred and forty ships of war, small indeed in comparison of the Spanish, but however with the advantage of moving more easily, and retiring into the ports of England in case of necessity. The duke of Parma, who was to sail from Dunkirk and Newport, was still earnestly solicited by the duke of Medina-celi to put to sea, and make a descent in England, as it had been resolved. But, besides that the ships which expected him, were not yet withdrawn, notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the Spanish Armada, many of his mariners had deserted, and his fleet was ill-provided with victuals. In short, he could not or would not embark.

July 28.

Whilst the Spaniards lay before Calais, the English admiral sent in their night eight fire-ships among their fleet ¹. This sight struck them with such a terror, that instantly cutting their cables, they put to sea to avoid the impending danger. In this confusion, the Admiral-galeass, commanded by Hugo de Moncada, having lost her rudder, floated up and down till the next day, when she was taken by the English after a sharp engagement, wherein Moncada was slain. Though the Spanish admiral had ordered every ship to return to her station as soon as the danger was passed, and made a signal for that purpose, there were but few that endeavoured to obey. So, the fleet remained dispersed, some of the ships being driven to the North, and others upon the shallows of Flanders, where

¹ On the 26th, the lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher, for their good service; and a resolution was taken not to attack the enemy any more, till they were come into the straits of Calais. Camden, p. 547.

^k Amongst others, the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland,

Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brooke, Charles Blunt, Walter Raleigh, William Hatton, Robert Carey, Ambrose Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorges, sir Thomas Vavasor, and others of good quality. Camden, p. 547. Stow, p. 747.

¹ Under the conduct of Young and Prowse. Camden, p. 547.

they

they were in great danger. They had not only to guard against the sands, but also against the English, who so played upon them with their cannon, that several Spanish ships were that day disabled, and the galleons, called St. Philip and St. Matthew, fell into the hands of the Zealanders. At last, a July 30, north-west wind driving the fleet upon the coast of Zealand, where they were like to be lost, the English gave over the chase, for fear of being exposed to the same danger. Happily for the Spaniards, the wind turned to the south-west very seasonably, and freed them from their distress. But now, perceiving the impossibility of executing their project, they resolved to return home by sailing round Scotland and Ireland, and the rather, as some of their ships had already steered that course. The English admiral seeing them stand to the northward, left part of his fleet to have an eye upon the coast of Flanders, and gave them chase, though at a little distance, till they were past Edinburgh-frith. The course they steered gave some suspicion, that they were sure of a retreat in the ports of Scotland. Whereupon the English ambassador at king James's court made him large offers, and even some promises, which he had not power to make, and which were never performed ^m.

Mean while, the Spanish fleet continuing their course, sustained some farther damage by contrary winds, which caused several of their ships to be lost on the coast of Scotland and Ireland. Seven hundred soldiers and mariners, who had escaped to land in the king of Scotland's dominions, were sent to the duke of Parma with Elizabeth's consent. But those who were shipwrecked in Ireland, and cast ashore, were all put to the sword, or perished by the hands of the executioner; the lord-deputy, by whose orders it was done, fearing they would join with the rebels. At least this was his pretence to excuse this barbarity ⁿ.

Strype's
Annals,
t. iii. p. 522.

^m Ashby, the queen's ambassador in Scotland, made king James the following offers; namely, the title of a duke in England, a yearly pension of 5000 l. a guard to be maintained at the queen's charge, and some other matters, whether (says Camden) of his own head, or by command of others, I cannot tell. Camden, p. 548.

ⁿ Of the Spanish Armada were taken and destroyed in July and August, fifteen great ships, and 4791 men, in the fight between the English and Spanish navies in the Channel: and on the coast of Ireland, in September, seventeen ships,

and 5394 men. In all thirty-two ships, and 10185 men. See Strype's Append. Numb. 53. Upon the disappearance of this mighty fleet, the following writing was fastened up to Pasquil at Rome: "Pontificem mille annorum indulgentias largitutum esse de plenitudine potestatis suae, siquid certo sibi indicaverit, quid sit factum de classe Hispanica, quod abierit: in coelumne sublata: an ad tartara detrusa: vel in aere alicubi pendeat, an in aliquo mari fluctet." Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 522.

Eliz.
1588.

Philip bears
his misfor-
tune patient-
ly.

Camden.

The queen
returns God
thanks.

Nov. 24.

Camden.

Stow.

Speed.

King James
remains firm
to the inter-
est of Eng-
land.

Aët. Pub.
xvi. p. 18.

Camden.

Death of the
earl of Lei-
cester.
Camden.
Stow..

Philip II.^o received the news of the ill success of his fleet with an heroic patience. He had spent three years in preparing the Armada with an incredible expence, and when he heard of the defeat, so contrary to his expectation, thanked God it was no greater^o.

Upon the retreat of this so formidable a fleet, England was filled with an universal joy. Elizabeth ordered a public thanksgiving for the deliverance, to be made in all the churches of the kingdom, and went herself to St. Paul's^p in great solemnity to perform the same duty. After that, she conferred on the lord-admiral a yearly revenue, in recompence of his great service to his country, and bestowed pensions on the wounded. For the rest, their rewards consisted more in words than in deeds.

Sir Robert Sidney, who had been sent into Scotland before the arrival of the Spanish fleet, at the time the queen was afraid king James would think of being revenged, returned home when the danger was over. He reported, that the king of Scotland had testified his sincere attachment to the interest of England, and the protestant religion, and had told him, 'That he looked for no other favour from the Spaniards, than what Polyphemus promised Ulysses, namely, that he should be devoured the last.'

On the 4th of September^q died the earl of Leicester, a man little deserving his greatness, if most of the historians are to be credited. His death drew tears from the queen, who nevertheless ordered his goods to be sold at a public sale, for payment of the sums she had lent him^r.

^o This is Camden's account. But according to Anthony Coppley, a fugitive gentleman in those times, when the news was brought to Philip, being at mass, "He swore (after mass was over) that he would waste and consume his crown even to the value of a candlestick (pointing at one that stood upon the altar) but either he would utterly ruin her majesty and England, or else him and all Spain become tributary to her." Strype, *ibid.* p. 525. — The duke of Medina returned to Spain about the end of September, with only sixty fall out of his hundred and thirty, and those too very much shattered. Stow, p. 749.

^p Where eleven colours and standards taken from the enemy were hung up. Camden, p. 549. Stow; p. 750.

^q Rapin, by mistake, says the 14th of December.

^r Robert Dudley, fifth son of John duke of Northumberland, died the 4th of September at Cornbury in Oxfordshire, in his way to Kenilworth, from whence he was carried to Warwick, and there interred. The titles and places he enjoyed were these: knight of the orders of the garter and St. Michael; privy-counsellor; master of the horse; steward of the queen's household; constable of Windsoor-castle; chancellor of the university of Oxford; justice in eyre of all the forests south of the Trent; lieutenant and captain-general of the English forces in the Netherlands. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 221. Camden, p. 549.

After

After the Spanish fleet had left the coast of Flanders, the Duke of Parma seeing the enterprize blasted, besieged Bergen-zoom, where was an English governor, with a garrison of the same nation. The siege acquired the governor great reputation, who by a gallant defence obliged the duke at length to raise it.*

The same year, so memorable for England, was no less so for France. The duke of Guise, grown more powerful than the king, came to Paris in May, and by the favour of the people, whose idol he was, obliged the king to depart, having seen the furious populace chaining the streets, and preparing to attack his person in the Louvre. This is what was called, The barricadoes of Paris†. This insolent action was allowed by an agreement, which the king was forced to make with the heads of the league, whereby he put several places into their hands. But in December following, Henry perceiving himself ruined, if he did not make away with the duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal, caused them both to be assassinated at Blois, where the states of the kingdom were assembled. Thus he freed himself from a present danger, but he was only to fall into another, for this action made the league, and the city of Paris openly declare against him.

As for Scotland, all was quiet there during the whole year 1588. So long as the king had about him ministers and counsellors attached to the interests of England, he generally lived an easy and peaceable life. So, the only thing that troubled him this year was his marriage, which he could not accomplish, though he passionately wished it itself. Melvil insinuates, that chancellor Maitland, who then managed that prince's affairs, was bribed by Elizabeth: that she gave pensions to most of the counsellors of Scotland, and that her aim was to hinder the king from marrying. He had sent ambassadors to Copenhagen, to treat of his marriage with the eldest daughter of Frederic II. but by the artifice of his ministers, the ambassadors power was so limited, that it was impossible for them to conclude. On the other hand, whilst the marriage was negotiating, one Dubartus‡, a French poet, servant

Eliz.
1588.
Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.
Strada.
Camden.
Affairs of
France.
Thuanus.
Mecserai.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Melvil,
p. 176.

* The lord Willoughby general of the English, (who had made sir William Drury governor, though the queen, by her letters, had given the place to Morgan) to reward military valour, knighted sir Francis Vere, who now began to grow famous, sir Thomas Knolles, sir Nicholas Parker, and sir John Pooley, for their courageous behaviour. Camden, p. 550.

† What occasioned this name was, that the streets were blocked up with barriques, i. e. hogheads, &c. See Thuanus, l. 50.

‡ The bishop of St. Andrew's, and the lairds of Segie and Bairbarrow. Melvil, p. 176.

¶ As this name is thus writ in Melvil's memoirs, it was not thought proper to alter it. But there is room to suspect

Eliz.
1588.

p. 177.

vant of the king of Navarre, came to Edinburgh, under colour of paying his respects to the king, who had expressed some esteem for his works, and proposed, as of himself, the king's marriage with Catherine his master's sister. He said so many fine things of the lady, that the king, by the advice of his council, sent the lord Tungland, Melvil's brother, into France to see her, on pretence of negotiating some affair with the king her brother. The king of Denmark hearing of it, and seeing, moreover, the limited power of the Scotch ambassadors, believed he was mocked, and gave his daughter to the duke of Brunswick. Melvil ascribes, not without great likelihood, this whole intrigue to Elizabeth, and affirms, it was she that informed the king of Denmark of the lord Tungland's being sent to the court of Navarre.

1589.
Plot in Scotland discovered.
Camden.
Melvil,
p. 175.

Shortly after, in the beginning of the year 1589, was discovered in Scotland a conspiracy against the king, contrived by the earls of Huntley and Bothwell, son of John Prior of Coldingham, natural son of James V. ^x Their design was to seize the king's person, and compel him to restore the catholic religion in Scotland ^y. It is said, they were excited by emissaries from Spain ^z. The king prevented the execution of the plot by his diligence. He pursued the earl of Huntley, who had taken up arms, till at last he constrained him to yield at discretion. As for Bothwell, he withdrew to his own house, where he meditated new projects, which I shall mention hereafter. I return to the affairs of England.

Trial of the
earl of Arundel.
April 1^o.
State-Tri.
Camden.

The queen
spares his
life.

Philip Howard earl of Arundel, eldest son of the late duke of Norfolk, who had been three years prisoner in the Tower, was at last brought to his trial before his peers, being accused of conspiring against the queen and the state. Camden shows, he was convicted at most but of being disaffected to the government, and too much attached to the catholic religion^a. He was however condemned to die; but the queen gave him his life ^b.

suspect it should be Du Bartas, a famous poet, who was indeed sent to Scotland by the king of Navarre, though one cannot be sure it was this very year. Thuanus, tom. v. p. 200. Rapin. — Melvil says, that king James had this Dubartus in great esteem, for his rare poësie set out in the French tongue; which puts it out of all doubt that it was Dubartus. Melvil, p. 176.

^x And also the earls of Arrol and Crawford. Camden, p. 551.

^y And then invade England, in revenge for the death of the queen of

Scots. Ibid.

^z Namely, Robert Bruce a priest, and Chreighton and Haytes jesuits. Ibid.

^a He was accused of having held private and secret conference and communication of several treasons, with Allen and other popish priests; and of having had mass said for the happy success of the Spanish Armada. See State Trials, vol. i.

^b Henry earl of Derby was made lord high-steward of England for this purpose. Camden, p. 551.

Elizabeth enjoyed now a tranquillity, to which she had been a stranger ever since the beginning of her reign. The queen of Scotland was no longer in the world; and the king her son, in expectation of one day succeeding Elizabeth, stifled his resentment, or rather had entirely forgot the tragical death of his mother: The king of Spain was disabled to make a fresh attempt upon England; since the unfortunate success of his invincible Armada. The affairs of the United Provinces began to be restored by the valour and prudent conduct of count Maurice, and those of France were in such a situation, that England had nothing to fear from that quarter. The duke of Guise, Elizabeth's great enemy, was dead, his son in prison, and the duke of Mayenne wholly bent upon revenging the death of his brothers. As for Sixtus V: though very capable of forming great projects, he could not execute them without the aid of some catholick potentate; and the king of Spain, on whom alone he could depend, was wholly engrossed with the thoughts of improving the troubles of France. As for the English catholicks, there was no likelihood of their stirring, at a time when they could not expect any foreign assistance.

Eliz.
1589.Peaceable
state of
Elizabeth.

In this prosperous state, Elizabeth having nothing to fear either at home or abroad, had a mind to show the Spaniard, the English could attack as well as defend. But as she was extremely frugal, and an undertaking against Spain could not but be very expensive, she so ordered it, that Drake and Norris took upon them to be at the charge, in hopes of making themselves amends by the booty they should meet with: So she only found them ships of war^c, with leave to raise soldiers and sailors for the expedition. Drake had already tried the Spaniards in America and the channel, and was convinced they were more formidable in common opinion, than in reality. Wherefore, joining with Norris, and some other private persons, they equipped a fleet, and embarked eleven thousand soldiers, and fifteen hundred mariners. The Hollanders having also added some ships, the fleet consisted of fourscore sail^d of all sorts. Drake commanded at sea, and Norris was general of the land-forces. They took with them Don Antonio, who stiled himself king of Portugal, and hoped, by the assistance of the English, to be put in possession of that kingdom, where he pretended to have many friends.

She sends a
fleet against
Spain.
Camden;
Stow.

Stow.

^c Six ships of war, and about 60,000 l. in money. Stow, p. 752.

^d One hundred and forty-six, says and of the sailors four thousand. Ibid.

Eliz.
1589.

The expedi-
tion.
Camden.
Stow.

May 6.

Stow.

May 16.

The English
seize sixty
ships belong-
ing to the
Hans-towns.
June 21.
July 10.

They sailed from Plymouth the 18th of April, and soon after arrived at the Groyne, where landing their troops, they assaulted the lower-town and carried it by storm. Then they besieged the upper-town. But Norris having advice that the Condé di Andrada was approaching with a body of troops to relieve the place, suddenly raised the siege to march against him; but the Spanish Condé thinking proper to retire, he pursued him, and overtaking him slew three thousand of his men. This done, he burned several villages, and, without returning to the siege, reembarked his troops. The principal design of the English was to exert themselves chiefly against Portugal.

Whilst they were sailing towards the coasts of that kingdom, they met the earl of Essex, who joined the fleet with some ships he had armed at his own charge, and unknown to the queen. Some days after, they arrived at Penicha, a little town of Portuga', and taking it, restored it to Don Antonio. From thence Norris marched by land to Lisbon, Drake promising to follow with the fleet up the Tagus. The army marched sixty miles without any opposition, and encamping before Lisbon, took the suburbs of St. Catherine. But as Drake performed not his promise, and the army wanted cannon and ammunition, it was resolved in a council of war to retire. This resolution was taken, because there was no appearance that the Portugeze were inclined to revolt, as Don Antonio had expected, and also because there was no news of the succours he had boasted of, from the king of Morocco. The army marching towards the mouth of the Tagus, met Drake, who had taken the town of Cascaes, and excused himself upon the impossibility of performing his promise. Some days after, the castle of Cascaes surrendering, it was blown up; and, to make themselves amends for the charges of the expedition, the English seized sixty vessels laden with corn * belonging to the Hans-towns. Then they went and took Vigo, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, and firing the town returned to England. This expedition did some damage to the king of Spain, but was of no benefit to Elizabeth, and the booty was not sufficient to pay for equipping the fleet †. Besides this, above six thousand men perished by sickness. The only advantage reaped by the

* And all manner of naval stores, to equip a new fleet against England. Camden, p. 554.

† The English brought home a hun-

dred and fifty pieces of great ordnance, and a very rich booty, says Camden, p. 555.

English was, that they were more convinced of the weakness of the Spaniards in their own country.

Eliz.

1589.

The Hans-towns made great noise on account of the seizure of their ships in the Tagus, and sent ambassadors to the queen with their complaints. They were told, in the first place, that in the patent granted them by Edward III. it was expressly provided, they should not import any commodities into the dominions of the professed and open enemies of England. Secondly, that a neutrality was so to be ordered, that in assisting one of the parties, the other should not be damaged; and that it was a thing well known, that warlike provisions carried to one of the contending parties, were contraband goods, and liable to seizure. In the third place, they could not justly complain of the taking their vessels, since the queen had warned them not to import any provisions to Spain and Portugal, unless they would hazard their being seized by the English.

They complain to the queen.
The court's answer.

This affair was of little moment: but what passed in France this year was much more considerable. The step Henry III. had taken, in causing the duke of Guise to be stabbed, served only to throw him into greater trouble. His swearing again

Affairs of France.
Thuanus.
Mezerai.
Camden.

to the league in the presence of the states before he dismissed them signified nothing. The leaguers, as they could no longer trust to his promises and oaths, almost entirely alienated the whole kingdom from him. Hence he saw himself forced to call the king of Navarre and the Huguenots to his assistance, and join with them against the league. It is a thing very remarkable, that this prince, who had sworn to extirpate the Huguenots, and solemnly declared he would never keep promise with them, scarce found any other subjects but the Huguenots in whom he could confide. The forces brought him by the king of Navarre, and ten thousand Switzers, two thousand Landsquenets, with some horse, which came in season, enabled him to besiege or block up Paris with an army of thirty-eight thousand men. But just as he saw himself upon the point of compelling the Parisians to return to their duty, James Clement a Jacobin monk, stabbed him in the belly with a dagger, of which he died in two days. Before he expired, he nominated for his successor the king of Navarre, head of the house of Bourbon, who assumed the name of Henry IV.

Henry III is assassinated.
August 1.
Thuanus.
Henry IV. succeeds.

The league refused to acknowledge the new king. Nay, he saw himself deserted by several great men of the late king's party; and, in order to retain some of the catholick nobility, he was obliged to promise them, that he would within such a

Thuanus.
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.

Eliz.
1589.

time be instructed in the principles of the Romish religion; that ~~he~~ would turn catholick: for that ~~was~~ the meaning given to these words. Mean while he had neither men nor money, the Switzers and Germans who had served Henry III. threatening to leave him, unless he would pay them their arrears, which he was not able to do. In this extremity he had recourse to Elizabeth, who generously promised him both men and money. In expectation of these succours, he stood firm against the duke of Mayenne, who had forced him into Normandy, and even attacked him at Arques, but without success. Henry thought himself in such danger, that he would have taken the advice given him by some to fly into England, if the marshal de Biron had not stopped him. At last, the English supplies arrived, consisting of four thousand men, under the command of Peregrine lord Willoughby, and of twenty-two thousand pounds sterling in gold. With this reinforcement he was able to approach Paris, and take one of the suburbs of that city. But the duke of Mayenne having entered with his army, he was forced to retire. Mean while, the duke of Mayenne had caused the old cardinal de Bourbon to be proclaimed king, and himself had assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the crown of France. Henry leaving the country about Paris, returned into Normandy, where he reduced some places to his obedience, after which he sent home the English forces.

Camden.
Spow.

The king of
Scotland's
marriage.
Melvil,
p. 177.

Though the king of Denmark had given his eldest daughter to the duke of Brunswick, the king of Scotland persisted in his design to marry into his family, and demanded his second daughter. Frederick granted his request, but on condition he should cause her to be demanded by a solemn embassy before the first day of May. But he died in this interval, leaving his successor under age. This did not hinder James from thinking seriously of his marriage with the princess Ann, the new king's sister. But when he moved in council the sending of an embassy to Copenhagen, he was told, he would hazard a rupture with the queen of England, if he married without consulting her. The authors of this advice knew Elizabeth would raise obstacles to the marriage. And indeed, in her answer to the king, she tried to make him sensible of sundry inconveniencies if he espoused the princess of Denmark; and, to divert him from it, proposed to him Catherine, the king of Navarre's sister, who was not yet come to the crown of France,

p. 179.

Camden.

§ He was accompanied by sir Thomas Drury, and sir Thomas Baskerville, Camden, p. 556.

promising to serve him to the utmost of her power. Elizabeth's answer being laid before the council, there was not a privy-counsellor but what declared against the Danish match. James was so vexed to be thus contradicted, that by means of a trusty servant, he caused the inhabitants of Edinburgh to rise in arms, and threaten to tear the chancellor and privy-counsellors in pieces, if the king's marriage with the princess of Denmark was not concluded. These threats terrifying the council, ambassadors were instantly appointed to negotiate the marriage. But withal care taken to insert in their instructions a clause, which put them to a stand in the very beginning of their negotiation, and obliged them to send home the lord Dingwal to demand fuller powers, or leave to return. This lord arriving at court when the chancellor was absent, the king himself drew the power required by his ambassadors, whereupon the marriage was soon concluded. Presently after the new queen was delivered to the ambassadors to be conducted into Scotland: but a storm arising whilst she was at sea, drove her upon the coast of Norway, where she was forced to land. The wind continued so long contrary, that James, impatient to see his bride, could not stay till it changed. So, embarking in a small vessel, he went to his queen, and passed the whole winter in Norway and Denmark, from whence he returned not to Scotland till May the next year, bringing his queen with him.

Eliz.
1589.

Camden.
p. 180—
182.

Ast. Pub.
XVI. p. 27.

The tranquillity enjoyed by Elizabeth was liable to be 1590. disturbed only from Spain. France was not in condition to create her any uneasiness, and the king of Scotland thought only of living peaceably, in expectation of the noble succession that was to come to him. Philip II. was therefore the sole ene-

Elizabeth keeps in a posture of defence against Spain.
Camden,

^a This year, on February 4, a new parliament met at Westminster, which was dissolved March 29. The temporality granted the queen subsidies, of 2 s. 8 d. in the pound, and four fifteenths, and a tenth besides, says Stow, p. 751. The clergy gave two subsidies of 6 s. in the pound, to be paid yearly by two shillings in the pound. See Statut.—In this parliament it was enacted, 1. That no person, except the party grieved, shall be received to inform or sue upon any penal statute. 2. That no person, or body politick or corporate, which hath election or voice, in the nomination and choice of any fellow, scholar, or any person in any church, college, school, hospital, or other society, shall take any

reward, directly or indirectly, for his vote: nor for presentation or collation to any benefice or dignity. 3. That no person shall build, maintain, or uphold any cottage, unless he lays to it four acres of ground at least. The penalty for building one is 10 l. and for upholding it 40 s. a month. See Statut. and D'ewes, p. 419, &c.—This year died Frances countess of Sussex, and sister to sir Henry Sidney, foundress of Sidney-Sussex college in Cambridge. About the same time also, died sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor and undertreasurer of the exchequer, and founder of Emanuel college in the aforesaid university. Camden, p. 557.

THE HISTORY

my Elizabeth had to fear. But, to secure herself from all surprise, she took the most just though expensive precautions. She had always a good fleet ready to put to sea at the first notice[†]. The fortified towns and sea-ports were likewise in good condition[‡], and this cost her as much as if she had been in actual war with Spain. But she supplied all by her good œconomy, expending no money but what was absolutely necessary. This displeased her hungry courtiers, who would have been very glad she had been a little more liberal. But though she knew herself taxed with avarice, she thought not proper to alter her conduct. She thereby avoided being troublesome to the parliament, and when she wanted an extraordinary aid, was sure to find a ready compliance in the house of commons, without any murmurs among the people. This advantage outweighed the satisfaction of being called liberal by her courtiers. Besides, she was persuaded that what was termed avarice in her, was only good œconomy. The truth is, with the ordinary revenues of the crown, she found means to supply the expences of her household, maintain a fleet, pay the publick debts, and assist her neighbours in their distresses, which none of her predecessors had ever done. On the contrary, most of them, by their mistaken bounties, had ruined their subjects for the pleasure of enriching a small number of courtiers. Besides, Elizabeth had a particular reason to spare the purses of her subjects, in order to gain their affection, the strongest support of her throne. Wherefore, one of the chief objects of her care was a due management of her treasury, with intent to be always able to withstand the attacks of her enemies both at home and abroad. Her inspection in the year 1590 into the customs, notwithstanding the endeavours that were used to divert her from it, occasioned her raising them from fourteen thousand pounds a year (at which sum they were farmed by Sir Thomas Smith) to forty-two thousand, and at last to sixty thousand. But her great œconomy hindered her not from parting with her money when it was necessary. Though, in the two foregoing years she had lent about two hundred thousand crowns to the king of France, she supplied him with sixty thousand more, because she plainly saw of what consequence the ruin of that prince might be to England. Moreover, the garrisons of the Briel and Flushing, besides the three thousand men maintained by her in the Low-

Camden.
Naughton,
p. 15.

[†] Towards the repairs of which, she appointed a yearly sum of 89,000. sterling. Camden, p. 558.

[‡] This year she fortified Milford-haven in Wales, and Dunganon in Ireland. Ibid.

Countries,

Countries, cost her yearly above four hundred thousand florins ¹, Eliz. because she was forced to advance the money till the states 1590. should be able to repay her. In fine, she paid also considerable pensions to several persons of the court of Scotland, whose business it was to acquaint her with all that passed there, and to keep the king well affected to England, as he had been for some time.

Whilst Elizabeth enjoyed some tranquillity, France was troubled with the wars between the king and the league. In Affairs of France, March the king gained the battle of Yvry against the duke of Thuanus. Mayenne, after which he invested Paris, and even took the suburbs. That great city was now reduced to extremity, Meserai. when the duke of Parma arrived from the Netherlands, and forced the king to raise the blockade. That done, he returned without the king's being able to oblige him to fight.

On the other hand, in the duke of Parma's absence, count Maurice, who had already taken Breda by surprise, made and of the some farther progress, which helped to put the affairs of the Low-Countries. United Provinces in a better situation than before. Grotius.

The same year the duke of Mercœur, of the house of Lor- The duke of rain, became master of Bretagne by the assistance of the Mercœur Spaniards, who took Hennebond and Blavet. This affair over-runs disturbed Elizabeth, who did not care to have the Spaniards Bretagne. so near her, especially as Philip II. might claim Bretagne for Thuanus. his daughter the infanta Isabella, whose mother was daughter Meserai. of Henry II.

Sir Francis Walsingham secretary of state, who had long served the queen with great zeal and ability, died this year, Death of Walsingham. so poor that he was buried privately to save charges ^m. Camden. Thomas Randolph, whom I have frequently mentioned, and who had been employed in several embassies, particularly in Scotland, soon followed Walsingham.

The civil wars of France were then the most material affair of Europe. It could no longer be doubted, that Philip 1591. Henry IV. II. was thinking either to dismember that kingdom, or procure is in great perplexity. it for his daughter Isabella, grand-daughter to Henry II.

¹ She paid 125000 florins every two months, i. e. 750,000 yearly; besides 16000 more to three thousand horse and foot, which served in the Netherlands. Camden, p. 558.

^m He died April 6, and was buried by night in St. Paul's church. Camden, p. 560. He spent his whole time and estate in the service of his queen and country; and had the best intelligence from all parts that any mi-

nister ever had. He left only one daughter, who was married, 1st, to sir Philip Sidney; 2dly, to Robert earl of Essex; and, 3dly, to Richard Bourke earl of Clanrikard in Ireland. Ibid. This year also, on Feb. 21, died Ambrose Dudley earl of Warwick, without issue; and George Talbot the seventh earl of Shrewsbury; as also sir James Croftes. Ibid. Stow, p. 760, 761.

Eliz,
1591.

Thuanus.
Mezerai.
Camden.
A&S. Pub.
xvi. p. 23,
37, 89, &c.

Elizabeth
engages to
aid him.
A&S. Pub.
xvi. p. 43.
125.
Camden.
Stow.

A&S. Pub.
xvi. p. 94.
Three thou-
sand Eng-
lishmen are
sent into
France.

notwithstanding the Salic law. Sixtus V. favoured the project to the utmost of his power, under colour of hindering a heretick from being acknowledged king of France. If this design was not executed, it must be wholly ascribed to the duke of Mayenne's jealousy, who did not intend to labour for others. Mean while, Henry IV. was extremely embarrassed. The forces of the Huguenots alone were not sufficient to enable him to surmount all obstacles, since he had no less to do than to conquer the whole kingdom of France, and the catholick nobles in his army served him with reluctance. Nay, they had required him, in return for their service, to be instructed, and in such a manner, that the instruction should produce in him a change of religion. In this pressing necessity, he could not be without foreign succours, and these succours could be had only from Germany or England. It was visibly the interest of Elizabeth and the protestant princes to support Henry, not to see the king of Spain's power increased by the acquisition of France. But, however, it was not easy to persuade them, that they ought to employ all their forces to maintain a war, of which Henry was to reap all the benefit. They were very ready to supply him with troops, but not to pay them. It was his business to find money. Elizabeth plainly perceived, of what consequence it was to her to preserve France; but expected that the succours she gave the king, should be employed in driving the Spaniards out of the maritime provinces of Bretagne, Normandy, and Picardy, for that was what most nearly concerned her. It was the king's interest, on the contrary, to expel his enemies from the center of the kingdom, before he thought of attacking them on the borders, and the more, as he thereby put Elizabeth under a continual necessity of assisting him. However, to receive aid from Elizabeth, he was to promise what Elizabeth required. They agreed therefore upon a treaty, whereby Elizabeth engaged to send three thousand men into Bretagne and Picardy, to hinder the Spaniards from settling in those provinces, on condition she should be repaid within a year ^a all her charges in raising and keeping the troops. Henry consented to every thing, not to delay the negotiation, though he was fully convinced of the impossibility to perform his promise by the time appointed. Presently after, the three thousand English passed, part into Bretagne, under the conduct of Norris, and part into Picardy, under the command of Sir Roger Williams.

^a Provided the enemy were dispossessed by that time. Camden, p. 361.

At the same time Henry had negotiated in Germany a levy of eleven thousand men, by means of the elector of Brandenburg and Casimir prince palatine. But this supply not sufficing, he sent and demanded a second from Elizabeth, and, to obtain it the more easily, gave her to understand that with this reinforcement he should be able to undertake the siege of Roan. Elizabeth's great desire to see the maritime towns of France out of the power of the leaguers, caused her to fall into the snare. She made therefore with Henry a new treaty, whereby she engaged to supply him with four thousand men more, and pay them two months, imagining that time was sufficient for the siege of Roan. When these supplies were ready, she gave the command to the earl of Essex^o, a young nobleman, who had much of her favour, and for whom it was believed she felt something more than a bare esteem, though she was then fifty-eight years of age. The earl of Essex, greedy of glory, departed from England full of hopes to signalize himself at the siege of Roan, but at his arrival in France, found the siege had not been so much as thought of; that the king was employed before Noyon, and intended to send the English forces into Champagne. Whereupon he returned into England, having first given the king his parole of honour to come and join him as soon as the siege of Roan should be undertaken. He left his troops however in France under the command of sir Roger Williams.

Elizabeth was extremely offended to be thus deceived. She writ to Henry, that since he had broke his word, he might for the future proceed without her assistance, and that she intended to recall all her troops, unless he immediately performed his promise. Elizabeth's letter embarrassed Henry greatly. He had certain advice that the duke of Parma was preparing to return into France, and in such a juncture the recalling of the English forces would have been very unreasonable. He was forced therefore, in order to satisfy Elizabeth, to cause Roan to be invested by the marshal de Biron. But he took a fresh occasion from thence to demand of Elizabeth a new supply of five thousand men, on pretence that the troops already sent were extremely diminished by sickness and desertion. At the same time the earl of Essex, knowing Roan was invested, went over to the siege^p, contrary to the queen's express orders; supposing, that since he had given the king his parole, nothing could free him from his engage-

Elizabeth sends a farther aid of 4000 men under the earl of Essex.

July.
Act. Pub. xvi. p. 98, 100, 149. Camden. Stow. Speed.

The earl returns into England.
Act. Pub. xvi. p. 140, 146.

The queen complains of Henry's proceedings.
Camden. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 111, 116, 128, 142, 149.

He causes Roan to be invested.
lb. p. 128.

The earl of Essex goes to the siege against the queen's order.
lb. p. 119, 122, 141.

^o Sir Thomas Leighton and sir Henry Killigrew were appointed as assistants to him. Camden, p. 562.

^p During which his brother Walter was slain. Stow, p. 762.

Eliz. ment. Elizabeth was so displeased with the king and the earl, 1591. that she returned a very rough answer to the French ambassador, who pressed her for the five thousand men demanded by the king his master, and left him no hopes of obtaining them. At the same time she dispatched sir Thomas Leyton, the earl of Essex's uncle, with an express order to him instantly to return, if he would not be entirely disgraced. Mean while, Henry hearing the duke of Parma was departed from Brussels about the end of November, repaired to his army before Roan to carry on the siege, hoping to take the city before the duke of Parma's arrival. Shortly after, he sent Du Plessis Mornay to Elizabeth, to try to obtain the desired supply.

Ast. Pub.
xvi. p. 123,
175.

Henry
comes to the
siege, and
demands a
farther aid.
He sends
Du Plessis,

who can ob-
tain no-
thing.
Du Plessis's
Memoirs.
Camden.

Du Plessis, accompanied with the ambassador in ordinary, being admitted to audience, and telling the queen his business, she plainly answered, she would not be the French king's dupe; neither would she for the future concern herself any more with his affairs, nor was he to expect any other assistance from her than her prayers: That he had demanded a speedy aid for the siege of Roan, which she had accordingly sent him; but instead of executing their treaty, he had lost his time before Noyon, and suffered the English troops to decay, whilst he was making war in Champagne: That he had given the duke of Parma four months to prepare, and then a speedy supply was desired of her, which would not have been wanted, had things been done in time. To this she added great threats against the earl of Essex, saying, he would have it thought that he ruled in England, but nothing was more false, and she would make him the most pitiful fellow in the kingdom; that, instead of sending fresh troops into France, she was determined to recall those that were there. Then pretending to be indisposed, she desired the ambassadors to be contented with this short audience, hardly giving Du Plessis time to return any answer to her complaints. But he had taken care beforehand to prepare a memorial which he would have presented to her, but she bid him give it the lord treasurer. In short, Du Plessis returned without obtaining any thing, and the earl of Essex was forced to go back to England, where he found means to appease the queen. Mean while, the duke of Parma having entered France, and being joined by the duke of Mayenne and the young duke of Guise, who had escaped out of prison, raised the siege of Roan. Henry easily perceived by Elizabeth's conduct, she would not suffer herself to be amused by his artifices, and for fear of losing so necessary an assistance, laboured so effectually to be recon-

Essex returns
to England,
and the duke
of Parma
raises the
siege of
Roan.
Ast. Pub.
xvi. p. 146.
Mezcrain.

reconciled with her, that at last she sent him two thousand fresh men; but it was not till after the raising of the Siege. Eliz. 1591.

Whilst these things were transacting, the late duke of Norfolk's son was gone with six men of war to the Azores, to wait for the Spanish plate-fleet, homeward bound from America. Having stayed six months in the Isle of Flores, he was himself almost surpris'd by Alphonso Bassano, who was sent to convoy home the fleet with fifty-three ships of war. He had the good fortune to escape the danger by a timely retreat, but one of his ships that was not speedy enough, was taken by the Spaniards after a sharp engagement ⁹. The English made themselves ample amends for this loss by several prizes, and particularly by taking a ship richly laden, bound for the West-Indies, in which, 'tis said, they found two and twenty thousand indulgences for the Spaniards of America ¹.

This year the queen published two proclamations, the first of which prohibited the carrying of any warlike stores or provisions into the king of Spain's dominions. The second, published in October, expressly forbid the harbouring any person who should come from the English seminaries, at Rome or Rheims, or from a third lately founded by the king of Spain at Valladolid ². Two proclamations. Camden. Stow.

The war which was continued in France made Elizabeth very uneasy, because the Spaniards had got footing in Bretagne, from whence they might readily make some attempt upon England. Henry perfectly knowing her extreme desire to dislodge them from that post, demanded a farther aid to carry the war into that province. Though Elizabeth had experienced that she could not much rely on his word, because it was not always in his power to make war where he pleas'd, 1592. New treaty with Henry IV. Camden. A&C. Pub. xvi. p. 152, 168, 173.

⁹ Sir Richard Grenvil, in the vice-admiral called the *Revenge*, out of a rash piece of bravery, would not let his men sail, and being pent up between the island and the Spanish fleet, resolutely attempted to break through; but was taken after a hot fight of fifteen hours. Grenvil himself was slain. Camden, p. 565.

¹ About this time George Riman, an able seaman, and James Lancaster, made a voyage to the East-Indies, and had the good fortune to double the Cape of Good Hope. Ibid.

² In the year 1593, March 26, the queen granted a commission to thirty-four persons, to search and find out all suspicious persons, as well English as strangers, that had, since the 31st of

the queen, come, or should thereafter repair into the kingdom from beyond sea; and also those that wilfully abstained from resorting to church, or depraved and contemned the laws made in that behalf; and finally, all those that were guilty of counterfeiting, clipping, and carrying the coin out of the kingdom. Rymer's *Fœd.* tom. xvi. p. 201, &c. — November 20, 1591, died sir Christopher Hatton, lord chancellor of England, and was succeeded by sir John Puckering, who was made only lord keeper. Stow, p. 764, 765. — The 3d of the same month, Bren O Royrke lord of Breny o Royrke in Ireland, was executed at Tyburn for treason. Stow, p. 764.

the

Eliz.
1592.

Act. Pub.
xvi. p. 171,
173.

Henry de-
ceives Eliza-
beth, who
resents it
highly.
Camden.

Act. Pub.
xvi. p. 159,
163.
Camden.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Camden.
Melvil,
p. 194, 196.
Act. Pub.
xvi. p. 100,
108, 109,
123.
Camden.

Sir Walter
Raleigh's
expedition.
Camden.

she concluded with him however a new treaty to this effect : That she should furnish him with four thousand men, some pieces of ordnance, and a certain quantity of ammunition : That he should add to the English troops four thousand foot, and a thousand horse ; and this army be employed to recover Bretagne : That he should within a year repay all her charges : That he should not make peace with the leaguers till they promised to assist him in driving the Spaniards out of the kingdom : That England should be expressly included in the peace he should make with Spain. Elizabeth sincerely performed her engagement, and sent four thousand men into Bretagne, under the command of Norris^t. But Henry, instead of joining his troops with the English and carrying the war into Bretagne, ordered them to serve in Normandy, whether he was most pressed in those parts, or had made the treaty only to amuse the queen. However this be, Elizabeth resented it extremely to be again deceived. She often writ to the king, complaining of his proceedings, but to no purpose. In her anger, she was going to recall all her troops ; but hearing the duke of Parma was preparing to make a third expedition into France, sacrificed her resentment to the good of that kingdom, which was in some measure her own. Indeed the duke of Parma was upon the point of re-entering France ; but death, which seized him at the same time, freed Henry as well as Elizabeth from their uneasiness.

Scotland was then disturbed by Bothwell, who made this year a fresh attempt to become master of the king's person. As his design was discovered before it could be executed, he was forced to fly into England. Elizabeth being informed of it, writ to the king that she would cause those who had harboured the fugitive to be severely punished. And yet, when James sent and required her to deliver him up pursuant to their treaty, she evaded his demand, being well pleased to keep that prince always in a sort of uneasiness which should oblige him to regard her.

The riches brought by the Spanish fleets from the East and West-Indies were a continual allurements to the English, who attempted almost every year to take them. Sir Walter Raleigh with that design departing this year with fifteen sail, met near the Azores a seven-decked carrack, one hundred and sixty-five feet long, most richly laden, which he took without much difficulty. This prize made him some amends for his charges in fitting out his fleet. But the contrary winds hin-

^t Who had been called home to inform the queen of the state of affairs in Bretagne. Camden, p. 569.

dered him from executing a more important enterprize projected against America *.

There was a sort of prodigy this summer at London: the Thames was so dried up and the channel so shallow, that a man might ride over it near London-bridge *.

The parliament meeting in February, 1593 †, passed an act which troubled not only the catholicks, but even protestants who differed in certain points from the church of England, and were called Puritans. By this act, those who neglected to be present at divine service, established by law, were liable to certain penalties ‡; and so, not only was it no longer permitted to be a Roman catholick with impunity, but even a protestant without conforming to the church of England. Thus in some measure were renewed the days of Henry VIII. when it was unlawful to swerve ever so little from the religion of their sovereign; with this difference, that under Elizabeth the penalty was not death as in the reign of her father. Nevertheless there was in this last act something more hard than in those of Henry VIII. That prince, absolute as he was, contented himself with punishing such as by some overt-act opposed the established religion; but by this new statute, the subjects were obliged openly to profess the religion of the church of England. Elizabeth, exasperated

Eliz.

1592.

The Thames dried up. Sept. 6. Stow.

1593.

Statute against the nonconformists.

Statut. c. 3.

D'Ewes,

p. 465.

Townshend,

p. 31.

* This prize was valued at 150,000 l. sterling. Raleigh's design was to make himself master of Panama, or else to intercept the Spanish fleet. Camden, p. 569.

† It was occasioned by a very strong westerly wind, which blew vehemently for two days together. There had been a very great drought the summer before. Stow, p. 765. Camden, p. 570. — October 19, died Anthony Brown viscount Montacute. Camden, *ibid*.

‡ It met Feb. 19, and was dissolved April 10. D'Ewes, p. 456, &c. Townshend, p. 31, &c. Whilst it was sitting, viz. Feb. 14, Peter Wentworth, esq; and sir Henry Bromley prepared a petition for entailing the succession of the crown; for which Wentworth was sent to the Tower, and Bromley to the Fleet. D'Ewes, p. 470.

§ In the preamble it is said, That this act was made for the preventing and avoiding such great inconveniencies and perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries and disloyal persons.

The act ran, That if any person above the age of sixteen years, shall refuse to repair to some church, or forbear to do the same for the space of a month, — shall be committed to prison, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till they shall conform — and make such open submission and declaration of their conformity, as by this act is appointed. The offenders against this statute, who refused to make this submission, were to abjure the realm, and not to return without her majesty's licence, under the penalty of suffering as felons, without benefit of the clergy. This bill met with great opposition in the house of commons, as the reader may see in D'Ewes, p. 474, &c. where the speeches on both sides are inserted. There was an act made also against popish recusants, by which they were confined within five miles of their respective dwellings, on forfeiture of all their goods and chattels, together with lands, during life. By another act, all the abbey-lands are confirmed to the crown and grantees.

against

Eliz.
1593.

against the catholicks who had made frequent attempts upon her crown and even her life, would have been very glad to have cleared the kingdom of them. On the other hand, she could not endure the puritans, looking upon them as obstinate people, who for very frivolous causes bred a schism in the protestant church. Whilst she was in danger from the queen of Scots, France, and Spain; in a word, whilst her affairs remained in a sort of uncertainty, she left the puritans unmolested, for fear of uniting them in the same interest with the catholicks. But no sooner was she firmly established, but she hearkened to the suggestions of the clergy, who represented the puritans as seditious persons, who rebelled against the laws, and by their disobedience shook the foundations of the government. This is not the only time, nor is England the only state, where disobedience in point of religion has been confounded with rebellion against the sovereign. There is scarce a christian state, where the prevailing sect will suffer the least division, or the least swerving from the established opinions, no, not even in private. Shall I venture to say it? 'Tis the clergy chiefly who support this strange principle of non-toleration, so little agreeable to christian charity. The severity which from this time began to be exercised in England upon the non-conformists * produced terrible effects in the following reigns, and occasioned troubles and factions which remain to this day, and of which perhaps there will be no end these many years.

Unusual
subsidy
granted to
the queen.
D'Ewes.
Townshend.

The same parliament taking into consideration the queen's great expences, both in defending the kingdom against the Spanish invasion, and in assisting the French king and the United Provinces, granted her an extraordinary aid of money. But it was inserted in the act, that so large and unusual a supply, granted to a most excellent queen, who made so good use of the publick money, should not be drawn into a precedent *. The queen coming to the house to give the royal

* These severities were probably occasioned by the disturbances caused by Hacket, and some other enthusiasts. However this be, the same Hacket, on July 28, 1591, and also Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, Daniel Studley, and two more, were executed April 6, 1593, for writing and publishing seditious books; as was the next year John Penny, for writing a book called Martin-Mar-Prelate. See Stow, p. 764—766.

* The laity granted three subsidies, of 2 s. 8 d. in the pound of goods, and

4 s. of lands; together with six fifteenths and tenths, amounting in all to 280,000 l. And the clergy advanced two whole subsidies of 4 s. in the pound, to be paid in two years. This subsidy-bill passed with great difficulty the lower house, being debated on February 16, March 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, and 19. See the debates in D'Ewes, p. 473, 477, &c. 483. Let it be observed here, that a fifteenth and a tenth was a certain tax on every city, borough and town, not upon every man in particular, but a general

royal assent to this act, made a fine speech, wherein she forgot not to extol her love and care of her subjects, and her attachment to the protestant religion. She spoke in lofty terms of the bravery of the English, and showed how formidable they were to all the nations in Europe^b. No person was ever more master of the art of gaining the affection of her people, by expressing an uncommon value and tenderness for them.

Eliz.

1593.

She thanks the parliament.
Stow;
P. 765.

Amidst all the occasions the queen had to congratulate herself upon her good fortune, she still felt some uneasiness with respect to the transactions of Scotland. King James began to be ruled by suspicious persons, and the queen received advice that the Spaniards, assisted by the catholics, were contriving some dangerous plot^c, and were countenanced by the earls of Huntley, Angus, and Errol. She heard farther, that the king acted not with the vigour necessary to prevent their designs, and thereby gave cause to suspect he was himself inclined to innovations. She did not entirely rely on that prince. Besides his suffering himself to be always guided by those whom he entrusted with the administration of his affairs, she was afraid he had been inspired with the desire to revenge the queen his mother's death; and that his protestations of being ever attached to her interest, were only intended to amuse her. For this reason, she sent the lord Brough to give him advice, and desire him to inform her of what he knew concerning the plots of the Spaniards and catholics. She wished moreover, he would shew himself a little more severe to those who endeavoured to raise troubles in Scotland, and would admit to his council only persons of known loyalty. James answered, he would do what the queen desired, as far as his own interest and the laws of the land would allow. But withal he told the ambassador, that his revenues being extremely diminished, he expected the queen to furnish him with means to punish those who should dare to disturb the publick peace. He also required she should deliver up Bothwell, who had twice attempted his life, and even sent Robert Melvil to Elizabeth, to demand him ex-

Suspensions against the king of Scotland; Camden. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 190 — 194, 198. D'Ewes, P. 457.

The queen sends an ambassador to him. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 193, 197. Camden.

The king's answer.

general sum, in proportion to the fifteenth part of the wealth of the respective places. Subsidy was imposed on every single person, as they are assessed by poll, according to the value of their goods and lands.

^b She made this speech the last day of the session, April 10, 1593.

^c This plot was, to raise a subscrip-

tion for a large sum of money in Scotland; and then an army of thirty thousand Spaniards was to land in that kingdom, about the end of the year 1592, which was to be joined by Bothwell, &c. with a body of troops: and all these were to march into England, to revenge the queen of Scots' death. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xvi. p. 192—194.

Eliz. 1593. pressly. But she refused to surrender him, and only banished him out of England, as she was bound by the treaty of league made with the king.

Elizabeth
refuses to
give up
Bothwell.
Camden.
Spottiswood.
Affairs of
Scotland.
Melvil.
Act. Pub.
xvi. p. 186.
Camden.

Bothwell not being able to stay longer in England, returned into Scotland, and withdrew to his own house. Shortly after, his party so increased, by accidents which it is needless to mention, that he had the boldness to come into the king's presence, under colour of begging his pardon. James was surprised to see him, but was more so, when he perceived that his whole court, except some of his ministers, were Bothwell's friends. He was therefore forced as it were to grant him a pardon, on condition that he should depart the kingdom, and not return unless recalled. Bothwell accepted the condition, and concealed himself on the borders of England. But at his departure, he left so strong a party in the court, that the king was at last obliged to dismiss the chancellor, the lord treasurer, and others whom he most trusted. Bothwell was ready to improve this change, but the king broke his measures by declaring to the states, he was compelled to pardon him, and by desiring their aid to free him from his yoke. The states declaring for the king, he recalled his ministers, and Bothwell's friends were driven from the court.

The people
of Scotland
suspect the
king of inclining
to the catho-
licks.
Spottiswood,
p. 399.

In this assembly of the states, an ordinance was made for supporting the protestant religion, as established in Scotland. But as the king and his council were suspected of favouring the plots of the catholics, this ordinance was not deemed strong enough by the people, who thought that in such a juncture, the states should have taken more vigorous resolutions. However this be, the king's obstinacy in keeping in the ministry and about his person, men who seemed to have no zeal for the protestant religion, gave occasion to suspect some dangerous plot was contriving for its destruction.

Henry con-
tinues to de-
ceive Eliza-
beth.
Camden.

Act. Pub.
xv. p. 194.
199.

What passed in France made Elizabeth no less uneasy than the king of Scotland's inconstancy. General Norris was still in Bretagne with the English forces. He had been promised a place in that province for a retreat, and that the duke d'Aumont and Espinay should join him; but he was long left there without being thought of. At last, Espinay being arrived, they made together some little conquests, too inconsiderable to requite Elizabeth for the maintenance of her troops, which cost her weekly three thousand two hundred pounds sterling^d. Thus, instead of employing the English

^d It appears by a paper in Rymer's of France was then indebted to her
Foed. tom. xvi. p. 174, that the king 52,783 l.

to drive the Spaniards out of Bretagne, Henry used them only to keep his enemies in awe, and hinder them from making greater progress, whilst he was warring elsewhere. Elizabeth seeing herself thus deceived, would have recalled her troops, but was persuaded by the marshal d'Aumont, not only to leave them, but even to send fresh supplies, upon the hopes he gave her that the king would very soon make a powerful effort to reduce that province.

The queen's vexation at Henry's proceedings was nothing in comparison of her concern when she heard he was going to change his religion. At the first news, she dispatched Thomas Wilks to dissuade him, if possible, from that design; but at his arrival, Wilks found the thing already done. However Henry thought proper to inform him of the reasons of his change, that he might acquaint the queen his mistress with the same. All he said on the occasion tended to this, that he had changed his religion against his will, and after as long a delay as possible; but being at last convinced he should never be fixed in his throne whilst a protestant, he had determined to embrace the catholic religion: that is, in other words, having put his conscience in the balance with his crown, he had given it for the latter. After so express a declaration of the insincerity of his conversion, it is no wonder Elizabeth should lose much of her esteem for him, and the pope and leaguers not consider him as a true catholic; or rather, it is strange they should be satisfied with an outward profession. Morlant the French ambassador at London, having told Elizabeth the substance of the king's discourse to Wilks, she writ the king the following lines.

He changes
his religion:
Act. Pub.
xvi. p. 156,
157.
Camden.

IT is hardly possible to express the extreme grief and dissatisfaction which has seized me upon Morlant's representation of things. Good God! what a miserable world do we live in? Could I ever have thought, Sir, that any secular consideration could have prevailed with you to discard a just sense of God and his fear? Or can you ever reasonably expect that providence will grant this change of your's a happy issue? or could you entertain a jealousy that the gracious being, who had so long supported and preserved you, would fail and abandon you at last? It is, believe me, a dangerous experiment, To do evil that good may come. But I hope you may be yet recovered to a better inclination, even the spirit of a sound mind. In the mean time I shall

Elizabeth's
letter to
Henry IV.
Camden.

The king's whole discourse to Wilks is to be seen in Camden's Annals. Rapin.

Eliz.

1594.

and suborn
persons to
poison her.
The conspir-
ators dis-
covered.
Stow.

and exe-
cuted.
Camden.

Other per-
sons engaged
to kill the
queen.
Camden.

She com-
plains of it
to the arch-
duke, but
has no re-
doubt.
Camden.

Henry IV.
makes him-
self master of
Paris.
Thuanus,
Mazari.
Camden.

death would render less difficult. To execute the design upon Elizabeth, they had cast their eyes on Roderigo Lopez a Jew and two Portuguese. Lopez the queen's physician had promised to poison her for fifty thousand crowns. This plot being discovered, the three accomplices confessed they had been con-rupted by the count de Fuentes and Don Diego d'Ibarra, to undertake so execrable a design. Lopez however pleaded in his excuse, that his intention was only to draw money from the king of Spain, and that he had even presented to the queen a rich jewel received from that prince. But as he had given no intimation of the plot, his excuse was not allowed. At the gallows he affirmed, 'That he loved the queen as well as Jesus Christ.' This was a plain indication that he was not unjustly condemned.

The day after these three villains were executed, a fourth, one Patrick Cullen, an Irish fencing-master, who had been sent from the Low-Countries to kill the queen, underwent the same fate. Edmund York and Richard Williams, who had been suborned by Ibarra to commit the same crime, were also arrested, and others were discovered who had engaged in the navy. Elizabeth on this occasion writ to the archduke Ernest, who had been appointed governor of the Low-Countries, to demand the punishment of the authors. She told him moreover, that to clear the king of Spain from suspicion, the most proper way would be to surrender all the fugitive English in his dominions, or at least those who were concerned in the conspiracies¹. But foreseeing that Antonio Perez, who had endeavoured to excite troubles in Arragon, and was then in England, might likewise be demanded, she told the archduke, the king of France had sent him to his ambassador at London without her knowledge, and he had never been assisted by her; but all this was to no purpose. On the other hand, the earl of Essex received Perez into his house, to learn of him the secrets of the Spanish monarchy.

It was not only in England that the Spaniards had the mortification to see their projects miscarry. In France likewise their affairs were in a very ill situation since Henry's embracing the catholick religion. The cities and great men who had been for the league, returned in crowds to the obedience of the king, and all the people manifestly tended to shake off the Spanish yoke. The 22d of March, the city of Paris was surrendered to the king by count Brissac, and the duke of Feria who was there was obliged to take a safe-conduct from

¹ Namely, Hugh Ower, Thomas and Worthington, &c. Camden, & Throckmorton, Hot the jesuit, Gifford, §77.

the king, to retire with his Spanish troops to the duke of Eliz. Guise's army. It was then only that Henry seriously resolved to drive the Spaniards out of Bretagne, who were in possession of many places in that province. The marshal d'Aumont having been intrusted with the management of the war, made good use of the English troops, who distinguished themselves with that bravery, that the queen was obliged to write to Norris, not to be so lavish of the blood of her subjects. Martin Forbisher, a famous sea-officer, was killed at a siege in this war^k. Some time after, the queen recalled Norris, to send him into Ireland.

War in
Bretagne.
Camden.

1594.

The affairs of Scotland gave Elizabeth perpetual uneasiness. She had intimations from thence, that the Spanish faction was powerful at court, that something was contriving against the protestant religion, and that the king seemed to incline to the popish party. This filling the queen with suspicions, she resolved to send the lord Zouch into Scotland, as well to be informed of the truth, as to fortify the English party and instruct king James in his true interest. The ambassador represented to the king from his mistress, that the late act of the states was not capable to restrain the insolence of the Roman catholicks, who affected publicly to exercise their religion, and held an almost open correspondence with the king of Spain. James answered, that he would proceed against the catholicks by the established laws; and if they refused a submission to the laws, he would prosecute them with the sword, provided the queen, who had the same interest as himself, would contribute to the expence of the war. The ambassador, not satisfied with this answer, earnestly pressed him to procure other laws against the catholicks more severe than the present. To this James, with some heat, replied, he was not at the queen's command, nor did it belong to her to prescribe in what manner he should govern his kingdom. After that, he demanded Bothwell, who was retired into England.

Elizabeth's
uneasiness
with relation
to Scotland.

She sends an
ambassador
to that king.
Act. Pub.
xvii. p. 225;
—240.
Spotiswood.

His answer.
Act. Pub.
xvi. p. 233;
—235.

A second
more resolute
than the first.
Ib. p. 535.

But Elizabeth was very far from giving him this satisfaction. On the contrary, it was probably from her that Bothwell was enabled to enter Scotland at the head of four hundred men, with whom he surprized the town of Leith. He afterwards published a manifesto, importing, "That persons dangerous to the church and state, having by some artifice procured admission into the council, gave occasion by their conduct to believe, they were forming designs against the evangeli-

Affairs of
Scotland.
Camden.
Melvil.
Spotiswood.

^k He was wounded in the hip at the same siege, sir Anthony Wingfield, and Bruder, Jackson, and Barker, all brave officers, were slain. Camden, p. 572.

Eliz.

1594.

“ cal religion : That for some time the Romish priests had
 “ been seen running from village to village, and celebrating
 “ the mass in the most publick manner : That they endeavoured
 “ to animate the people against the English, in order
 “ to kindle a war between the two nations, which could not
 “ but prove fatal to Scotland : That to give a check to these
 “ dangerous conspiracies, he had, with the concurrence of
 “ divers lords and gentlemen, taken up arms to drive these
 “ pernicious counsellors out of the kingdom, or bring them
 “ to an account for their actions : That the thing was the
 “ more urgent, as the Spaniards were going to invade the
 “ kingdom ; and therefore he exhorted the Scots to join with
 “ him to prevent greater mischiefs, and induce the king to
 “ favour so just a design.” He writ in the same manner to
 the general synod of the Kirk assembled at Dunbar, and to the
 English ambassadors. When the coherence between Bothwell’s
 manifesto and the lord Zouche’s representation to the king is
 considered, Elizabeth must be suspected of being concerned in
 this undertaking.

Camden.

Mean time the king having assembled some forces, prepared to
 oppose Bothwell’s designs, who declined not however to meet
 him. But the rebel, having some disadvantage in the first
 engagement, and finding himself not supported, was seized with
 fear, and retired to the borders. Whereupon Elizabeth forbid
 any to harbour or conceal him. This was very agreeable to the
 Scotch king, who was afraid she would think of supporting
 him. Tho’ Bothwell’s undertaking miscarried, it however produced
 a very good effect. James perceiving the danger he might
 incur by a breach with Elizabeth, resolved at last to alter
 his conduct, lest his vain projects should cause him in the end
 to forfeit the English crown. He therefore assembled the states,
 and prevailed to have the catholic lords, who had appeared too
 zealous for the Spaniard, to be banished the kingdom. They
 made some efforts to resist, but were at last obliged to obey.
 Then the states enacted new laws against the catholics,
 and even formed an association like that in England some
 years before. One Graham Feintrey, a zealous adherent of
 Spain, endeavouring to excite new troubles, was punished
 with death¹.

James
 changes his
 conduct.
 Camden.
 Act Pub.
 xvi. p. 286.

Winwood’s
 Mem.
 tom. i. p. 11.

The

¹ This year died William Allen, cardinal, and founder of the English Roman catholic seminaries at Douay, Rheims, Rome, and in Spain. He was educated at Oriel-college in Oxford, and was professor of the university in queen

Mary’s reign, and canon of York. But upon queen Elizabeth’s accession, he retired beyond sea. — This year also died Gregory Fienes, the last lord Dacres of that surname. Camden, p. 580. Ben Bulmar, gentleman, set up this year an engine

The king of Scotland's change, and the vigour he exerted on this occasion, destroyed the hopes entertained by the catholicks of engaging him in their interest. They therefore formed new projects to place the crown of England on the head of some person devoted to their religion, or at least not very zealous for the protestant. The English catholicks cast their eyes on the earl of Essex, who, they had observed, approved not the laws made against them^m. But the English fugitives in the Low Countries were for the Infanta Isabella, daughter of Philip II. They even published a gensalogy, to show, that the king of Scotland being a heretick, the crown was devolved to the king of Spain, whence they inferred, he had power to dispose of it in favour of his daughter. Nor was this a bare project founded on the passion of the English catholicks. It is certain, Philip, though he wanted not employment since the king of France had declared war against him, intended to make extraordinary efforts to procure his daughter the crown offered her by the English fugitives. The same of his preparations was now shewn over Europe, and produced mischievous effects in Ireland, where Hugh O'Neal earl of Tir-oen had rebelled, in expectation of the assistance promised by the Spaniard. This obliged Elizabeth to prepare for the defence of her dominions, and to send a strong reinforcement to Norris now in Ireland.

Henry IV. had, as I said, declared war against Spain, tho' unadvisedly, if it could have been avoided, considering the miserable situation of France. But Philip II. by his continual and powerful support of the league, had sufficiently declared war against Henry, though he pretended to make war not upon but for France. However this be, Henry was indispensably obliged to maintain a war against Spain, and therefore believed it would be better to attack Philip directly, than to stand upon the defensive. But as France was drained both of men and money, it was not easy for him to support the war alone, and come off with honour. He had therefore recourse to Elizabeth, as to his last refuge in his pressing necessities. And perhaps he was encouraged to break openly with Spain, by the hopes of a powerful assistance from England. To that end, he writ to the queen, that the recalling of Norris and his forces had broke all his measures, and he rather expected the would send greater succours, since he had

Eliz.

1595.

Projects to place the crown of England upon the head of the Infanta of Spain.
Camden.

Philip's preparations to second them.

Tir-oen's rebellion in Ireland.
Camden.

Camden.

Henry IV. demands succours from England.

engine at Broken-wharf, for conveying the Thames water through the several parts of the city of London; and by pipes of lead, into each house. Stow,

p. 769.

^m Camden's words are: He could never indure the maxim of murdering people for the sake of their religion.

declared

Eliz.

1595.

She answers
him with
complaints,
and refuses
his request.

declared war against Spain. Elizabeth answered, "That
" the commended his resolution to attack the king of Spain's
" dominions: That this was a good expedient to prevent an
" invasion, as she had experienced: That as to the recalling
" of her troops out of Bretagne, he could not justly com-
" plain of it, since they had not only remained there longer
" than their treaty required, but even notwithstanding the
" manifest breach of that treaty and the violation of his
" promise: That he had positively engaged to surrender to
" the English the town of Morlaix, when taken, for a place
" of retreat: But that this very place, conquered at the ex-
" pence of English blood, had been denied to the just expect-
" ation of the English, by a fraudulent capitulation of the
" marshal d'Aumont, to have none but catholicks admitted
" into it: That he ought not to be surprized, if she was un-
" willing to be his dupe any longer, since she could rely
" neither on his promises nor his treaties: That besides, she
" wanted her forces in Ireland, where there was danger of a
" general revolt." It is certain, Henry's behaviour to Eliza-
beth was no encouragement to her to grant him any great
assistance. And therefore, it was only her fear of the Spaniards taking advantage of the weakness of France which still kept her attached to Henry's interest, for whom she had no longer her former esteem and regard. It may also be said, that since his accession to the throne of France, he had done nothing tending to preserve Elizabeth's friendship.

The queen
and king of
the Scots
heartily
waited.
Camden.

The queen, in the present situation of her affairs, not being able to rely much on the king of France, and looking upon all her expence, on his account, as entirely fruitless, resolved to keep her forces and treasure for the defence of her own dominions, in case they should be attacked by the Spaniard. England was properly in danger only from Scotland; but the news she received of the change in king James, freed her from all uneasiness. That prince perceiving Philip's aims were levelled as much against Scotland as England, saw at last that the best way to break his measures, was to live in union with Elizabeth. So, to show that he meant to preserve that union, he published a proclamation, forbidding, under severe penalties, his subjects on the borders to injure the English; and the queen put forth another to the same purpose. From this time he lived with Elizabeth in a good understanding, which nothing was capable to disturb, being sensible this was the surest way to ascend one day the throne of England.

Ag. Pub.
xvi. p. 237.

Edmund

Edmund York and Richard Williams, who had been arrested the last year, being tried and convicted of a design to murder the queen, were executed in February. They confessed, that Ibarra had promised them forty thousand florins, if they accomplished their enterprize.

Eliz.
1595.

York and
Williams
executed.
Camden.

Henry IV. after his declaration of war with Spain, formed a design of penetrating into the Low-Countries, and making considerable conquests; but he was soon sensible his measures were not just. In April 1595, Ferdinand de Velasco, constable of Castile, came into Franche-Comté at the head of eighteen thousand men, and threatened the dutchy of Burgundy. This obliged Henry to lead thither in person the best part of his army. Whilst he was thus employed in Burgundy, the count de Fuentes, who commanded in the Netherlands after the death of the archduke Ernest, entered Picardy, and became master of Catelet. Then he besieged Dourlens, beat the French who came to its relief, and took the town by storm. Henry, upon this mortifying news, sent Chevalier immediately into England to demand a supply of forces for the defence of Picardy, according to his treaty with the queen. In the instructions given to his envoy, he ordered him to take care, that this supply should be ready in a fortnight after the date: but Chevalier spent twelve days in his voyage. The queen answered, she would not fail to send a body of troops into Picardy, as soon as they could be ready, to defend Calais, Dieppe, and Boulogne. Indeed the sole motive of her treaty with Henry, was to prevent the Spaniards from becoming masters of those maritime places; but she had never pretended to defend the inland towns of that province, for which she was little concerned. This was not what the king wanted, having no desire to put the English into these places. He pretended that, without any distinction, the queen should send him a body of troops, to assist him in driving the Spaniards out of all Picardy. At the same time, the deputies of the province of Bretagne arrived at London, to demand supplies of the queen, without specifying either the number or service, and without offering a place of retreat; but this demand of troops was rejected by the queen.

Henry IV.
is in a great
strait.
Mezerai.
Camden.

He demands
aid of
Elizabeth.
Camden.

The Spaniards, after the taking of Dourlens, besieged Cambray, and became masters of that important place. Henry seeing himself thus pressed, sent Lomenie, secretary of state, to Elizabeth, to demand of her a speedy and powerful aid. He expected, by entering into a league with Elizabeth, to engage her to make war with Spain in the kingdom of France, so that it should seem, she was obliged to send him forces and

Progress of
the Spanish
conquests in
France.
Henry sends
Lomenie in-
to England.
Camden.

money

Eliz.
1595.

who threat-
ens the
queen.

Elizabeth
cold to the
interest of
Henry.
Camden.

Camden

money whenever he had occasion, though the treaty contained nothing like it. But Elizabeth had no such intention, being unwilling to send her forces into France, when her own dominions were in danger, or so to make war with Spain that all the profit should be Henry's, and the loss her's^a. Therefore she told the ambassador, she could not comply with his master's demand. Lomenie, vexed with the ill success of his negotiation, spoke to her very haughtily, and charged her with being the cause of the loss of Cambray, by her having not sent the desired supplies into Picardy. He added, that she seemed to rejoice at the misfortunes of France, but she might soon repent, and by her conduct be forced to make a disadvantageous peace with Spain^c. These menaces, and the haughtiness wherewith they were spoken by Lomenie, entirely offended Elizabeth. Nevertheless, as Henry's affairs were in a very ill situation, she thought it not proper to deprive him of all hopes of her future assistance. She answered Lomenie however suitable to her dignity, but less sharply than she would have done at another juncture. Afterwards, when he demanded a second audience, her answer was, that she would acquaint the king of France by her ambassador^d, with her reasons for keeping her troops and money.

Elizabeth's refusal offended Henry's council, in which the leaguers had now too great an influence. Several advised him to make a separate peace with Spain, since he could hope for no assistance from Elizabeth. They seemed to talk as if she had been obliged to send forces to Henry whenever they were demanded, and had violated her engagements. This was doubtless what was intended by the league: the French had reckoned to manage her as they pleased, but being disappointed were very angry with her. Besides, Henry's council being mostly composed of the declared enemies of the protestant religion, and of whom some had been the most zealous leaguers, considered Elizabeth not as a friend whom they were hereafter to regard, but as a temporary friend, from whom they were to draw all possible advantages. It was not without reason that Elizabeth mistrusted the king of France, who, to obtain his absolution from the pope, had submitted to terms unbecoming a king, and tending to the ruin of the

^a The expedition to Bretagne had cost the nation in 47,242 crowns de soleil, and above 2,000,640 more were spent upon the forces under the earl of Essex, besides the money lent. Camden, p. 382.

^c According to Camden, Lomenie said, she would by her conduct oblige the king of France to make peace with Spain, p. 582.
^d Sir Thomas Edmonds.

protestants¹, thereby showing, he no longer considered them as his friends. It was not therefore proper for her to assist powerfully a friend, who was only so in name. Wherefore she left him to manage his affairs as he pleased, without giving herself any concern. Besides, she could expect from him only a bare diversion to the arms of Spain, which probably would last no longer than required by the interests of France. Henry's conduct gave her no room to expect any thing farther, since he had left the Spaniards unmolested in Bretagne, though her greatest danger was from thence. And indeed, in July this year, the Spaniards, who were settled in Bretagne, made a descent in Cornwall and burnt some villages². This expedition was inconsiderable, it however obliged Elizabeth to be upon her guard, and demonstrated the necessity of dislodging the common enemy from that province. But the interest of England was not the motive of Henry's actions.

Eliz.
1595.

The Spaniards make a descent upon England. July. Camden. Stow.

It was not of Elizabeth only that the king of France complained after the loss of Cambray. He accused also the states of the United Provinces of violating their alliance with him, in suffering a town of that importance to be taken, and threatened to make a separate peace. The states, seeing the advantage of a war between France and Spain, appeased the king with a round sum of money, two regiments, and a considerable quantity of corn.

Henry complains of the States. Camden.

who send him money and troops.

This proceeding of the states caused Elizabeth to tell them, since they had money enough to lend the king of France, they were doubtless able to pay their debts, and therefore she demanded to be reimbursed of what she had advanced for them. Adding, that unless speedy satisfaction was given her, by a discharge of part of the debt, and an assurance of the remainder within such a time, she would take proper measures to do herself justice. The states being thus pressed, had recourse to intreaties and submissions to appease her. They represented, that the state of their affairs did not permit them to satisfy her. But as excuses signified little, they urged their treaty with her, by which they were not obliged to repay her, till the end of the war. She replied, that when she assisted them, they were seduced to a deplorable state, and she showed her bounty and generosity in not requiring a reimbursement till after the peace, because it was not likely they should be

Elizabeth demands of them a payment of her debt. Camden.

¹ See the terms at length in Camden, p. 583.

² They came only with four gallees, and burnt St. Paul's church, which stood alone in the fields, besides Mousehold, Neulin, and Pensance, three poor

fisher towns, without taking or killing one man. These were the only Spaniards that ever set foot in England as enemies. Camden, p. 583.

³ By Sir Thomas Bodley her envoy to the states. Camden, p. 585.

Eliz.
1595.

able to pay her before. But since they were rich enough to lend the king of France money, it was evidently in their power to reimburse her. That therefore the article of the treaty on which they insisted, ought naturally to be thus interpreted, "That they should not be in a condition to repay her before the conclusion of the war." There were great and even warm contests upon this subject. But at last the affair was adjusted for a time, on these conditions: That the states should promise for the future to pay the English forces in their service¹, and to join the queen's fleet with a certain number of ships, in case she should be attacked by the Spaniards.

The differences accommodated for a time.
Camden.

Complaints of the Hanse towns.
Camden.

Elizabeth had also a contest to maintain with the Hanse-towns, who complained to the diet of the Empire, that their corn was seized by the English in Portugal, and their privileges infringed, formerly granted them by Edward III. As this affair was more warmly pushed some years after, I shall have occasion to speak of it elsewhere.

Sir Walter Raleigh goes upon a second voyage into America.
Camden.
A2. Pub.
xvi. p. 277.

This year, sir Walter Raleigh made, at his own charge, a second expedition into America, from which he reaped no great advantage. The queen likewise fitted out twenty-six ships to carry the war into that country, under the command of sir Francis Drake and sir John Hawkins². But as the Spaniards had taken great precautions, the English admirals performed nothing memorable. Nay, they both died in this expedition.

Affairs of Ireland.
Camden.

Norris, as I said, was dispatched into Ireland to command the forces against the rebels, at the head of which was the earl of Tir-oen. The jealousy which arose between that general and the lord Russel lieutenant of Ireland, was the reason the English made no greater progress in that kingdom. The earl of Tir-oen even obtained a truce, upon giving hopes he would lay down his arms, and submit to the queen. But this was only a feint to gain time till the arrival of the succours promised him from Spain. The war was continued for some years; but my design is not to relate the Irish affairs, which would require a separate history. Besides, the manner in which historians deliver them is so confused, and the Irish names as well of persons as places are so barbarous and

¹ The charges of which were computed at 40,000 l. a year. Besides that, they promised to pay 20,000 l. sterling for some years; and upon the conclusion of a peace, a yearly sum of 100,000 l. for four years. Camden, p. 386.

² Sir Thomas Baskerville was ap-

pointed general of the land-forces. Rymer's Foed. tom. xvi, p. 277. He and captain Troughton had a warm engagement, near Cuba, with the Spanish fleet that was come to intercept them; but the English fleet got clear of them. Camden, p. 385.

hard to remember, that it is difficult to form a clear idea of this war ^v. Eliz. 1596.

Whatever resolution had been made by Elizabeth to concern herself no more with the affairs of France, she was however forced to take other measures, by reason of the great success of the Spanish arms in that kingdom. Cardinal Albert of Austria, who had succeeded his brother Ernest in the government of the Low-Countries, arrived there the beginning of the year 1596. He immediately made great preparations as if he intended to relieve La Fere, which had been for some time blockaded by the French king, and at last besieged in form. But suddenly, after throwing succours into the town, the archduke marched to Calais and invested it. This place had been formerly of great repute, but whether from the change in the method of besieging towns, or from being neglected since it was recovered by France, it was now of little note. Henry alarmed at the siege, dispatched Sancy into England to demand succours. The marshal de Bouillon quickly followed him, and so pressed the queen, that she ordered eight thousand men to be ready under the command of the earl of Essex. But she required, in case the siege was raised by the English, to have the town delivered to them, since it was in effect lost to France. The marshal and Sancy evaded this demand, by saying, they had no instructions upon that subject, knowing the king had rather see the place in the hands of the Spaniards than restored to the English. So, under pretence that the relief of Calais was too pressing to allow time to discuss that proposal, they so managed, that the queen gave orders for the embarkation of the troops. But at the same time, news came that the place was taken, after a resistance but of twelve days. Then the archduke also took Ardres with the same ease. This was the sixth place taken from France by the Spaniards within a year. The succours designed for Calais not having been ready in time, the newly levied troops were dismissed; but the queen lent money to Henry on the security of his two ambassadors.

Mean time, the queen having advice that the king of Spain was preparing to invade England and Ireland, resolved to prevent him. For that purpose, she fitted out a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, with two and twenty Dutch ships and seven thousand foldiers. Charles Howard commanded as admiral, Elizabeth sends a fleet against Spain. Camden. Stow. Speed.

^v This year, on Novemb. 19, died, in his confinement in the Tower, Philip Howard earl of Arundel. Dugdale's Barons. vol. ii. p. 277.—This year also died sir Roger Williams, and sir Thomas Morgan, two brave officers. Camden, p. 587.

THE HISTORY

Expedition
of the Eng-
lish to Cadiz.
June 3.
Camden.
Stow,
p. 771, &c.
Speed.
June 18.
Thuanus.

and the earl of Essex was appointed general of the land forces &c.

The fleet sailed from Plymouth the beginning of June, and kept at a distance from the coasts of France and Spain, for fear of alarming the Spaniards, the commanders intending to surprize Cadiz. It was with great joy that they learned from the master of an Irish vessel returning from that port, that every thing there was in the greatest security: That the garrison was weak, and the port full of ships of war, galleons, galleys, and merchant-men freighted for the Indies. This news filling them with hopes, they arrived the 20th of June on the west-side of the isle of Cadiz, and at their approach the Spanish ships retired to the Pantal. The next day the English attacked them with great resolution, but met with so warm a reception, that the fight lasted from break of day till noon. At last, the Spaniards despairing to make a longer defence, resolved to sink their ships, and escape to land. Their admiral-ship called the St. Philip was burnt to ashes, with two others near her, the Spaniards themselves setting it on fire to prevent its falling into the hands of the English. The St. Matthew and St. Andrew were taken, and most of the others ran ashore.

During the engagement at sea, the earl of Essex with eight hundred men landed at the Pantal, and marched directly to Cadiz. Three or four hundred paces from the city, he met with five hundred Spaniards, who, when they saw him, retired into the town, and were so closely pursued, that the English had like to have entered with them. The consternation was so great in the town, that before any measures could be taken for its defence, the English had time to force the gate, and throw themselves into the town. Though they found some resistance in the streets, yet in half an hour they made themselves masters of the market-place. Then the garrison and inhabitants retired into the castle and town.

* The fleet was divided into four squadrons; whereof the first was commanded by the lord admiral Howard, the second by the earl of Essex, the third by the lord Thomas Howard, and the fourth by sir Walter Raleigh. The officers of the army (of which the lord admiral and the earl of Essex were joint generals) were, sir Francis Vere lord-marshal, sir John Wingfield camp-master general, sir Conyers Clifford sergeant-major, sir George Carew master of the ordnance. The colonels were, Robert

earl of Sussex, sir Christopher Blunt, sir Thomas Gerrard, sir Richard Wingfield, sir Edward Wingfield captain of the volunteers; Anthony Ashley was secretary at war. Stow, p. 772. Camden, p. 591.

† This was done by the lord Thomas Howard, sir Walter Raleigh, sir Thomas Southwell, sir Francis Vere, sir George Carew, sir Robert Greville, &c. Camden, p. 592.

‡ It was done by sir Francis Vere. Mem. p. 593.

house,

house, but the same or the following day, were obliged to surrender. By the capitulation, they were to have their lives on payment of seventy thousand ducats, for which four principal citizens were given in hostage ^a. The town being thus in the power of the English, the earl of Essex turned out all the inhabitants, and then ordered to be carried on board a great quantity of silver, ammunition, and other valuable things, besides what the soldiers had plundered.

On the other hand, admiral Howard sent sir Walter Raleigh to burn the merchant-ships at Port-Real. The admiral was offered two millions of ducats for their ransom, but rejected the offer, saying, he came to burn and not to ransom the ships. Mean time, the duke of Medina found means to unload some of these ships and fire others, to deprive the English of their riches. Besides the merchantmen, the king of Spain lost two galleons, taken by the English, with above a hundred brass guns ^b, thirteen men of war, eleven ships freighted for the Indies, and thirteen others, without reckoning the stores prepared for the intended expedition against England. The English estimated his loss at twenty millions of ducats.

The earl of Essex proposed in a council of war to keep Cadiz, and even offered to stay there, provided he might have four hundred men and three months provisions; but his advice was not followed, every one being impatient to return with his plunder to England. So the fleet set sail, after burning the town with some adjacent villages. While the fleet was sailing for England; a north wind arising, the earl of Essex proposed to steer for the Azores, and wait for the Indian carracks: but he was not heard, every one fearing to lose what he had gained.

July 3:

The queen received these brave men with great marks of esteem, and expressed her acknowledgment of the service they had done her. But the earl of Essex met with a mortification on his arrival at court, for having, before his departure, recommended sir Thomas Bodley to be secretary of state, the queen, without regarding his recommendation, had conferred that office on sir Robert Cecil the lord treasurer's son, who was not his friend. Some days after, he had also the vexation to see Francis Vere made governor of the Briel ^c,

Mortification given to the earl of Essex.
Camden:

^a The Spaniards were to pay 520,000 ducats, (or, according to Stow, 620,000) and to give forty hostages. No Englishman of note, except sir John Wingfield, was killed. Ibid.

^b Twelve hundred pieces of ordnance, says Stow, were either taken or sunk in the sea, p. 775.

^c Upon the lord Sheffield's voluntary resignation. Camden, p. 594.

Eliz.
1596.

though he had strongly solicited for another. This convinced him that his credit was declining, and his uneasiness at it engaged him in extravagant projects which cost him his life.

Elizabeth
demands
payment of
the states.
Grotius.

The king of Spain having been for some time unable to pursue his designs against England, Elizabeth renewed her applications to the states of the United Provinces for payment of her arrears. The states, to be excused, alledged the same reasons as before, which were no better received. The queen said, it was unjust her payment should depend on a peace, which the states might defer as long as they pleased. That besides, the treaty she had made with them contained in express terms, that the war should continue no longer than she saw convenient. But the states pretended, this article was inserted in the treaty only in honour to her. This contest held till the report of new preparations in Spain for an invasion of England caused the queen to cease by degrees her solicitations. The truth is, the states delayed to pay her, not so much out of inability, as to keep her always attached to their interest. On the other hand, the queen did not make these pressing instances for want of money, but because she would not have her payment depend on the success of the affairs of her debtors. They were then able to pay, but she knew not what alterations time might produce.

A new treaty between
France and
England.
Camden.
Thuanus.
Meserai.
Stow.

When the marshal de Bouillon was sent into England to demand aid, he had made some proposal of a stricter alliance between France and England. But the French king had neglected the affair, because he saw Elizabeth upon her guard, and unwilling to furnish him with either men or money, but upon good grounds. Mean while, the designs and preparations of the Spaniard becoming publick, Henry believed Elizabeth would be more tractable, and he might treat with her upon better terms. In this belief he dispatched the marshal de Bouillon and Sancy into England, to negotiate with the queen a league offensive and defensive. The treaty was soon concluded, for the queen was afraid the ill situation of the king's affairs would force him to a separate peace with Spain. The principal articles of the league were, That the queen should furnish four thousand men for the defence of Picardy and Normandy: That the king of France, in case the queen was invaded, should send the like number for the defence of England, not to serve above fifty miles from the sea: That neither of the two crowns should make peace without the consent of the other. By a secret article it was agreed, that Elizabeth should this year furnish

Articles of
it.
Thuanus.
Camden.

furnish no more than two thousand men ⁴. Very probably, Elizabeth concluded this league with France, with the sole view of keeping Henry engaged in the Spanish war, by means of the supplies she was to send him. But it is unlikely, she expected the same assistance in case of need, because Henry could not himself be without the English auxiliaries. On the other hand, Henry knowing that Elizabeth had consented to the treaty from the sole motive of interest, scrupled not to act on the same motive; that is, to use the queen's assistance, till he could with honour disengage himself from a war he had so unseasonably declared against Spain. There are few leagues but what have the like foundation. Wherefore they are commonly seen to cease, when the interest of one of the parties begins to change. The states of the United Provinces entered into the league, with some additional articles which concerned them in particular. But Elizabeth's jealousy of their attachment to France, retarded some time the conclusion of their treaty. She pretended, they ought not to come into it as sovereigns, but as associated towns which had put themselves under her protection. But the king of France prevailed with her to desist from that pretension.

Eliz.
1596.

The states
are received
into it.
Thuanus.

Philip II. was enraged to be prevented by Elizabeth, and to be unable to defend his own dominions, he who had his whole life been so greedy of those of others. So, resolving neither to desist from his projects, nor suffer Elizabeth to enjoy the satisfaction of her happy success, he determined to make another effort, not only to be revenged of Elizabeth, but also to conquer England. Though he had received great damage from the English, yet as it was only in one of the places where he made his preparations, he still believed himself in condition to pursue his designs. He therefore assembled all the ships he had left, freighted many foreign ones, and by that means had a formidable fleet, when Elizabeth thought him entirely unable to act against her. This fleet sailed from Lisbon to take up the land-forces at Fariola, and then steered directly for England. But a violent storm arising in the midst of the voyage, several of the ships were lost, and the rest so dispersed, that the fleet was rendered unserviceable for this year. Thus Elizabeth had the pleasure to hear it was unable to hurt her, before she knew of its sailing. But

The king of
Spain makes
a strong ef-
fort to con-
quer Eng-
land.
Camden.

His fleet dis-
persed by a
tempest.

⁴ Gilbert Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, sir Henry Unton deceased; and to invest Henry with the order of the garter. the king swear to this treaty; and also Camden, p. 595. See an account of to present sir Anthony Mildmay to be his magnificent reception in Stow, p. the queen's ambassador, in the room of 777.

Eliz.
1597.

Battle of
Turnhout
in the Low-
Countries.
The Span-
iards sur-
prize Ami-
ens.
Thuarus.
Mexera.

not to be exposed again to the like danger, she took care to fortify the places where the Spaniards could most easily have landed *, if heaven had not blasted their projects †.

In the beginning of the year 1597, during a most severe winter, prince Maurice gained a battle against the Spaniards at Turnhout. But on the other side, in March, Hernando Tellez Portocarrero governor of Douvres, found means to surprize Amiens. This accident disturbed the secret negotiations of peace, which by the mediation of the pope were on foot between Henry and Philip. The treaty was now well advanced without Elizabeth's knowledge, notwithstanding Henry's late treaty with her, of which the principal article was, that no peace should be made without a mutual consent.

Philip forms
projects a-
gainst Ire-
land.
Camden.

The queen
sends a fleet
against
Spain;
Camden.
Thuanus.
Stow.
Speed.

which re-
turns with-
out having
done any
thing of mo-
ment.

Philip II. relying on a separate peace with France, had resolved to make an effort against Ireland, where he had correspondents, and even prepared a fleet to execute his design. The notice the queen received of it, made her resolve to prevent him, as she had often done with success. For that purpose, she equipped a fleet of six-score vessels, with six thousand land forces, and gave the command to the earl of Essex ‡. The earl's project was to sail to the Groyne, and destroy the armament preparing there, then to wait at the Azores for the Spanish fleet returning from the Indies. But contrary winds, storms, and a quarrel betwixt the earl of Essex and sir Walter Raleigh, broke these measures, and the fleet returned to England without any memorable action. It is needless therefore to be more particular concerning an expedition from which Elizabeth received but little advantage. I shall only say, that whilst the English were returning, a fleet from Fariola was steering the same course, in order to make a descent in Cornwall.

* She caused the following castles to be fortified, Sandsfort, Portland, Hurst, Southsea, Calshot, St. Andrew's, and St. Maudit's. Camden, p. 594.

† This year, Thomas Arundel of Wardour returned to England, after having done the emperor signal service against the Turks, and been, as a reward for it, created count of the Holy Empire; the queen was highly offended at Arundel's accepting that title, as the reader may see in Camden, p. 595, &c. and Rymer's Foed. tom. 16. p. 284, 289, 301.—Within the course of this year died Henry Carey lord Hunsdon; sir Francis Knolles; as also sir John

Puckering lord keeper of the great seal, who was succeeded by sir Thomas Egerton master of the rolls. Stow, p. 771. Camden, p. 596.

‡ The fleet was divided into three squadrons. The first commanded by the earl of Essex; the second by the lord Thomas Howard; and the third by sir Walter Raleigh. Charles Blount lord Montjoy commanded the land forces under the earl of Essex, sir Francis Vere was marshal de camp, sir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and sir Christopher Blount first colonel. Camden, p. 597. Stow, p. 783.

But

But a tempest from the north so dispersed the two fleets, that they could not even get sight of each other.

Eliz.

1597.

The earl of Essex being returned to court about the end of October, met with a fresh cause of discontent. The queen had created admiral Howard earl of Nottingham, and inserted in his patent, that it was for his services to his country in 1588 against the fleet of Spain, and afterwards in taking the town of Cadiz jointly with the earl of Essex. This patent offended the earl, who thought himself affronted by the queen, in her ascribing any share of the taking of Cadiz to the admiral. Besides, by this creation the new earl of Nottingham was to take place of him by an act of Henry VIII. which gave the precedence to the lord high-steward, the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord president, the lord privy-seal, the lord chamberlain, the lord high-constable, the earl marshal, the lord high admiral, and the lord steward, who are called the great officers of the crown, before all the peers of equal degree ^a. But the queen, to soften his resentment, created him earl-marshal of England, which preserved him the precedence of the lord-admiral.

The earl of Essex in ill humour against the court. Octob. 23. Camden. Stow.

The Hans-towns, as I said, had made great complaints to the diet of the empire, concerning the corn taken from them in Portugal, and their privileges lost in England. Elizabeth sent an ambassador to the diet to answer these accusations. He represented, That the Hans-towns, by the abuse of their privileges, had caused them to be annulled by an act of parliament in the reign of Edward IV. That afterwards Mary had for a time suspended the execution of that act; but at last, even in her reign, those privileges had been entirely abolished, for which he alledged several reasons mentioned in Edward's reign. That as to the seizure of their ships in Portugal, they were freighted with provisions for the Spaniards, and by the law of nations the English could seize provisions which were carrying to their enemies, and even confiscate the ships, which, however, were restored to the owners. This affair seemed suppressed, and it had not been mentioned for two years, when suddenly the emperor, at the solicitation of the Hans-towns, prohibited the commerce of the English merchants, called the Adventurers, with the empire. This obliged the queen to prohibit the commerce of the Hans-towns in England.

The dispute of the Hans-towns revived. Camden. Thuanus.

^a The chancellor, treasurer, president of the council, privy-seal, being only. See Statute 31 Henry VIII. barons, sit above dukes in parliament. c. 10. The rest of the great officers sit after the

Eliz.

1597.

Henry de-
mands suc-
cours of Eli-
zabeth.

Camden.

Her answer.

Henry
threatens to
make a peace
without her.
Camden.
Mezerai.She justifies
her conduct
from the
words of the
treaty.

Camden.

Mean time, the king of France was greatly embarrassed, since the Spaniards were become masters of Amiens, from whence they could make incursions to the gates of Paris. He resolved therefore at any rate to recover that place, and formed the siege about the end of May. At the same time, he summoned queen Elizabeth to send him four thousand men, according to their treaty. The queen answered, she was ready to send the forces, provided he would pay them, because her expences in equipping a fleet, and maintaining an army in Ireland, rendered her unable. Troops without money did not suit with Henry, whose exchequer was exhausted. Wherefore, to induce Elizabeth to comply with his demand, he ordered her to be told, that offers of peace had been made him, with the restitution of all his places, except Calais and Ardres, if he would abandon England. He meant to insinuate, that it was solely on her account he had refused a separate peace, though in truth, the surprize of Amiens was the real cause of the discontinuance of the treaty, which he would not have begun without her participation, if he had retained the least regard for her. However, the queen, yet ignorant of the secret, told him, by her ambassador, she could never believe that so great a prince would violate a solemn treaty so lately made, and confirmed with reciprocal oaths. She prayed him to look into the treaty, where he would find this article in express terms: 'The queen of England shall send this year, four thousand foot to serve the king for the space of six months: They shall likewise serve him as long in the following years, if the queen of England's affairs will conveniently permit, in which point the king of France is to take her honour and conscience for security.' That therefore it was manifest, the treaty was not violated by her, as she offered to send forces, provided he would promise to pay them. All this ended at last, in what probably Henry proposed, which was, that Elizabeth, instead of forces, should supply him with money. For security, Henry offered her Calais, provided she would recover it within such a time with her own forces. This was engaging her to make a diversion more advantageous to France, than the four thousand men he demanded. It was even uncertain, whether the town could be taken within the limited time, which probably would have been very short. But Elizabeth was not to be thus ensnared, especially as she knew, the king of France had rather see Calais in the hands of the Spaniards than of the English. But the retaking of Amiens, which surrendered in September, finished this dispute.

The

The surrender of Amiens renewed the negotiations between France and Spain, which had been interrupted. Henry's conduct on this occasion did not correspond with the services he had received from Elizabeth in his most pressing necessities. He deferred to acquaint her, that a peace was absolutely necessary for him, till he had privately settled the principal articles. He thought, probably, as Elizabeth had only consulted her own interest in their league, he might likewise consider only his own advantage. Such a principle allows the breach of any alliance without scruple. He could not however so secretly transact the affair, but Elizabeth had notice of his proceedings and designs. For that reason she called a parliament¹ to demand an aid in such a juncture, intimating, she was going to be abandoned by her ally, though he still pretended not to treat without her. The parliament perceiving the danger of an immediate invasion, voted an extraordinary supply, on condition it should not be drawn into a precedent².

Henry negotiates a peace with Spain, without the participation of Elizabeth. Camden. Thuanus.

D'Ewes, p. 522, &c. Townshend, p. 79. The parliament grants a large supply.

Elizabeth knew Henry was treating with Spain, but was ignorant the peace was now almost concluded, and the more, as he had desired her to send ambassadors to settle the points on which they were to treat. She sent therefore Thomas Wilks, sir Robert Cecil, and John Herbert master of requests. The first died presently after his arrival at Paris. The two others waited on the king at Angers, to know upon what terms the negotiation stood with Spain. Henry gave a general answer, declaring, he wanted a peace, and that the welfare of his people, which he preferred to all other con-

Henry makes peace without his allies. Camden. Thuanus. Stow.

¹ This parliament met at Westminster October 24, 1597, and was dissolved February 9, 1598. D'Ewes, p. 522. —The acts made in this parliament were these: 1. An act for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars. By this statute, all the following persons are to be adjudged rogues and vagabonds. People that go about begging, as poor scholars; or on pretence of losses by fire or shipwreck; collectors for goals; or persons delivered out of goal, and begging for their fees; such as use any subtle craft, or unlawful games; fortune-tellers; gypsies; fencers; bear-wards; common players, and minstrels; jugglers; tinkers; pedlars; and petty chapmen; fellows not working for reasonable wages, when they are able, and the like. Their punishment is to be whipped, and sent

from parish to parish, by the officer in each, the next straight way to the parish where they were born, or last dwelt for the space of a whole year. 2. An act for erecting of hospitals, houses of correction, and work-houses for the poor. 3. One for the increase of mariners, and maintenance of the navigation. 4. An act against lewd and wandering persons, pretending to be soldiers or mariners, and travelling without testimonials from justices of peace.

² The laity granted three subsidies of 2s. 8d. in the pound of goods, and 4s. of lands, with six fifteenths and tenths. The clergy gave three subsidies to be paid on six several days. These several subsidies were granted without any opposition or difficulty. See D'Ewes, p. 569.

Grotius.
Camden.They com-
plain to no
purpose.
Camden.
Thuanus.

Camden.

siderations, absolutely required it. Cecil answered, the queen his mistress desired it no less, but wanted to know upon what conditions it was proposed by the king of Spain, and whether the states of the United Provinces were to be included. Henry replied, the king of Spain offered to restore all the places taken in France, Calais not excepted; that this offer could not be rejected, without exposing his kingdom to utter ruin. Adding, he would soon cause the king of Spain to grant honourable conditions to the queen and the United Provinces.

This was sufficient to show the ambassadors, that the peace between France and Spain was already concluded, and no care taken of Henry's allies. Elizabeth having some intelligence of it, ordered her ambassadors to complain to the king; and the ambassadors of the states received also the same orders from their masters. But Henry, not to hear himself reproached, which must have been very mortifying to him, appointed commissioners to treat with the ambassadors, instead of granting the audience they demanded. The commissioners and the ambassadors being met, Oldenbarnevelt, one of the states ambassadors, spoke boldly of the insincerity wherewith the king had treated his masters. He adjured the king, though absent, to declare in his conscience, if he thought it becoming a prince, to separate from his allies without any provocation. Then, to confound the French commissioners, he read aloud the treaty of league, concluding with these words: 'That some kings preferred their private interests to their alliances; but that this often proved fatal to them; for when princes have parted with their faith and honour, it is in vain to think of supporting themselves by mere power'.¹ The chancellor, who was one of the commissioners, answered the ambassador, that what he said deserved great regard, and should be reported to the king, protesting, however, that France could not subsist without peace.

Cecil spoke next, and said, That being impowered only to treat of a general peace, since the states of the United Provinces were not to be included in the king's treaty with Spain, he could proceed no farther. Then, after a justification of Elizabeth's conduct, and a bold censure of the French king's, he demanded time to inform the queen of what passed. But his demand being eluded, he prayed the commissioners to remind the king of the oath he had taken before God and

¹ Then he proposed, that if the king of France would lay aside the thoughts of peace, and besiege Calais, the states would advance pay for seven thousand

men to assist in it, and furnish twenty-five men of war; and at the same time lay siege to some other place, to divide the enemies forces. Camden, p. 605.

man. He concluded with saying, That the queen expected to be repaid the sums lent the king in his pressing necessities. But whatever the ambassadors alledged signified nothing, since the peace between France and Spain was concluded, and nothing was wanting but the formality of having it publicly signed by plenipotentiaries, who were to meet at Vervins.

Eliz.
1598.

Elizabeth was extremely provoked with the French king's proceedings, and the more, as she saw no other cause which could oblige him to negotiate a peace without giving her notice, than complaisance to the pope and the king of Spain. It is certain, Henry might have disengaged himself with some appearance of good faith, if he had but pretended an unwillingness to treat without his allies, and afterwards, upon the difficulties which should arise, had urged the necessity he was under of making a peace. But concluding it without their knowledge, he clearly discovered, that he preferred the king of Spain's interest before that of his ancient allies. This was indeed his character. He was so impatient to see himself in peaceable possession of the crown of France, that to compass his ends he never scrupled to sacrifice his old friends, who were unable to hurt him, to his most mortal enemies, who might still create him disturbance. He had no person about him who dared to censure such a conduct; but in Elizabeth he found one of an equal rank, who used him with less ceremony. She sent him a letter, in which after other severe expressions, she told him, 'That if in temporal concerns, there was such a thing as a sin against the Holy Ghost, it was doubtless ingratitude: That if he had obtained advantageous terms from Spain, he ought to thank England for them: And that solemn oaths, and mutual compacts, were never intended for snares, unless by the worst of men.' Henry was stung with these reproaches, but as they admitted of no reply, chose to take no notice of them. He excused himself upon the urgent necessity which forced him to make peace, and endeavoured to persuade Elizabeth, that whereas he had hitherto been only a burden to her, he would for the future give her marks of his acknowledgment, in procuring her a safe and honourable peace, and in never forsaking her interests. But this was only words, which were not much regarded by the queen.

Elizabeth
enraged.
Camden.

Writes to
him a letter
full of re-
sentment.
Camden.

During these transactions, some articles of little moment, which had remained undecided, were finished at Vervins. Mezerau owns, the peace might have been concluded and signed in less than three weeks, if Henry had not affected to persuade the public he would not abandon his allies. But all this

He signs the
peace with-
out his allies.
May 10.
Thuanus.

THE HISTORY

this tended only to obtain for the ambassadors of England of the states, an admission to the conferences, without an declaration of what he would do in their favour. But Philip, who knew how far he should be solicited, remained inflexible and would never grant a power to his plenipotentiaries to either with England or the states. At last, after Henry made all the necessary excuses to clear himself to the public, he gave orders to his plenipotentiaries to sign the treaty, advising however his allies, that he would not ratify it forty days after, as if that time had been sufficient to give their peace with the Spaniard, who even refused to treat with them. Mean while, he exhorted them, whether seriously or jestingly, to embrace the opportunity he was procuring them. This peace was signed at Vervins the second of May, and ratified by Henry the 12th of June.

Elizabeth's
reasons for
continuing
the war.
Grotius.
Camden.

It was now incumbent upon the queen and the states to take proper measures to sustain the war against all the forces of Spain; and, in order to this, Elizabeth sent Francis to the states to know their resolution. Mean while, it was debated in council, whether it was proper to make peace or to continue the war. The council being divided upon this question, several reasons were alledged on both sides. But the queen, who knew perfectly her interest, readily declared for war. She perceived, that in making a separate peace, as she would have been very easy, she should oblige the states to put themselves again under the Spanish yoke. In that case, she foresaw, she should stand single without any ally, and exposed to the insults of Philip, who would never want pretences to quarrel with her, and resume his former projects against England. Nay, it was to be feared, the king of France, incited by the pope and a catholic council, where the antient league had great influence, would suffer himself to be engaged in a plot to dethrone her. She was also apprehensive, the king of Scots, in order to ascend the sooner the throne of England, would be tempted by promises to abandon the interests of the protestant religion. In a word, by forsaking the states, she exposed herself to the danger of seeing the storm fall upon her own head, which she had all her life been labouring to turn upon her neighbours. On the contrary, in supporting them she employed the Spaniard, and hindered him from making any considerable attempts upon England. Moreover, if by a vigorous war she could oblige Philip to a peace, without any danger to the liberty of the states, she would thereby secure friends, who might be very serviceable on occasion.

These were the reasons which determined the queen to continue the war. But she was very careful to conceal her intentions from the states, and rather showed a great inclination to peace, pretending she was unable to carry on so burdensome a war. She intimated to them, that her interest was not concerned, and that Philip's efforts against England plainly showed she was in no danger from him. The states not being able to dissemble like her, because their all was at stake, she brought them to acknowledge, that if the war was continued, it was solely for the preservation of their liberty, and therefore it was necessary to treat anew upon that foundation. In short, she so artfully managed, that they came to a new agreement with her, entirely to her advantage. The states chose rather to submit to her terms than be forced to make a peace, by which, in that juncture, they must have lost their liberty, their religion, and the fruits of thirty years labour. The articles of the new treaty were ^a.

Eliz.
1598.

A new treaty
between Eli-
zabeth and
the states.
August 16.
Act. Pub.
xvi. p. 340.
Camden.

That the states should give security to Elizabeth for eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, to which all her claims were limited. ^{Articles of it.}

That the half of this sum should be discharged by yearly payments of thirty thousand pounds sterling, as long as the war should continue; and if, at the end of the war, any thing remained of this half, the annual payments should be but twenty thousand pounds.

That as to the other half, and the restitution of the places which were in the queen's hands, there should be an amicable agreement, when the peace was concluded.

That for the garrisons of Flushing, the Briel, and other forts, the queen should furnish eleven hundred and fifty men, to be paid by the states, at the rate of one hundred and seventy pounds sterling a month, besides utensils, and other useful necessaries for soldiers in garrison.

That for the future the queen should be discharged of her engagement to furnish the states with auxiliaries; and that the English who now served, or should hereafter serve in the Low-Countries, should be paid by the states, take an oath to them, and obey the orders of their generals.

That by this means, the authority of the English deputy, stipulated in the former treaty, would be abolished, the queen

^a It does not appear from whence is here rectified from the original in Rymer's Foed. tom. 16, p. 340, &c. Rapin has taken this treaty. His abstract of it is extremely faulty, which

nevertheless reserving a power to put one person into the council of state.

That if, during the war, the common enemy or his adherents should set out a fleet to invade England, or the isles belonging to it, namely, those of Wight, Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey, the states should be obliged to assist her majesty with a fleet of thirty or forty ships of war; and, in case of an invasion, with five thousand foot and five hundred horse: That if her majesty should equip a fleet of fifty or sixty ships to act offensively, either in Spain, Portugal, or the West-Indies, the states should join her with the same number of ships. And if any English forces, as ten thousand foot and two thousand horse at the least, were sent over into Flanders or Brabant, the states should furnish out half the same number of men.

It is easy to observe from this treaty, how well the queen knew to improve the present circumstances of the states, and their fear of being forced to make a disadvantageous peace with Spain, though, for reasons beforementioned, it was her interest to continue the war. Besides, when this treaty was negotiating, the earl of Tir-oen was very formidable in Ireland. In fine, the king of Scotland almost openly demanded to be declared the queen's presumptive heir. He dispersed written or printed books, in which he pretended to prove that no person whatever could deprive him of his right. A letter was even shown to Elizabeth subscribed with his own hand, and addressed to the pope^a. Camden says, he had been surprised into this letter, but that author is too partial in every thing concerning king James to deserve entire credit. Shortly after one Edward Squire was apprehended in London, for having undertaken to kill the queen by poisoning the pommel of her saddle. All this shows she had no less reason to fear for herself than for the states, and that it was her interest to support them, and procure them a peace which should secure their liberty.

The death of Philip of Spain, which happened in September this year, something allayed Elizabeth's uneasiness. That prince was seventy-two years old, and had reigned forty-two, in continual troubles to enlarge the bounds of his monarchy. He cast his ambitious views upon France, England, and Portugal, and of all these grand projects, the last only succeeded. But he lost seven provinces in the Netherlands, which were

The earl of Tir-oen formidable in Ireland.

The king of Scots insists to be declared successor to Elizabeth. Camden. He writes to the pope. Winwood's Mem. t. i. Camden.

A conspiracy discovered against the queen. Stow.

Death of Philip. Septem. 13. Camden.

^a This letter is extant in Winwood's Memorials, tom. i. p. 2.

well worth the kingdom he acquired. He died^a a dreadful death, being devoured by lice swarming from ulcers with which he had been some time afflicted: but he bore his calamity with admirable constancy. Some time before his death, he had assigned the sovereignty of the Low-Countries in dower to the infanta Isabella his daughter, when he married her to archduke Albert. But the conditions annexed to this grant shew he had no intention to dismember those provinces from the Spanish monarchy. Besides the reservation of homage, and a power to keep garrisons in the citadels of Antwerp and Cambray, he had stipulated the reversion of these provinces to the crown of Spain, in default of heirs descending from the princess his daughter; and it is even pretended he had rendered her incapable of ever having any. He was succeeded by his son Philip III.

Eliz.
1598.

This year a troublesome affair happened at the English court. The queen consulting the earl of Essex and the admiral^o, concerning a fit person to be sent into Ireland, discovered an inclination for sir William Knolles; but the earl of Essex, tho' his nephew, strenuously opposed it, contending for sir George Carew, in order to remove him from court, as being jealous of him. He supported his opinion with great haughtiness and obstinacy, and perceiving the queen immovable, turned his back upon her with such an air of contempt, that, provoked at his insolence, she gave him a box on the ear^p. He immediately laid his hand on his sword, and being prevented from drawing it by the admiral, swore, 'That he neither could nor would put up so great an indignity; nor would he have taken it from Henry VIII. himself were he alive,' and instantly retired from court. The lord privy-seal representing to him in a letter, the folly of his menaces, and advising him to ask the queen's pardon, he sent a long and passionate answer, wherein he spoke very disrespectfully of the queen^q. But at last being brought to himself by the advice of his friends, he was re-admitted to favour. Few believed this reconciliation sincere, and the earl's friends were in great fear for him.

The queen gives the earl of Essex a box on the ear. Camden.

William Cecil baron Burleigh lord treasurer, and for many years prime minister and confident of the queen, died this

Death of lord Burleigh. Camden. Stow.

^o There was none present then but the earl of Essex, the admiral, sir Robert Cecil, and Windebank, keeper of the privy-seal. Camden, p. 6c8.

^p And bid him go and be hanged. Ibid.

^q Rapin says here by mistake, that the lord privy-seal talked with him instead of sending a letter; but the reader may see Essex's answer at length, in Camden, p. 609. vol. ii. Compl. Hist.

Eliz. year in extreme old age *. The lord Buckhurst succeeded
1599. him in his office of treasurer.

Affairs of
Ireland.
Hist. of
Ireland.
Camden.

Camden.

The earl of
Essex sent
lieutenant.
Camden.
Speed.

The affairs of Ireland were in so ill a situation, that a speedy remedy was to be applied, or the kingdom exposed to the hazard of being entirely lost. Since the advantages gained by the earl of Tir-oen over the English, the whole province of Munster had revolted. The natives in every other part of the isle were in the same disposition, flattering themselves that with the assistance of the pope and the Spaniards *, the earl of Tir-oen would free them entirely from the English yoke. The queen, informed of the state of affairs, believed no time was to be lost to reduce the Irish to their duty, and ordered her council to consider in her presence, how to execute her resolution. The earl of Essex spoke long upon the subject, blaming the conduct of the former lord deputies, who, he said, amused themselves with trifles, instead of acting directly against the earl of Tir-oen, without giving him any respite: that by truces granted him from time to time he had restored his affairs; and withal, the queen had been put to a needless expence, since her troops were paid in a truce as well as during the war. This opinion was grateful to the queen, who loved not to be lavish of her money without occasion. When a deputy came to be named, most of the council were for the lord Montjoy. This was opposed by the earl of Essex, because that lord had never commanded in chief, and was too much addicted to books; whereas the affairs of Ireland required an active and a warlike general. He added, that to put a speedy end to the war in Ireland, the management of it ought to be given to a general of reputation, and who was acceptable to the people. In a word, he so plainly pointed out himself, that he was chosen to the employ. His friends thought to oblige him, and his enemies hoped that this post, and his absence from the court, would afford them means to ruin him.

* This great man was born at Bourn in Lincolnshire, in 1521, and died this year, on August 4, and was buried in the church of St. Martin in Stanford. Camden, p. 609. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 406. He used often to tell the queen, that the treasury was not her own money, but committed to her care for the safety of her people; and therefore it was not to be spent in useless ways, or in satisfying the avarice and knavery of her ministers, but for the benefit and welfare of the state; and

that the best thing which could possibly be done by any person, was to do that which tended to the good of his country. Bohun. Charac. of Queen Eliz. p. 96. — This year also died the famous poet Edmund Spenser. Camden.

* King James sent queen Elizabeth notice, that he was informed there were twelve thousand men preparing in Spain to land in Ireland by the beginning of April this year. Rymer's Foed. tom. xvi. p. 336.

What

What this lord's designs were is not known, but for some time he had made himself so popular, and gained so far upon the people by his affable behaviour, that he was almost adored[†]. He only wanted to gain the affection of the soldiery, and probably this was his aim in desiring to command in Ireland. But as he had enemies intent upon his ruin, it was on this employment they founded their hopes of success. On the other hand, his friends in serving him too zealously did him a diskindness. They affected to publish his descent from the royal house of Scotland, and from that of England by his great-grandmother, who numbered amongst her ancestors Edmund de Langley duke of York, and Thomas of Woodstock, both sons of Edward III. Hence it was intended to insinuate, that after the queen's death it would be better to place him on the throne than a foreign prince. A book was also dedicated to him, in which the author overthrew the titles of all the pretenders to the crown, except the Spanish *infantas*[‡]. His enemies, perceiving he was forming some dangerous conspiracy, took care not to divert him from it. On the contrary, they every where and on all occasions, extolled his valour, his prudence, and his attachment to the protestant interest, in order to engage him in measures which would more clearly discover his designs. He had a lively wit and many amiable qualities, but was too much intoxicated with his own merit, and regarded the rest of the nobility as very much his inferiors. He was made lord deputy with a very extensive commission, to continue or end the war as he pleased; and even to pardon the earl of Tir-oen, and the other rebels, which was an authority never before granted to any of his predecessors. But it was inserted in his commission, that laying aside all other affairs, he should apply himself wholly to pursue and ruin the earl of Tir-oen, chief of the rebels. He could not complain of this clause, because it was only what was proposed by himself in the council.

About the end of March the earl of Essex sailed for Ireland with an army of 20,000 foot and 1300 horse[¶]. The English had never before seen so formidable an army in that island. The queen had made this great effort pursuant to the earl's advice, in order to put a speedy end to the rebellion, and ter-

Eliz.

1599.

A remark upon his conduct. Treasons of E. of Essex, p. 7.

Friends and enemies do him ill offices. Camden.

Osborn.

His character.

He is invested with great power. Aft. Pub. xvi. p. 366.

Acts in Ireland contrary to his own advice. Camden.

[†] Sir Robert Naunton says, that there were in this young lord, together with a most goodly person, a kind of urbanity or innate courtesy, which both won the queen, and too much took upon the people:—but then he was noted for too bold an ingrosser both of fame and

favour, p. 64, 65. See Declarat. of his Treasons, p. 6, &c.

[‡] This was the book writ by Parsons, under the feigned name of Doleman of the Succession.

[¶] Which was afterwards made up two thousand. Camden, p. 614.

Eliz.
1599.

minate the war in one campaign. On his arrival he affected whether of himself or by the advice of his pretended friends, to act directly contrary to his instructions. He immediately gave the command of the horse to his intimate friend the earl of Southampton, contrary to the queen's express orders, who was offended with that lord for marrying without her permission*. Then, instead of marching against Tir-oen, he turned his arms against some rebels in Munster, whom he drove indeed into the woods and mountains, but with the loss of many of his men†. This expedition of little importance, detained him in those parts till the end of July. Mean time, the queen informed of his proceedings, writ to him in an angry stile, and reproached him with acting contrary to orders founded upon his own advice, commanding him withal to march into Ulster against Tir-oen himself. He excused himself, by saying, that the council of Ireland, which knew best the affairs of that kingdom, had advised him first to clear Munster; and promised positively to march the first opportunity against the chief rebel. But shortly after, he writ to the court, that he was obliged to return to Dublin‡, to chastise some Irish who infested the country, and indeed he suppressed them. But after this second expedition, his army was so diminished that he writ for a reinforcement, without which, he said he could not perform any great exploits in Ulster. He began however to march thither, but his vanguard consisting of 1500 men, under the command of sir Conyers Clifford, fell into an ambush and was entirely defeated.

Though it was astonishing that with so fine an army he had done nothing considerable, but on the contrary was forced to demand a reinforcement, the queen immediately sent him some fresh troops. But soon after, he let the court know that all he could do this campaign was to post himself on the frontiers of Ulster with thirteen hundred foot and three hundred horse. On his arrival in that province, the earl of Tir-oen desired a parley, which he refused. The next day, when the armies were near one another, Tir-oen sent Hagan, an officer, to tell him he was ready to submit to the queen, and desired him to grant him a conference on the banks of a small river§, where they might confer, each remaining on his own

* He had married Elizabeth Vernon, daughter of John Vernon, Esq; and of the earl of Essex's aunt, without the queen's permission, which men of quality used to ask in such cases. Camden, p. 616.

† A party of English, under the com-

mand of Henry Harrington, were shamefully defeated. Ibid.

‡ To Ophalie near Dublin, to quell the O-Coners O-moils, who were up in arms. Ibid.

§ At Balla-clinch, near Louth. Ibid. p. 615.

side. The earl of Essex consented, and they talked together Eliz. about an hour, without any witness. Two hours after, 1599. Tir-oen demanded a second conference, in presence of some of the chief officers of the two armies^b. The earl of Essex granted his request, and in this second conference it was agreed that commissioners should be appointed to treat of a peace the next day. This negotiation ended in a treaty of truce which was speedily concluded. The truce was to continue from six weeks to six weeks, till May the next year, with this condition, that either party should be at liberty to break it upon giving fourteen days notice.

Treats with
Tir-oen.
Camden.
Speed.

and grants
him a truce.

Mean time, the queen having received the earl of Essex's last letter, was extremely provoked. She could not forbear saying, she suspected him of ill designs. She was advised to recall him immediately; but she feared to incense him too much, whilst he had the sword in his hand. Nevertheless she writ to him very sharply, and reproached him with his contempt of her orders. The letter made such impression on the earl, that he instantly resolved to return into England with the flower of his army, and be revenged of his enemies, flattering himself with a general insurrection in his favour. But the earl of Southampton dissuaded him from so dangerous a resolution. The queen, informed of this project, countenanced a report that a fleet was preparing in Spain to invade England, and under that pretence raised six thousand men. Some time after she augmented her army, and gave the command to the lord admiral, who was no friend to the earl of Essex. But this terror being dispelled by advices from Ireland, she disbanded the greatest part of her forces.

Is suspected
by the queen.
Camden.

Writes to
him in angles.
Hemeditates
a dangerous
design,

but is di-
verted.
Camden.

Act. Pub.
xvi. p. 383.
Stow,
p. 788, &c.

The news of what passed in England convincing the earl of Essex that he was suspected by the queen, he took a sudden resolution to go and justify himself, without demanding the queen's leave. He was accompanied by the earl of Southampton and several officers, who on their arrival in England disposed of themselves different ways. He reserved only six men to attend him, and posted with all diligence in order to be with the queen before she had notice of his arrival, but he found, notwithstanding his care, he had been prevented. The queen was then at Nonfuch, ten miles from London. She received him without any emotion, and with some marks of favour; but after some reproaches for his irregular conduct, she commanded him to his apartment till farther orders.

Comes into
England
without
leave.
Camden.
Treasons of
E. of Essex.
Stow.

Sept. 28.

^b The English officers that attended Warham St. Leger, sir Henry Danvers, the earl of Essex, were, the earl of sir Edward Wingfield, and sir William Southampton, sir George Bouchier, sir Constable. Camden.

Eliz.

1599.

Defends
himself ill.Is put under
arrest.He makes
his own
apology.
Camden.The earl of
Tir-oen
breaks the
truce.
Camden.
Speed.

After that, being asked why he made a truce with the earl of Tir-oen, which might at any time be broken at a fortnight's warning, since he was empowered to conclude a peace: he answered, that the earl of Tir-oen was so unreasonable in his demands, that they could not be granted; but it was his opinion, that a truce might bring him to more equitable terms. This answer did not satisfy the queen, who was moreover provoked at his leaving his government without her permission; besides that the persons who attended him into England were very apt to cause her to suspect him. Wherefore she committed him to custody at the lord keeper's, to prevent his running into new excesses.

In Camden's Annals, there is an apology writ by the earl himself, in which it appears that he very lamely answered the accusation of having neglected to attack the earl of Tir-oen, and employed his army in expeditions of little consequence. He contented himself with saying, that he had put the Irish affairs in such a situation, that, during his nine months government, the English had sustained no damage. But he was not entrusted with an army of twenty thousand men to stand upon the defensive. As for his return without leave, he mentioned it not. Concerning the persons who attended him, he said only, that not above six came to court with him, but of the rest who accompanied him from Ireland, he did not speak. The commission given to the earl of Southampton, contrary to the queen's express orders, he also passed over in silence. The rest consisted wholly in exclamations upon the injustice of suspecting him, and in magnifying the merits of his father and his brother (killed in the queen's service) and his own. At the same time his friends and relations loudly complained of the rigour with which he was treated, representing it as excessive. Some even plotted to rescue him by force, but he would not consent to it.

Mean while, the earl of Tir-oen, hearing the earl of Essex was arrested, broke the truce, and did great mischief to the English inhabitants in Ireland. He flattered himself with a great and speedy assistance from Spain^d, and the pope, who had made him a present of a pretended Phoenix plume. In this expectation, he formed a no less project than to drive the English entirely out of Ireland.

^c The earl said, that these demands were a general amnesty; the restoring of the Irish to their estates then possessed by the English; and the free exercise of the Romish religion all over

Ireland. Camden, p. 616.

^d From whence he had lately received some supplies of ammunition, money, and provisions. Camden, p. 617.

In the mean time, the earl of Essex's friends were inciting Eliz. the people to an insurrection in his favour, representing him as the most accomplished lord England ever saw since the foundation of the monarchy. At the same time they inveighed against the ministry, nor without malicious reflections on the queen's conduct, as if she took no care of the Irish affairs. This extremely injured the earl, and increased the queen's suspicions of him. As she had provoked him, she easily believed he was meditating revenge. Wherefore, in the beginning of October, she assembled the council in the Star-chamber, where the earl's conduct was examined, and unanimously condemned by all the privy-counsellors. Nothing more however was done against him, the queen only desiring to satisfy the people, that it was not out of caprice that he was under confinement. He remained therefore at the lord keeper's house, where he gave himself up to devotion, spending his time in prayer, and writing letters to his friends in so devout a strain, that he was thought to have renounced all worldly vanities.

1599.

The friends of the earl of Essex cabal in his favour.

His conduct examined before the privy-council. Camden. Cabala.

Grows devout.

In the close of the year, the archduke Andrew, governor of the Low-Countries in his brother Albert's absence, who was gone into Spain to marry the infanta, proposed a peace to Elizabeth. She answered, she would freely consent to it, if the states of the United Provinces were included. This condition put a stop to the negotiation at once. The queen suspected the proposal was made only to amuse her till a fleet, then preparing in Spain, should be ready to invade England. But this pretended fleet, which gave her some uneasiness, ended at last in a few gallies, put to sea by Frederick Spinola, a Genoese in the king of Spain's service, and carried by him into the harbour of Sluys.

The archduke tries to amuse Elizabeth. Camden. Thuanus.

1600.

The earl of Tir-oen's progress in Ireland. Camden.

Lord Montjoy sent thither. Feb. 7.

* This year died the learned Richard Hooker, author of the Ecclesiastical Polity. Camden.

Eliz.

1600.

A fruitless
conference
for a peace.
Camden.
Winwood's
Memorial's,
tom. i.

At the same time archduke Albert, called also the Cardinal Infant, being returned from Spain, made new proposals of peace to Elizabeth. Henry IV. supported them with all his interest, and succeeded so far that the queen sent plenipotentiaries to Boulogne, where the peace was to be negotiated: But after the ambassadors of the two contending crowns had been four months in that place, they parted without ever assembling, by reason of a dispute of precedency between England and Spain. After great contests on that subject, queen Elizabeth had at last consented to an equality, but the Spaniard would not quit his pretensions. If the plenipotentiaries had met, another obstacle would have occurred, which would never have been surmounted. This was, that the Spaniards were for a separate peace or truce with England, to which Elizabeth doubtless would not have consented. Besides, the king of Spain pretended that Elizabeth should surrender the places mortgaged to her by the States. The Spanish ambassadors having founded the English on these two articles, and finding they should never obtain their desires, used the pretence of precedency to break off the negotiation.

Battle of
Newport.
Grotius.
Camden.

The second day of July, prince Maurice gained the famous battle of Newport over the archduke. The English, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the conduct of sir Francis Vere, distinguished themselves gloriously; but there remained eight hundred dead upon the spot.

Briefs sent to
the English
catholicks
by pope Clement.
Camden.

Elizabeth being now sixty-seven years old, it was with extreme vexation, that the catholicks saw the English crown ready to fall on the head of a protestant prince. Clement VIII. being desirous to prevent it to the utmost of his power, sent two briefs into England, one addressed to the Romish clergy, and one to the people. In these briefs they were forbid to acknowledge, after Elizabeth's death, any prince who would not swear not only to tolerate their religion, but even to support it with all his power. These briefs were privately conveyed into the nation, and communicated but to few, all dreading the penalties enacted by law.

A conspiracy
against the
king of
Scots.
August 5.
Camden.
Spotswood.
Burnet's
Hist.

But at the same time some found a more ready and effectual way to prevent the king of Scots ascending the throne of England. The Ruthvens, sons to earl Gourey beheaded in 1584, conspired against him, and inviting him to their house at Perth on some pretence, designed to murder him, but he escaped by a sort of miracle^f. The two Ruthvens were killed,

^f Chiefly through the assistance of sir Thomas Arckin and John Ramsay, king's, to get rid of the earl of Gourey, who was then held in great esteem. But
Burnet

killed, and their complices condemned to die. Afterwards, Eliz. by an act of parliament, all who bore the name of Ruthven, were obliged to quit it, that the very name of the family might be abolished. 1600.

The earl of Essex was still under arrest at the lord privy seal's, where he closely applied himself to devotion. He writ from time to time such submissive letters to the queen, that he seemed to have lost that extreme haughtiness so prejudicial to him. At last the queen, content with having humbled him, permitted him to retire to his own house, under the free custody of sir Richard Berkley, who was to watch him. Probably he had been soon restored to favour, the queen clearly discovering her sentiments in that respect; but his friends and domesticks ruined him. They had made such strong cabals among the people, that nothing was talked of but the earl of Essex's innocence. Whereas the queen pretended to have treated him with great lenity and moderation, it was given out that he was unjustly persecuted, and even his life attempted on false suggestions. Elizabeth, who was very nice in such a point, and considered the people's prejudices against her as a great misfortune, resolved to show the earl had more reason to praise her moderation than complain of her rigour. To that purpose, she ordered him to be brought before the privy-council, to which she had added four earls, two barons, and four judges. But she told these commissioners, it was not her intention to condemn him to any infamous punishment as guilty of treason or treachery, but only to convince him of having failed in his allegiance, and slighted her orders and instructions through excess of vanity. The queen's design was to show the prejudiced people, that the earl of Essex deserved a severer punishment than a few months imprisonment.

When he appeared before his judges, he was first accused of contemning the queen's orders, in making the earl of Southampton general of the horse. Secondly, of making knights, contrary to the express words of his patent. Thirdly, of neglecting to pursue the earl of Tir-oen, though that was the principal end of his commission. Fourthly, of secretly conferring with that rebel. Fifthly, of granting a truce very prejudicial to the queen's affairs. Sixthly, of abandoning his

Burnet thinks it was a real conspiracy, and the rather as the earl of Gourey, upon the king's death, stood next to the succession of the crown, as being descended from Margaret, daughter of king Henry VII. See Burnet's H. & of his own Time, p. 18.

§ She protested that all she did or designed against him was for his reformation, not his ruin. Camden, p. 626.

Eliz. government, without vouchsafing to ask the queen's permission. • Some inferences were likewise drawn from his disrespectful expressions in his apology, and from certain dangerous principles contained in a book dedicated to him, concerning the deposing of Richard II.

He is declared guilty.

After hearing the articles of his accusation, he kneeled down, and thanked God for all his mercies, and his sovereign for not ordering him a hearing in the Star-chamber. He declared, he would neither excuse his faults, either in whole or in part, nor contend with the queen: he acknowledged his guilt, put protested upon his honour, that his heart had been always free from the least thought of rebellion. However, in continuing to speak, he began to urge some excuses in his own behalf. But the lord-keeper interrupted him, by reminding him, that he had taken a good method, but was now swerving from it: That in extenuating his faults, he likewise extenuated the queen's clemency; and that, in fine, a manifest disobedience was but an ill proof of a good intention. The lord-keeper, in preventing him from enlarging on his justification, did him a good office. The queen's intention was not to have him rigorously tried, but only to show, he had been treated more gently than he deserved. His confession led him to the same end, whereas his justification would have obliged his judges to a more severe examination. So, whether he understood his own interest of himself, or was warned what to do, he held his peace. After this, the commissioners consulting together, were of opinion, that he ought to be removed from the council-board, suspended from his offices of earl-marshal, and master of the ordnance, and committed to prison during the queen's pleasure. His office of master of the horse was untouched at the queen's express command, who was unwilling to give occasion to believe she had entirely withdrawn her confidence from him. She even ordered, the sentence should not be recorded. The earl received this chastisement with so much humility^b, that the queen, pleased with his deportment, removed Berkley from him, and left him at full liberty. But she advised him to be his own keeper, and forbid him the court.

He is condemned to certain penalties.

His character.

For some years the queen had honoured the earl of Essex with a particular esteem and affection. She had given him

^b He protested, "That he had made
" an utter divorce with the world, and
" he desired her majesty's favour, not
" for any worldly respect, but for a pre-
" parative for a Nunc dimittis; and

" that the tears of his heart had
" quenched in him all humours of am-
" bition." *Treasons of the earl of Essex, by Francis Bacon, Esq; 1601.*

marks

marks of it on sundry occasions; and particularly by the posts, offices, and commands he had enjoyed. This distinction had so filled him with pride, that he solely ascribed to his merit these extraordinary favours, which were the pure effect of the queen's inclination. For this cause, he had not always that regard for her she had reason to expect from him, imagining she could not be without his assistance. In a word, he was a very bad courtier. It is not strange, that so imprudent a conduct altered the queen's affection, and yet, it appeared in all her proceedings, that it was not entirely extinguished. Her design was only to humble that proud spirit, which seemed to vie with her, wherein she believed to have now been successful. It seemed, he was at last sensible, that humility was the only way to restore him entirely to favour, and had resolved to pursue that method as the surest. Immediately after his sentence, while he was preparing to retire into the country, he told the queen by the lord Howard, "That he kissed the rod and the queen's hand, which had only corrected and not ruined him, but should enjoy no peace, till he saw again those eyes which had once shined so propitiously on him: That he had resolved to atone for his error, and like Nebuchadnezzar, to dwell with the beasts of the field, eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it should please his queen to restore him to his senses." This submission was very agreeable to the queen, and yet she answered, she would not be amused with vain words; but as he had so long abused her patience, she would take some time to try his humility. This was a plain intimation, that with a little patience he would appease her entirely, and it was in some measure directing him how to form his conduct. But he was so unwise as not to improve this advantage, and to follow the interested counsels of his domesticks¹, who advised him to petition the queen for the continuation of the farm of the sweet wines², which had been very profitable to him. The queen, to prove his humility, refused his petition, knowing it to be in her power to repair the loss whenever she pleased. But instead of receiving the denial with the humility and resignation he had professed since his disgrace, he discovered passion and resentment, which made the queen think he was not yet sufficiently humbled. Whereupon Cuff, his secretary and confidant, suggested to him, that the queen not only intended to humble but beggar him, and render him

¹ Particularly of Merrick his steward, ² So all were called, except French and Cuff his secretary. Camden, p. 628. and Rhenish. Camden.

Eliz.

1600.

Forms dangerous designs.

contemptible to all the world. Cuff was seconded by other incendiaries, who at last inspired him with the design to restore himself to favour by force, and destroy all his enemies about the queen's person. After this resolution, his house was open to all the malecontents. The earl of Southampton, who had withdrawn into the Netherlands, returned to England; and the earl of Essex, leaving the country, came to reside in his house at London. When he arrived, Merrick his steward kept open house for all who thought they had cause to complain of the queen or her ministers, and a great number of suspicious persons resorted to his house. In short, his whole conduct showed he was meditating some dangerous design. His enemies improving these proceedings, found means to infuse suspicions into the queen, and to have spies placed upon him, who informed the court of what passed in his house¹.

1601.

Snare laid for him; Camden.

which he falls into.

It is pretended, his enemies, who had projected his ruin, knowing his pride and haughtiness, caused his friends at court to write to him, not to discover so much impatience in his disgrace, but to throw himself entirely upon the queen's mercy, as the readiest way to her favour. These advices drew from him answers agreeable to the intentions of his enemies, which being told to the queen, completed his ruin. They were filled with expressions denoting his anger and impatience, and even intimating his designs. He said, that a storm was fallen upon him when he expected a harvest: That the queen had reduced him to a private life, which was disagreeable to him: That he was incapable of so vile a submission as was expected from him: That he had been unjustly imprisoned: That sovereigns had not an unlimited power, nor were infallible: That he had been wounded in every pore of his body: That his enemies triumphed, but should never have the satisfaction to see him cringe to them. To these expressions, which were no signs of repentance, care was taken to add reports capable to make him forfeit the queen's favour for ever. She was told, he had said, 'She was grown an old woman, and no less crooked and distorted in her mind than in her body.' Camden seems to intimate, that he designedly passes over in silence things still more offensive to the queen.

His designs upon the queen's person.

Probably, the earl of Essex thought all farther caution needless, his project being now formed, though he had laid

¹ This year queen Elizabeth erected a nambuck in Brasil, was the first that the East-India company, and endowed was sent by the company to the East-Indies, with three ships. Camden, p. 626. James Lancaster, who in 1594 had taken her-

is measures very ill. Those who speak most favourably of
 , say, his project was to seize the queen's person, and drive
 his enemies from court, as was practised in Scotland with re-
 gard to king James. But he seems to have had greater designs,
 since he courted the king of Scotland's assistance, perhaps to
 place him on the throne before the queen's death. It was
 known, he had writ to that prince that a plot was formed to
 deprive him of the succession, and give the crown to the In-
 fanta of Spain: That for this purpose, the projectors, who
 governed at court, had filled the most considerable posts with
 the Infanta's adherents: That secretary Cecil, son of the late
 treasurer, was at the head of the party, and had engaged in it
 the lord treasurer Buckhurst, with the earl of Nottingham the
 lord admiral: That, the better to execute his project, he had
 committed the government of the maritime places to his crea-
 tures^m, where the Spaniards might most conveniently land:
 That the queen was so impaired in her understanding, that
 she was incapable to act of herself, and was entirely guided
 by her ministers: That he was therefore necessarily obliged
 to proceed openly to defeat this conspiracy; and to that end,
 ought speedily to dispatch ambassadors to England, to demand
 a publick declaration of his title to the succession, and the re-
 moval of his enemies, creatures and pensioners of Spain, from
 the court and council. At the same time he furnished him
 with proofs to be used by the ambassadors, to show the truth
 of the plot. Lastly, he insinuated that his ambassadors should
 be sufficiently supported. Camden, who writ in the reign of
 James I. has not thought proper to tell us, how these proposi-
 tions were received by that prince: but it may be judged, they
 were not disapproved, since ambassadors were presently sent
 into England, who however came too late. This historian
 adds, the earl of Essex gained to his party some presbyterian
 ministers, and even some papists, by commiserating their
 afflicted condition, under the queen's tyrannical government,
 and by inspiring them with hopes of being eased. Then he
 hired the swordsmen about London, and placed them near
 his house. After that, he established a council composed of
 the earl of Southampton, sir Charles Davers, sir Ferdinando
 Gorges, governor of Plymouth-fort, sir John Davis, a great
 mathematician, and surveyor of the ordnance, John Little-

Writes to
 the king of
 Scotland,
 that a design
 was laid to
 deprive him
 of the suc-
 cession.
 Camden.

Entertains
 suspected
 persons.
 Camden.

^m That in the western parts of Eng- the lord Burleigh was president of the
 land, Raleigh was governor of the Isle North; and sir George Carew, presi-
 of Jersey; in the eastern, the lord Cob- dent of Munster in the south of Ireland.
 ham was warden of the Cinque-ports; Camden, p. 629.

Eliz.
1601.

ton, a man of great sense and judgment, and equally qualified for the cabinet and camp.

He plots to
seize the
queen's
person.
Camden.
Treasons of
E. of Essex.

This janto meeting in Drury-house, the earl of Essex gave them a list of certain noblemen whom he believed at his devotion, containing one hundred and twenty earls, barons, knights, and gentlemen, and desired them to consult whether it was most proper to seize the Palace or the Tower, or both at once. The result of their deliberations was, that the queen's person and palace should first be seized; and when she was in their power, the earl should dismiss certain persons from her presence, and turn them out of their places; but that nothing should be done, till the arrival of the Scotch ambassadors ^a.

Is sent for
to council,
Feb. 7.
Camden.

Mean time, the great resort of suspected persons to Essex's house ^o, some words unwarily dropped by the conspirators, and the reports of the spies, confirming the court's suspicions, the council met at the treasurer's house, and sent one of the secretaries ^p to the earl of Essex, to require his attendance. But at the same time a note was delivered him, advising him to take care of himself. Whereupon he told the secretary he was indisposed, and could not stir from his house. Immediately after, he consulted whether he should pursue his first project of seizing the palace, or attempt to raise the city of London, or make his escape. since his plot was undoubtedly discovered. The first of these projects was deemed impracticable, because the guards had been doubled. The second occasioned long debates on the uncertainty of the execution, because the disposition of the Londoners was not sufficiently known. In the mean time one of the conspirators entered, affirming he came from the city, and that the inhabitants were ready to defend the earl against all his enemies. He added, that Thomas Smith, the sheriff, who commanded a thousand of the trained-bands, had promised to join him. Probably, the person who made this false report had been induced to it by some of the principal conspirators, who finding the earl begin to relent, was willing to engage him so far, that it should not be possible for him to recede. This was sufficient to make the earl resolve to raise an insurrection in the city, being persuaded the people were inclined to his

Excuses
himself from
going.

Resolves to
execute his
design.
Camden.

^a Sir Christopher Blunt was with a self at the queen's feet. Camden, p detachment to possess himself of the 630.
palace-gate; Davis was to seize the half;
Davers the guard-chamber and profene-
chamber; and Essex was to rush out of
the Meuse, and come and throw him-
^o Under pretence of hearing sermons.
^p Sir John Herbert. Ibid.

cause. It was therefore agreed, that the next day the earl, attended by five hundred men, should repair to the city, and assembling the aldermen and people, require their assistance. That if the citizens were well disposed, they should be employed to gain access to the queen, or, in case of disappointment, the conspirators should retire to some other part of the kingdom.

Pursuant to this resolution, the earls of Rutland and Southampton went next morning to Essex's house, with three hundred gentlemen, and immediately the gates were shut, and no person suffered to come in or out. But sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the most zealous of his party, was permitted on some pretence to go out. It was probably he who discovered the plot to the court; for soon after the queen sent to the mayor of London, to order the trained bands to be ready to march upon the first notice. At the same time she sent the lord-keeper, the earl of Worcester, and sir William Knolles, to the earl's house, who were let in through a wicket, without any of their attendants, except the purse-bearer. In the court yard they saw the earls of Essex, Rutland, and Southampton, surrounded with a crowd of armed men, and the lord-keeper advancing towards them, told the earl of Essex, he was sent by the queen to know the reason of so great a concourse. Then the earl raising his voice, told him, "he certainly knew that it was designed to murder him in his bed": That his hand-writing was counterfeited, in order to have a pretence to destroy him: That he had assembled his friends for the security of his life, since his enemies could not be satisfied without having his blood." The lord-keeper answering, the queen would do him justice, provided he would discover his grievances, was interrupted by a voice, crying out, 'My lord, you are betrayed, they design only to ruin you, we lose time, let us be gone.' Upon this, the earl made a sign to those sent by the queen to follow him, and while they were crossing the court, they heard a confused noise, saying, 'Kill them, away with that great

Treasons of
E. of Essex.

Stow.

The queen
sends some
persons of
distinction
to the earl,
Camden.
Treasons of
E. of Essex.
Stow.
Specd.

¶ Three hundred gentlemen. Camden, p. 630, and Treasons of Essex.

¶ And among the rest the lord Sands, Henry Parker lord Monteaule, &c. Treasons of Essex.

¶ He went to sir Walter Raleigh, who sent for him, and waited in a boat for his coming. Camden says, Gorges was suspected of having at that time discovered the whole matter to Raleigh. Camden, p. 631.

¶ And sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England. Camden, p. 631.

¶ He pretended the lord Cobham, and sir Walter Raleigh, had formed such a design. See Winwood's Mem. tom. i. p. 300.

¶ This he did not: he went abruptly from them into the house, and they followed him, thinking he would have private conference with them. See Camden, p. 361, and Treasons of Essex.

Eliz. 'seal, secure them in prison.' When they were in the house,
1601. the earl told them, "if they would have a little patience,

who are im-
prisoned by
him.

He marches
into the city
to raise an
insurrection;
Camden.

but without
success.
Stow.
Speed.

Is proclaim-
ed a traitor.
Camden.
Treasons of
E. of Essex.

Is opposed in
his return to
his house,

Camden.
Stow.
Speed.

"he would go and advise with the lord-mayor and sheriffs,
"and return immediately." Upon these words, he left them,
and, ordering the door to be shut, set a guard upon them.

Immediately after, he began to march with his company,
and entering the city, cried out, "For the queen! for the
"queen! A plot is laid for my life!" Then he went to
the sheriff's house, which was at a distance *, and during his
march was not joined by one citizen, though numbers led by
curiosity crowded to see him pass. In vain did he cry, 'Arm,
'my friends, or you can do me no good;' not a man stirred
in his favour. The sheriff, who saw him approaching, with-
drew himself by a back-door to the lord-mayor's. The she-
riff's flight convinced the earl he had been deceived, when he

was told he might depend on his assistance. While he was at
the sheriff's, uncertain what to do, he was informed that a
herald † had proclaimed him a traitor in one of the wards of
the city, and that the earl of Cumberland had done the same
in another. Upon this, he left the sheriff's house, and cry-
ing in the streets, 'that England was going to be delivered
'to the Infanta of Spain, conjured the inhabitants to take up
'arms for the prevention of so great a misfortune.' But see-
ing no man prepare to support him, and hearing withal, that
the lord-admiral was marching against him with a strong
party, he resolved to return to his own house. But coming
to Ludgate, he found sir John Levison posted there with a
company of soldiers to oppose his passage. He instantly sent
Gorges to desire leave to go through; but being denied, was
obliged to return to St. Paul's. Here Gorges represented to
him, that it would be proper to discharge the three counsel-
lors, and having the earl's leave, he freed them immediately,
and accompanied them himself to Whitehall. Probably,
Gorges had betrayed him from the very beginning.

Mean time, the earl persisting in his resolution of returning
home, found the street chained and guarded by soldiers *. As
he saw no other way to pass than by attacking the guard, he
ordered Blunt to fall on, and seconded him sword in hand
with great resolution. But he was repulsed and shot through
the hat †, and Blunt was taken prisoner. By this resistance,
he was forced to go to Queenhithe, and taking boat with a
few followers, the rest being dispersed, retired to his house on

* Near Fenchurch. Camden, *ibid.*

† And Thomas lord Burleigh. Cam-
den, *ibid.*

* This was done by the care of the
bishop of London. Camden, p. 631.

† Robin by mistake says in the thigh.

the Thames side ^b. When he came there, his first care was to burn some papers, and then fortify his house in the best manner he could, still expecting to be relieved by the Londoners. Shortly after, the lord-admiral invested the house, both from the street and the gardens which reached to the river ^c. Then he summoned those within to surrender, to which they answered, they would die sword in hand. This was the opinion of the lord Sands, who pressed the earl of Essex to fight his way out, representing, it was more honourable to die by the sword than the ax. And indeed the besieged seemed to be all fixed to that resolution. But the earl of Essex suddenly changed his mind, and offered to surrender on these three conditions: That they should all be civilly treated; tried according to the laws; and that Ashton the minister should be sent to him to comfort him in prison. The lord-admiral answered, that he engaged for the first; that the queen would doubtless perform the second; and as to the third, he promised his interest to obtain it. Ashton was a presbyterian minister. This done, the earls of Essex, Rutland, Southampton, the lords Sands, Cromwell, Monteagle, with Davers and Bromley, were put into boats and conducted to the Tower. The rest were committed to other prisons. The next day the queen by proclamation thanked the Londoners for their fidelity, warning them withal to have a watchful eye on whatever passed in the city, the conspiracy being, as she said, more dangerous than was imagined.

The thirteenth of February, Thomas Lee, the earl of Essex's creature, and intimate friend of the earl of Tir-oen, was hanged, for saying to a certain officer, that it would be a glorious action for six brave fellows to force the queen to release Essex and the other prisoners. Two days after, the queen published a proclamation, ordering all vagabonds to leave the city on pain of death. The court had received information, that a great number of such persons lay hid in the city to rescue the earl of Essex, when an opportunity offered.

At last, some of the prisoners having discovered the most secret resolutions of the conspirators, the earls of Essex and Southampton were tried the 19th of February ^d. They were

^b By Temple-bar; where Devereux-court and Essex-street, &c. now stand.

^c The house was invested on the Strand-side, by the earls of Cumberland and Lincoln, the lords Thomas Howard, Gray, Burghley, and Compton, sir Walter Raleigh, sir Thomas Cerrard, &c. And on the river-side, by the lord-admiral, the lords of Effingham and

Cobham, sir John Stanhope, sir Robert Sidney, Mr. Fulk Grevil, &c. Treasons of Essex.

^d The lord Buckhurst was made high-steward upon this occasion. See the names of the rest of the peers, (twenty five in number) in Camden, p. 633, and Treasons of the earl of Essex; as also in State-Trials.

Elizabeth.
1601.

comes to it, and is immediately invested.

Camden.
Treasons of E. of Essex.

He surrenders;

and is with his principal followers committed to the Tower. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 359. Camden. Stow.

Thomas Lee executed. Camden. Stow.

Feb. 15.

Essex and Southampton are condemned to die. Camden.

State-Trials. Treasons of E. of Essex.

accused

Eliz. accused of the crimes I have mentioned, and their sole defence was, that they had done nothing but for their own preservation; however, they could not prove their lives had been in danger. The earl of Essex expressed a disregard of his life, but the earl of Southampton implored the queen's mercy, and desired the peers to intercede for him. They were both condemned to die as traitors.

The earl of
Essex very
penitent.
Camden.

The earl of Essex after his sentence seriously reflected on his past conduct, and appeared very penitent. Ashton greatly contributed by his exhortations and remonstrances, to put him into this disposition. But because this presbyterian minister advised him to declare whatever he knew, and probably, by that means, the king of Scotland was known to be concerned in the conspiracy, Camden speaks of it in such a manner as

Discovers his
accomplices.

shews, he approved not this conduct. "By the impressions
" (says he) left upon him by his minister, Essex could think
" of nothing but damnation, unless he discovered the whole
" scene, and confessed who were his complices." An author who talks in this manner, is easily perceived to be secretly interested in the deposition of the criminal. However, the earl of Essex desiring to speak with some of the privy-counsellors, the lord-keeper, the lord-treasurer, the lord-admiral, and secretary Cecil went to him. He immediately asked the lord-keeper's pardon for detaining him at his house, and Cecil's for accusing him of asserting the Infanta's title to the crown of England, and was sincerely reconciled to both. Then he declared, that the queen could not be safe whilst he lived, and desired he might suffer privately in the Tower. He owned, that some of his friends and domesticks were wicked persons and publick pests, and desired to speak with Blunt and Cuff, who were immediately sent for. When he saw them, he exhorted both to ask pardon of God and the queen, and told Cuff that this disloyalty was owing to his advice. He declared that sir Henry Nevil, ambassador to France, was privy to the conspiracy. This probably occasioned the recalling of that ambassador as he was going to Paris, and his being ordered into the custody of the lord-admiral. The earl of Essex said also, that Montjoy lord-deputy of Ireland, and several others in Scotland, France, and the Low-Countries, were necessary to the design. But the lord Montjoy's behaviour in Ireland had so recommended him to the queen, that she took no notice of the earl's deposition against him. In short, the penitent criminal made a full discharge of his conscience, and concealed nothing of what he knew. ' Essex (says Camden)
' thought a verbal confession too little, and therefore being
' moved

Winwood's
Mem.
tom. i. p.
299, &c.

Camden.

‘ moved by the dismal scene presented to his conscience, by the person whom he chose to guide it, he delivered the same in writing under his own hand, which his enemies showing to king James some time after, brought the earl and his friends into great disesteem with that prince.’ If king James had not been concerned in the affair, there is no visible reason why Essex’s declarations should have made him forfeit his esteem. But according to the earl’s project, the ambassadors of Scotland were now on their way to London, and king James ever after spoke of this lord as of one who was his martyr.

The 25th of February was appointed for the earl of Essex’s execution. That day the queen appeared a little irresolute. She even sent an order to the lieutenant of the Tower to countermand his execution: but presently after, ordered him to proceed. This irresolution, pretended or real, has afforded plenty of matter for plays and romances, in which Elizabeth is represented as struggling with love and anger, not knowing which of the passions she should obey. She was now however in her 68th year, an age wherein the motions of love could not be very violent. But without dwelling on these trifles, it suffices to say, that the earl of Essex died like a good Christian, with all the signs of a serious repentance. His head was not separated from his body till the third stroke, but the first deprived him of all sense of pain. The marshal de Biron being told in what manner he died, ridiculed it, and said, such a death was more becoming a priest than a soldier.

Is beheaded.
Camden.
Stow.
Speed.

Camden.

Thus ended the life and projects of the earl of Essex, projects which were never yet thoroughly known. Tho’ they seem to have tended only to dethrone Elizabeth, and set the crown on the head of the king of Scotland, however it is not unlikely that he only used that prince’s title as a pretence to ruin Elizabeth, and that his confidence in the people’s affection inspired him with greater designs. It is certain, the queen had given occasion to think she had more than a common esteem for this lord. When he was but one and twenty years old, she forgave him what she had lent his father for his expedition into Ireland; and he was the only person to whom she was ever so liberal. The earl of Leicester dying shortly after, she ordered his goods to be exposed to sale, for payment of the sums she had lent him. Before the earl of Essex had done her any great service, she made him knight of the garter, and gave him a place in her privy-council. She continued afterwards to distinguish him from all other courtiers, not only by the posts, offices, and commands she honoured him with, but chiefly by particular marks of her favour, which were visible

Eliz.
1601.

visible to all, and made him to be considered as a favourite. These favours produced their usual effect, that is, rendered him proud and vain. He could not bear that any person should be promoted but by his means, and was a sworn enemy to all who were trusted by the queen. Nay, he grew so excessively proud, that he pretended to lord it over the queen herself, and force her to follow his advice in every thing. This procured him that unfortunate box on the ear, which, doubtless, inspired him with thoughts of a signal revenge. For, from that time, he began to meditate projects which proved his ruin, and might have been attended with that of the queen herself; so careful ought sovereigns to be, not to affront persons of honour. His family was originally from Evreux in Normandy, and from thence borrowed its surname. It was noble and antient, as may be inferred from his alliances with the best families in England, some of which were derived from the royal family. Walter his father was however the first of his house honoured with the title of earl.

Some others
of his ac-
complices
executed.
Camden.
Treasons of
E. of Essex.
State-Trials.
Stow.

The earl being dead, his principal complices were brought to their trials. In Blunt's examination, Essex's written confession was read to him. Blunt, seeing it signed with the earl's own hand, was so confounded that he could only say, with his eyes lifted up, 'Lord, thou knowest from what defence signs I endeavoured to divert him.' After that, Lee's confession, who had been executed, was read, in which he said, Blunt had permitted him to send to the earl of Tir-oen, who told the messenger, "that if Essex would be guided by him, he would make him the greatest man in England." Lee had likewise deposed, that the two earls and Blunt were in the same plot, and formed the same projects. Blunt made a weak defence, as well as Davers, Davis, Cuff the earl's secretary,

* He was beheaded in the 34th year of his age. Osborn, and some others, affirm, that he was cut off by the intrigues of sir Robert Cecil, that he might have no competitor in the management of state-affairs. Sect. 23, 24. The earl of Essex owed his estate and barony to his marriage with Cecily daughter of William Bouchier, whose grandmother was sister to Edward IV. and her great-grandmother, daughter to Thomas of Woodstock, by one of the daughters of Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford and Essex. Hence his great-grandfather Walter was made viscount Hereford by Edward IV. and his father earl of Essex by Elizabeth. He left one son and two

daughters by his wife Frances, daughter of sir Francis Walsingham. Camden, p. 637.

f Sir Christopher Blunt, sir Charles Davers, sir John Davis, sir Gillie Merri-
rick, and Henry Cuff, were tried on March 5, before the lord high-admiral, the lord Hunsdon, secretary Cecil, secretary Herbert, lord chief justice Popham, sir John Fortescue chancellor of the Exchequer, and divers of the judges. Merri-
rick and Cuff were executed at Tyburn, March 13, and sir Christopher Blunt, and sir Charles Davers, beheaded on Tower hill, March 18. Treasons of the earl of Essex. State-Trials, vol. i.

and Mericke his steward, and they all received sentence of death. Blunt said upon the scaffold, that for three years he had observed the earl was discontented, and fired with ambition. That when they were in Ireland, the earl told him his design of taking with him the flower of the army : of seizing Milford-haven in Wales : of raising men in those parts, and marching directly to London. That he had dissuaded him from an undertaking so dangerous and difficult ; but had indeed advised him to take a select company of men and seize the queen's person, and in her name to act afterwards as he saw convenient : ' But, added Blunt, though it is true, that in all our debates we never thought of embroiling our hands in the queen's blood, yet had we succeeded, I cannot say but her life might have been in danger.' He declared, that he died a Roman catholic, but such a one, as solely relied on the merits of Christ's death and sufferings.

The queen and council believed it prudent to end the executions with these few persons, by reason of the number and quality of the complices. The earl of Southampton was kept in prison, and the rest were fined, though very few paid their fines. Henry Nevil was only condemned to imprisonment at the queen's pleasure, though it was proved against him that he knew of the conspiracy, and made no discovery.

The earl of Mar and the lord of Kinlofs, the Scotch ambassadors, arrived too late, when the earl of Essex was in custody. It is well known with what view the earl of Essex had desired them, but we are ignorant of the instructions given them by the king of Scotland concerning the plot. It seems, however, it may be inferred from Essex's proposal, and the arrival of these ambassadors at the very time the conspiracy was discovered, that king James was not against it. Be this as it will, these ambassadors confined themselves to congratulate the queen upon the discovery of so dangerous a plot ; to demand the punishment of one Valentine Thomas, who, in 1598, had accused their master of ill designs against the queen, for which he was now in prison ; to complain that two English fugitives had been drawn out of Scotland by stratagem, who had fled thither for protection ; and lastly, to demand the assignment of some lands in England for the king their master. Elizabeth, without taking notice of what he knew, answered, She received very kindly the king's congratulation, and wished that no such

The queen pardons several conspirators. Camden.

Act. Pub. xvi. p. 427, &c. 458.

Ambassadors from Scotland. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 427. Camden. Stow.

Their demands. Act. Pub. xvi.

The queen's answer.

* By Winwood's Memorials, it appears, that sir Henry Nevill was with Essex as a spy from secretary Cecil. Com. i.

† Their business also was to clearing James of the imputations thrown

upon him, for dealing with the pope and king of Spain, and for suffering his subjects to carry provisions to the Irish rebels. Winwood's Mem. tom. i. p. 324.

Eliz,
1601.

thing might ever happen in his kingdom : That she had not put Valentine to death, to show how little she credited his deposition : That the two fugitives had been artfully recovered by the warden of the march, who was to blame for suffering them to escape, and that she was astonished the king of Scotland should demand them, since to protect the seditious subjects of another prince was teaching his own to rebel : That as to the assignment of the lands, she had given a sufficient answer before : However, she would make a yearly augmentation of two thousand pounds, provided he would sincerely maintain their mutual friendship, without suffering himself to be influenced by men, who sought their own private advantage in the publick calamities.

Ostend be-
sieged.
Grotius.
Camden.

The siege of Ostend, begun in July this year, furnished ample matter for the affairs of the Netherlands. Sir Francis Vere, the first governor, and the English troops which served under him, signalized themselves, and were a great honour to their nation¹.

Mutual
compliments
between
Henry IV.
and Eliza-
beth.
Thuanus.
Mezerai.
Camden.

Henry IV. came to Calais in August, as it were to see more nearly what passed at the siege, which made the archduke uneasy. But this journey was not so much to observe the siege, as to confer more easily with Elizabeth on his project against the house of Austria. Mezerai pretends, Elizabeth first conceived this design, and earnestly desired to confer in person with Henry, in a vessel between Dover and Calais. But I can hardly believe, that at her age, and having no children, she would form a design of this nature, the execution whereof required much time and expence. I still less believe, that she would have exposed herself to the dangers of the sea to confer with Henry, whom for some time she had neither valued nor trusted. It is more likely, this prince meditating then the design which he would have afterwards executed, was desirous to engage Elizabeth in it. The English historians only say, that the queen bearing of the king's arrival at Calais, sent sir Thomas Edmunds to pay her compliments, and that in return, Henry sent the marshal de Biron and the count d'Avergne, with duke d'Aumont, who were received very graciously. Mezerai adds, that the queen showed these French lords the earl of Essex's skull in her closet. But Camden has confuted this story in his Annals, by affirming, the head was buried with the body. He says only, that the queen speaking to the marshal de Biron concerning the earl of Essex, told him, that

Stow,
p. 796.
Thuanus.

¹ See an account of the English slain at this siege, in Camden, p. 642. Compl. Hist. John Carew of Antony, Esq; having one of his arms shot off in a

fall, and carried at a great distance from him, went and took it up without any concern, as if he had felt no pain, and brought it into the town. Ibid.

it was her advice to the king of France, never to spare the heads of those who attempted to disturb his tranquillity. 1601.

The parliament meeting in October^t, great complaints were made in the lower house, concerning divers monopolies authorized by the queen's letters-patents, which gave private persons the sole privilege of selling certain commodities; exclusively of all others. The queen being informed, that the commons considered these monopolies as so many breaches of the people's privileges, annulled most of these grants, and left the rest to be tried by the laws. This proceeding, even before she had been addressed, was so pleasing to the commons, that one hundred and forty of their members were appointed to wait upon her with their thanks. She did not omit this opportunity to testify to the house her great affection for her people. When she had received the compliment of the members, she returned an answer in the following speech :

Monopolies complained of. D'Ewes, p. 597, &c. Townshend, p. 192, &c. The queen annuls them. She is thanked by the commons. Camden.

GENTLEMEN,

I Owe you hearty thanks and commendations for your singular good-will towards me, not only in your hearts and thoughts, but which you have openly expressed and declared, whereby you have recalled me from an error proceeding from my ignorance, not my will. These things had undeservedly turned to my disgrace, (to whom nothing is more dear than the safety and love of my people) had not such harpyes and horse-leaches as these been made known and discovered to me by you. I had rather my heart or hand should perish, than that either my heart or hand should allow such privileges to monopolists, as may be prejudicial to my people. The splendor of regal majesty hath not so blinded mine eyes, that licentious power should prevail with me more than justice. The glory of the name of a king may deceive princes that know not how to rule, as gilded pills may deceive a sick patient. But I am none of those princes : for I know that the commonwealth is to be governed for the good and advantage of those that are committed to me, not of myself to whom it is intrusted; and that an account is one day to be given before another judgment-seat. I think myself most happy, that by God's assistance I have hitherto so prosperously governed the commonwealth in all respects; and that I have such subjects, as for their good I would willingly leave both kingdom and life also. I beseech you, that whatever misdemeanours and miscarriages others are guilty of by their false suggestions, may not be imputed to me : let the testimony of a clear conscience entirely in all respects excuse me. You

The queen's speech to the deputies of the commons.

^t It met October 27, and was dissolved December 19. D'Ewes, p. 597.

Eliz.
1601.

' are not ignorant, that princes servants are oftentimes too much set upon their own private advantage; that the truth is frequently concealed from princes, and they cannot themselves look narrowly into all things, upon whose shoulders lieth continually the heavy weight of the greatest and most important affairs.'

Elizabeth had the good fortune to be believed when she spoke in this manner, because in reality the English in her reign were the happiest people under the sun. They saw no designs upon their liberties, nor any infringement of their privileges encouraged. Justice was administered impartially, and the revenues of the crown, and the subsidies granted by parliament for the public occasions, were not idly consumed. They had therefore reason to think the queen truly loved them, since she caused them to enjoy so great happiness¹. Some successors of this illustrious queen have talked in the same manner to their parliaments, nay, it is in great measure become customary: but they have not all gained the same credit, because it is not words but deeds that persuade. This affair did not end in mutual compliments. The commons, willing to show their gratitude to the queen, granted her the largest subsidy they had ever given her since the beginning of her reign². Happy are the kings of England, who by a free and sincere conduct wisely preserve such a correspondence between them and their parliaments³!

¹ Sir Robert Naunton partly ascribes the cause of this mutual love between the queen and her parliaments, to the choice of parliament-men. For, says he, I find not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious dispute, elections being made of grave and discreet persons, not factious and ambitious of fame; such as came not to the house with a malevolent spirit of contention, but with a preparation to consult on the public good, p. 14.

² The laity granted her four entire subsidies, and eight fifteenths and tenths. And the clergy gave four subsidies of four shillings in the pound. See Statut. c. 17, 18. The reader may observe, that when in 1592, there were granted to the queen three subsidies, and six fifteenths and tenths, it was especially provided, That it might not hereafter be drawn into a precedent for future times. And yet in the very next parliament, the same subsidies were granted again; and increased in this. From whence it is plain, as Sir Simmonds D'Ewes justly observes, p. 574. "That

"whatsoever is once granted by the subject, may often be raised, but seldom falleth."—The acts made in this parliament, were, 1. An act for the relief of the poor; appointing the chusing of overseers, and the manner of raising money for the relief of the poor. 2. That every parish in England shall pay a weekly sum for the relief of sick, hurt, and maimed soldiers and mariners. 3. An act to redress the mis-employment of lands, goods, &c. given to charitable uses. 4. That persons cutting and carrying away corn growing, robbing orchards, breaking or cutting up hedges, pales, &c. digging or pulling up fruit-trees, cutting or spoiling wood, or underwood, not being felony bylaw; shall be obliged to make satisfaction, or be whipped.

³ This year died Henry Herbert earl of Pembroke, husband of the renowned Mary countess of Pembroke, sister of Sir Philip Sidney.—This year also died Peregrine Baitie lord Willoughby of Eresby, Camden, p. 643.

The war in Ireland was carried on this year more successfully than in the two former. The rebels received however an aid from Spain, under the command of Don Juan d'Aquila, who landed at Kinsale, and became master of the town. He instantly published a manifesto, declaring that Elizabeth being lawfully deposed by the pope, her subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and he was come to deliver Ireland 'from the jaws of the devil'. But instead of making the progress he expected, he found himself besieged in Kinsale by the lord-deputy. Shortly after, the earl of Tir-oen approaching the English to raise the siege, was utterly routed, after which the Spanish general was forced to capitulate. He was permitted to retire with his forces into Spain, having first rendered the castles he had taken. The capitulation was signed the 2d of January, 1602. During the rest of the winter the lord-deputy had such success against the rebels, that the earl of Tir-oen's affairs were reduced to a very ill state.

Mean while the queen, to divert the Spaniards from making fresh attempts upon Ireland, armed eight large ships, with some others of lesser burthen, under the command of sir Richard Levison and sir William Mounson. These two commanders being separated, Levison met with thirty-eight Spanish vessels coming from the West Indies, and attacked them, but without success. Mounson joining him some time after, they went together and assaulted a large carack of sixteen hundred tons, richly laden from the East-Indies, and which lay under the castle of Zizambra in Portugal, where she was guarded by eleven gallies commanded by Spinola. Notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking, they attacked the carack, and, after dispersing the gallies, took that rich ship, valued at a million of crowns, and brought her to England, with the loss only of twelve men.

In September following, Spinola, with six gallies he had saved, sailing for Flanders, met in the channel some English and Dutch ships, with whom he had a sharp engagement. Two of his gallies were sunk, one taken, and with the other three he retired into Sluys.

This same year, there was a great contest in England between the jesuits and the secular priests. These accused the jesuits of being the sole cause of the severe laws enacted against the catholicks, because they had been concerned in all the conspiracies, and had even suborned assassins to murder the queen. In the height of the quarrel, the queen had intelli-

* Which are his very words. Camden with two or three men of war. Camden, p. 645.

† Sir Robert Mansel waited for him

Eliz.
1602.

Proclamation
against
the jesuits.
A&C. Pub.
xvi: p. 473,
489.

Conspiracy
against
Henry IV.
Camden.
Thuanus.

Bouillon de-
sires the
queen to in-
tercede for
him.
Camden.

Tir-oen
submits to
the queen.
Camden.
Stafford's
Hib. Pac.
Stow.

gence that the jesuits, and such of the secular priests as espoused their principles and party, were contriving something against the government. Whereupon she banished them the realm by proclamation, forbidding them ever to return to England on pain of death. The other secular priests, who joined not with the jesuits, were also liable to the same penalty, unless they would take the oath of allegiance.

It was likewise in the course of this year, that Henry IV. ordered the marshal de Biron's head to be struck off, for conspiring with some others to dismember the French monarchy. The marshal had been his right hand, whilst his affairs were in an ill state. But since the peace with Spain, he thought the best way to procure quiet was to gain by favours the French lord, who had most opposed him. This could not be done without neglecting his old friends, and from thence sprung the plot whereof the marshal de Biron was head. His accomplices, as the count d'Auvergne and some others, easily obtained their pardon. But the marshal de Bouillon, who was also of the number, thought it safest to withdraw into Germany, from whence he writ to Elizabeth, desiring her to intercede for him. The king of France writ to her also, acquainting her with the conspiracy, and asking her advice concerning the marshal de Bouillon. The queen answered, she could not advise him, till she certainly knew whether the marshal was guilty. She warned him also to take care that it was not a Spanish artifice to cause him to entertain suspicions of his best subjects. But Henry, not considering the marshal as such, told the English ambassador, that the queen his mistress had a better opinion of him than he deserved, since it was certain he was concerned in the earl of Essex's plot, and had not even disowned it.

The earl of Tir-oen's affairs in Ireland daily declined. The lord-deputy having closely pursued him, without giving him any respite, even to the places where he thought himself most safe, compelled him at length to cast himself upon the queen's mercy: but he would not receive his submission without an express order from the court. The order coming at last, the earl of Tir-oen yielded himself to the lord-deputy, who resolved to carry him into England and present him to the queen.

¹ Namely, in Ulster. The lord Montjoy was chiefly indebted for his good success against Tir-oen, to the bravery and conduct of sir Henry Docwray, and sir Arthur Chichester, knights; the latter of whom succeeded him afterwards in his office of lord-deputy. Camden, p. 651.

² He came to the lord-deputy at Millmont, with a down-cast look, and

in a habit mean and careless. The lord-deputy receiving him sitting in a chair of state, and attended by several officers; Tir-oen fell on his knees, as soon as he came to the threshold, and continued some time in that posture; then, upon a sign made to him to come near, he made a few nearer approaches, and fell again upon his knees. *Iidem*, p. 651.

About the end of January, 1603, Elizabeth began to feel the first attacks of a distemper which brought her at length to her grave. Her being obliged to have the ring she wore on her finger filed off, was looked upon as an ill omen, because she was wont to say, with that ring she had been married to her people. As she was now very old, it was easily believed she would not recover. Accordingly, some time before her death, she had the mortification to see herself forsaken by most of her courtiers, who strove with emulation to court the favour of the king of Scotland her presumptive successor. This threw her into a melancholy, of which it was not possible to conceal the cause, especially as it was openly talked of sending for king James before she expired. In the beginning of March she was seized with a heaviness in all her limbs, which rendered her motionless, and even caused her to speak with great difficulty. This was attended with great frowardness, so that she could not bear any one near her but the archbishop of Canterbury, who comforted her, and joined with her in prayer. In short, when it was perceived she was near her last hour, the council sent the lord admiral, the lord privy-seal, and the secretary, to pray her to name her successor. She faintly answered, 'That she had always said, her throne was the throne of kings, and she would have no mean person to succeed her.' The secretary representing to her, that these words were very obscure, and the council desired she would declare her pleasure more plainly, 'I will (said she) that a king succeed me: and who should that be but my nearest kinsman, the king of Scots?' Then being admonished by the archbishop to fix her thoughts upon God, 'That I do (said she) neither doth my mind wander from him at all.' When she could no longer pray with her tongue, she lifted up her hands and eyes to heaven, and giving some other signs of her confidence in the mercy of God, she expired on the 24th of March old style, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fourth of her reign.

Eliz.
1603.

The queen
sickens.
Camden.

Hercourtiers
forsake her.
Camden.
Wellwood.

She grows
melancholy.
Camden.
Speed.

She names
for her suc-
cessor the
king of
Scots.
Camden.
She dies,
Camden.

To display in few words the elogy of this illustrious queen, it seems to be sufficient to observe, that her name is still of blessed memory with the English, now when flattery cannot be supposed to have any share in the veneration they pay her. But Elizabeth banished from England the catholic religion, and restored the reformation. This alone was the

Elizabeth's
character.

* She lived sixty-nine years, six months, and seven days; and reigned forty-four years, four months, and eight days; and lies buried at Westminster, in Henry VII's chapel. Her successor king James erected a stately monument to her memory, which the reader may see in Sandford, p. 519; her epitaphs are also in Speed, p. 881.

Eliz.
1603.

cause that two parties have been formed on her account, who mutually tax each other with flattery or animosity. The protestants, considering that this queen was the sole bulwark of their religion, which probably without her would have been destroyed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and perhaps in France and the Low-Countries, cannot forbear giving her great commendations, and feel themselves inclined to excuse her failings. For the same reason, the Roman catholicks look upon her with another eye; nay, some have not scrupled to paint her in the blackest colours, and give her the most odious epithets. This makes it impossible to give her a character that shall please all the world. I shall content myself therefore with making some reflections which will assist those who seek only truth, to pass an impartial judgment on this famous queen, free from party-passion and prejudice.

Her ability.

Elizabeth had great sense, and a judgment naturally sound and solid. This appeared in her whole conduct, from the beginning to the end of her reign. Nothing shows her capacity more, than her address in surmounting the difficulties and troubles created by her enemies, especially when it is considered what these enemies were, the most powerful, the most artful, the most subtle, and the least scrupulous in Europe. The bare naming of them is a sufficient demonstration. The court of Rome under several popes, Philip II. king of Spain, the duke of Alva, Henry II. and Charles IX. kings of France, Catherine de Medici, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, Mary queen of Scots, all the Romish clergy, and particularly the jesuits. Had her forces been proportionable to those of her enemies united together, there would be nothing very extraordinary. Strength often supplies the want of capacity. But in what manner did she withstand so potent, so formidable enemies? It was by two or three maxims which she made the rule of her conduct, and from which she never swerved: 'To make herself beloved by her people; To be frugal of her treasure: To cherish dissension amongst her neighbours.' If things are rightly considered, she had no other way to secure herself. It cannot therefore be denied, that this is a clear evidence of her ability. But as her ability was never questioned, it is not this I am chiefly to describe. On the contrary, her enemies have taken occasion from thence to defame her, by representing as vices disguised, what her friends extol as so many virtues. They pretend, that her ability

Her dissimulation.

† Pope Sixtus V. used to speak of queen Elizabeth, and the king of Navarre, as the only princes that understood what it was to govern; and profanely wished

that he might enjoy her but one night, saying, they would beget a new Alexander the Great between them. Barret's Ref. tom. II. p. 417.

con-

consisted wholly in an overstrained dissimulation,^s and a profound hypocrisy. In a word, they say she was a perfect comedian. For my part, I don't pretend to deny that she made great use of dissimulation, as well to the courts of France and Spain, as in regard to the queen of Scotland and the Scots. This would be denying a manifest truth. The court of Rome was the only court she never dissimulated with. I am still persuaded, that being so much concerned to gain the love and esteem of her subjects, she affected to speak frequently, and with exaggeration, of her tenderness for them, and desired to have it believed, that she did thro' an excessive love to her people things wherein her own interest was mostly concerned. But the question is to know, whether in her circumstances her dissimulation was blameable. What injury was it to her subjects to endeavour to persuade them, she loved them tenderly, since she actually and really did whatever was necessary to convince them? As to foreigners, it must be carefully observed, that her dissimulation and artifices tended not to invade their possessions, but to preserve her own. Her enemies frequently attempted to deprive her both of crown and life, and she saved both by her policy and dissimulation. Where is the harm of such a conduct? Can the dissimulation and artifices which aim only at self-preservation, be without extreme prejudice confounded with the dissimulation and artifices that tend to surprise the innocent, and invade the property of others; can these, I say, be considered upon the same foot? For my part, I am so far from thinking that this sort of dissimulation is any blemish to Elizabeth's reputation, that I rather believe it ought to be reckoned among her commendable qualities.

Avarice is another failing imputed to her by her own friends. I will not deny that she was too parsimonious, and upon some occasions stuck too close to her maxim, not to be at any expence but what was absolutely necessary. However in general I maintain, that her circumstances required her, not to be covetous, at least not to part with her money but with the greatest caution, both to preserve her people's affection, and enable her to withstand her enemies. After all, whom did she wrong by her extreme frugality? A dozen of hungry courtiers, who would have been very glad she had avished her treasure like the king her father in the beginning of his reign. As for the rest of her subjects, instead of having cause to complain of this pretended avarice, they had reason to be pleased with it, since it consisted not in robbing them of their property by illegal methods, as Henry VII. her grand-
Concerning
her avarice,
Osborn.

Eliz. 1603. grandfather had done, but in husbanding her revenues, and consequently their own^a.

Slanders upon her chastity.

She is also accused of not being so chaste as she affected to appear. Nay, some pretend there are now in England the descendants of a daughter she had by the earl of Leicester. But as hitherto no proof of this accusation has been produced, it may be safely reckoned among the calumnies with which her reputation has been attacked, as well during her life as after her death.

Reflections on the death of the queen of Scots.

It is not so easy to justify her concerning the death of the queen of Scots. Here it must freely be owned that she sacrificed equity, justice, and perhaps her own conscience, to her safety. If Mary was guilty of her husband's murder, as there is reason to believe, it belonged not to Elizabeth to punish her. And indeed it was not for that she took away her life; but she used that pretence to detain her in prison, under the deceitful excuse of making her innocence appear. On this occasion her dissimulation was blame-worthy. This first injustice engaged her afterwards to use numberless arts and devices to have a pretence to render Mary's imprisonment perpetual. Hence arose at last the necessity of putting her to death on the scaffold. In short, this excess of violence gave birth to more artifices and acts of dissimulation to justify herself, and cast the blame on the innocent. This doubtless is Elizabeth's great blemish, which manifestly proves to what height she carried the fear of losing a tottering crown. This continual fear and uneasiness is what characterizes her reign, because it was the spring of almost all her actions. All that can be said for Elizabeth is, that the queen of Scots and her friends had brought things to such a point, that one of the two queens was to perish, and it was natural that the weakest should fall. But this does not excuse Elizabeth's injustice to Mary in detaining her in prison, which had no other foundation than Elizabeth's fear concerning her crown.

Concerning Elizabeth's religion.

I come now to Elizabeth's religion. I don't believe her being a true protestant was ever questioned. But as it was her interest to be so, some have taken occasion to doubt whether the zeal she expressed for her religion was the effect of her persuasion or policy. What may have occasioned this doubt is, that it clearly appears in her history, that in assisting the protestants of France and the Netherlands, as well as those of Scotland, she had only temporal views, namely, her own

^a She was not so covetous, but that by proclamation discharged the fourth, four subsidies having been granted her and so much of the other three as was in one of her parliaments, and finding not levied. Bohun's Charac. of Eliz. that three would do her business, she p. 158.

safety and defence against impending invasions. But it cannot thence be inferred, she was not a good protestant, or had no religion at all, since it is not impossible that her religion should agree with her temporal interest. All that can be said is, that she happened sometimes to prefer her temporal before her religious concerns.

She is warmly accused of persecuting the catholicks, and putting several to death. 'Tis true, there were some that suffered death in her reign. But one may venture to affirm, that none were punished but for conspiring against the queen or state, or for attempting to destroy the protestant religion in England, and restore the Romish by violent methods. The catholicks, who lived peaceably, were tolerated, tho' with some restraint as to the exercise of their religion, but with none as to their consciences. If this may be called persecution, what name shall be given to the sufferings of the protestants in the reign of Mary *?

Concerning
her perse-
cuting the
catholicks.

Eliz.
1603.

The presbyterians think also they have reason to complain of the statute enacted in this reign, which deprived them of liberty of conscience, though they were protestants. I shall not take upon me to determine whether they had cause to complain of this rigour. I shall only say, that in my opinion they had too much obstinacy, and their adversaries too little charity.

To sum up in few words what may serve to form Elizabeth's character, I shall add, that she was a good and illustrious queen, with many virtues and noble qualities, and few faults. But what she ought to be esteemed for above all things is, that she caused the English to enjoy a felicity unknown to their ancestors under most of the kings her predecessors. This doubtless is the test, by which we are to judge of those whom God has set over us.

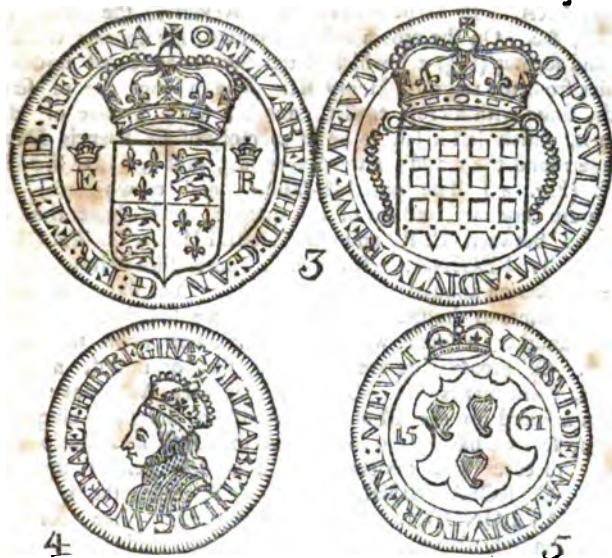
* The secular priests themselves showed in their writings, That in the eleven first years of queen Elizabeth's reign, not one papist was persecuted for religion; in ten years after the publication of pope Pius V's bull, not above twelve priests had been put to death, and most of them for treason, till the year 1580, when the turbulent and restless jesuits first set foot in England; and yet, in the ten next years after that, not above fifty priests were executed, and fifty-five banished. See Camden, p. 649.

BY an indenture of the 2d of Elizabeth, a pound weight of gold, of the old standard, of 23 carats 3 grains and a half fine, was coined into 36 pounds by tale; namely, into 24 sovereigns, at thirty shillings a-piece, or 48 rials at fifteen shillings, or 72 angels at ten shillings a-piece, or 144 half-angels at five shillings a-piece: and a pound weight of crown gold of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats allay, was coined into 33 pounds by tale; namely, 33 sovereigns at twenty shillings a-piece, or 66 half-sovereigns at ten shillings a-piece, or

THE HISTORY

132 crowns at five shillings a-piece, or 264 half-crowns. And a pound weight of the old sterling silver, viz. 11 ounces 2 penny-weight fine, and 18 penny-weight alloy, was coined into 3 pounds by tale, of half-shillings, groats, quarter-shillings, half-groats, three-halfpenny pieces, pence, and farthings.—In the 19th of her reign, a pound of gold, of the old standard, was coined into 72 angels, at ten shillings a-piece, 144 half-angels at five shillings a piece, or 288 quarter-angels, amounting in tale to 36 pounds; and a pound of old sterling silver, into half-shillings, threepences, three halfpenny, or three farthing pieces, to make three pounds by tale.—And in the 25th, into sixty shillings, or into three pounds by tale.—In the 26th, a pound troy of old standard gold, was coined into 48 nobles at fifteen shillings a-piece, or 24 double nobles at thirty shillings a-piece, making 36 pounds.—In the 35th year of this reign, a pound weight of gold, of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats alloy, was coined into 33 sovereigns, at twenty shillings a-piece, or 66 half-sovereigns, or 132 crowns, or 264 half-crowns, making 33 pounds by tale.—In the 43d, the pound weight of old standard gold was coined into 73 angels, at ten shillings a-piece, or 146 half-angels, or 292 quarter-angels, making 36 pounds 10 shillings in tale; and the pound weight of gold of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats alloy, into 33 sovereigns and a half, at twenty shillings a-piece, or 67 half-sovereigns, or 134 crowns, or 268 half crowns, making 33 pounds 10 shillings in tale; and the pound weight of old standard silver into 3 pounds 2 shillings by tale, viz. into crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, twopences, pence, and halfpence.





The corruptions which the last year of Henry VIII. had brought into the English money was not quite rooted out. till queen Elizabeth's reign; but her first business was to mark all the base pieces, either with a greyhound, portcullis, lion, harp, rose, or fleur-de-lis. Her gold coins, as appears from the foregoing indentures, were, sovereigns, half-sovereigns, or rials, nobles, double nobles, angels, half-angels, pieces of an angel and a half, and three angels, crowns, and half-crowns. The sovereign has on one side the queen's figure in armour, and ruff, hair disheveled, crowned with the imperial crown of England (consisting of the double arch, as borne ever since; all, except Henry VI, having borne it before her with the single arch) ELIZABETH. D. G. ANG. FRA ET HIB. REGINA. Reverse, the arms crowned between E. R. a woolpack the mark, SCVTVM. FIDEI. PROTEGET. EAM. (Fig. 1.) the half-sovereign has her head as upon the shilling. The angel has her titles as before; reverse, the ship and arms, with E. and a rose. DNI. FACTVM. EST. ISTVD. ET. EST. MIRAB. The double rose-noble, or rose-rial, which is a noble medal, has on one side the queen in her robes and crown, scepter, and ball, upon her throne, at her feet a portcullis, ELIZABETH. D. G. ANG. FRA ET. HIB. REGINA. Reverse, a large rose filling the area, with the arms in the center, A DNO. FACTV. EST. ISTVD. ET. MIRAB. IN. OCVL. NRIS. — Queen Elizabeth's silver money are crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, groats, threepences, twopences, pennies, penny-halfpennies, halfpence, and farthings, all of silver; for there was no brass or copper money coined in England before James I. This silver money, from the crown

Eliz.

crown to the three-pence, is the same, viz. ELIZABETH. D. G. ANG. FRA. ET. HIB. REGINA. Reverse, the arms and POSVI, &c. On the crown and half-crown, she appears with the ball and scepter (Fig. 2.) which latter never appeared upon the monies from the reign of Henry III. The shillings are of several kinds, some with a cross crosslet, another with a dove or drake upon it, which last is said to be in memory of sir Francis Drake's voyage round the world; a third very fair, mill'd, a star the Mint mark (Fig. 4.) The portcluse-shilling and crown-piece, both which are very rare, instead of the queen's head, have the arms crowned between E. R. and ELIZABETH. D. G. ANG. FR. ET. HIB. REGINA. Reverse, a portcullice crowned, and POSVI, &c. an annulet the Mint mark. The sixpences are of different mints as the shillings; some with a rose behind the queen's head, another marked with the Belgick lion upon the queen's breast. Of groats there are the drake, star, or mill'd, and cross crosslet, Mint marks, &c. Of the threepences, some have a cross, others a sword for the Mint mark; others the star, cinque-foil, pheon, &c. all having the rose behind the head, and motto as the larger pieces. The twopence has two dots behind the head, E. D. G. ROSA. SIN. SPINA. Reverse, the arms, and CIVITAS LONDON. The three halfpenny piece (coined by this queen only) has the rose without the queen's head, CIVITAS EBORACI. The pennies have the same inscription about the queen's head. Reverse, the arms, and CIVITAS LONDON. Of these there are with the drake, crescent, cross crosslet, ~~two~~, Figure II. and annulet. They are from six grains and a half to ten and a half. The farthings have all the rose on each side, and weigh from three to five grains.— Besides these, Elizabeth coined also Irish money, namely, shillings called Harpers, from the arms of that kingdom, viz. three harps crowned on the reverse (Fig. 5.)

The END of the SEVENTH VOLUME:

Directions to the Binder for placing the CUTS.

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Monument of king Edward	90	Monument of Mary queen of Scots	400
Queen Mary I.	93	Monument of queen Elizabeth	583
Queen Elisabeth	179		